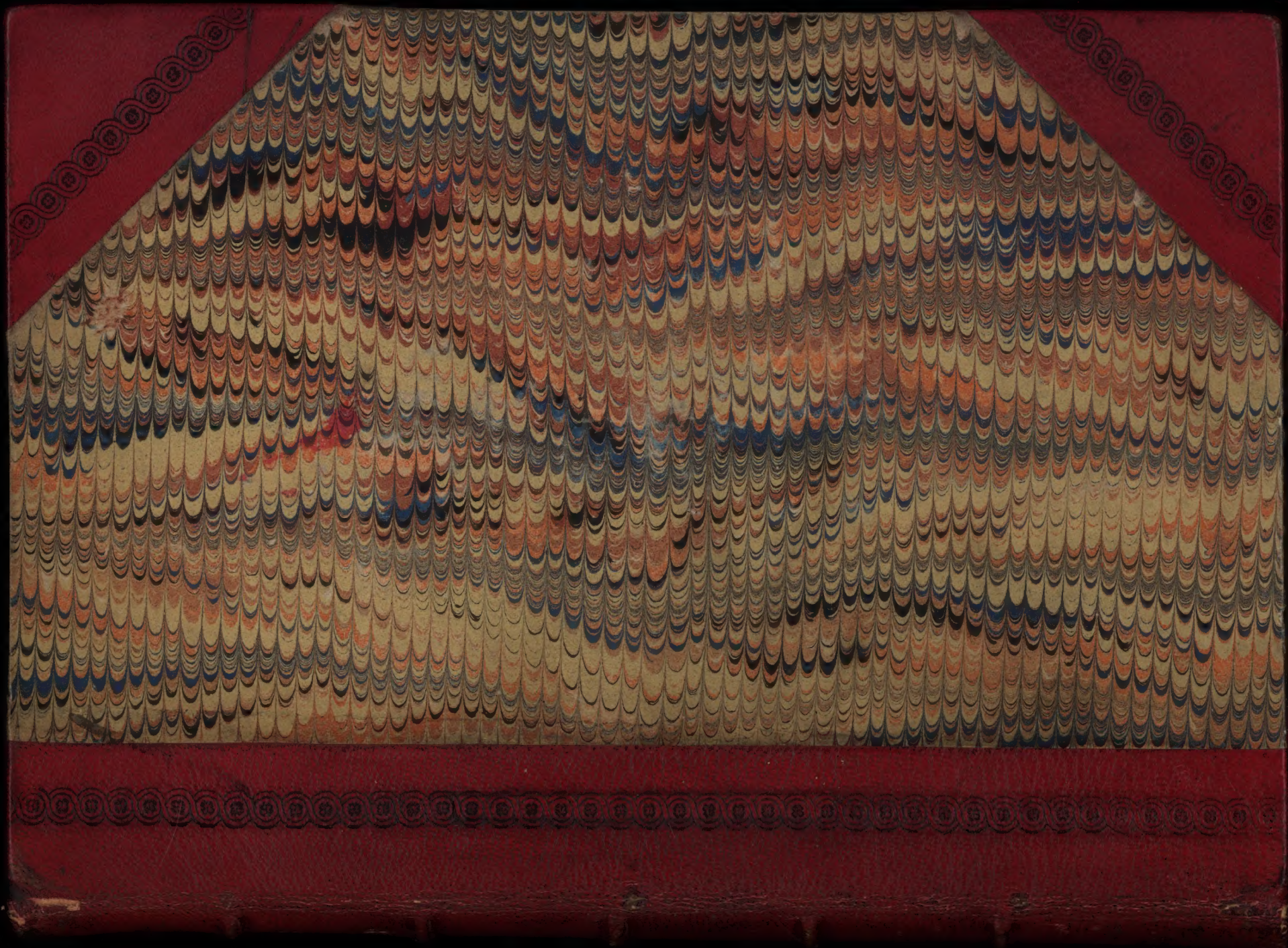




William C. Jones,
Esquire.



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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

Chronicles

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c. &c.



A female attendant, serving wine to a groom.

Illuminations from the Os Froissart

in the British Museum

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND

The adjoining Countries,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

BY SIR JOHN FROISSART.

Translated from the French Editions.

WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS, AND A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAP. BOOK II.—CONTINUED. PAGE

139. The English and Ghent men make a sharp attack on Ypres; but, learning that the king of France had marched an army into Artois, they instantly break up the siege . 1
140. Duke Frederick of Bavaria arrives at the army of the king of France.—Count Guy de Blois, notwithstanding his ill health, comes to Arras attended by his men-at-arms . 2
141. The van of the French army takes Cassel and Trughen. The English abandon Bergues, and retire to Bourbourg, wherein the king of France besieges them . . 3
142. Francis Atremen surprises Oudenarde in the night-time 7
143. Amerigot Marcel, an English Captain on the borders of Auvergne, takes by stratagem the castle of Marquel.—The countess Dauphine ransoms it for five thousand francs . . 8
144. The king of France orders Bourbourg to be attacked.—It is surrendered to him by capitulation, when the English quit Flanders.—He then disbands his army . . . 10
145. The bishop of Norwich and those who accompanied him in his expedition, are badly received on their return to England.—Certain great personages are deputed to negotiate a peace or truce between the kings of France and England.—The duke of Bavaria dies . . 12
146. During these conferences, the Ghent men insult Tournay.—A truce is concluded between the kings of France and England and their allies . 13
147. The earl of Flanders dies.—The ceremony of his funeral 14
148 The earls of Northumberland and Nottingham raise a body of English to make an excursion into Scotland.—Ambassadors are sent from France to Scotland, to notify the truces which had been made between France and England . 18
149. The barons and knights of Scotland, in conjunction with some French knights, undertake an expedition into England without the knowledge of the king of Scotland, who sends a herald to make his excuses to the king of England . 19
150. The truces which had been made between the French, the English, and their allies, are proclaimed in Scotland.—The French knights, on their return from Scotland, are in great danger from the Zealanders . . . 21
151. The lord Destournay assembles forces to retake Oudenarde.—He conquers it by stratagem . 23
152. The duke of Anjou dies at a castle near Naples.—His widow is advised to solicit the Pope for the possession of Provence . . 24
153. Preparations are made in France for the renewal of the war with England.—The duchess of Brabant succeeds in forming a marriage between the children of Burgundy and those of Hainault 25
154. The king and the nobles of France and Hainault lay in great provision of stores at Cambray.—The duke of Lancaster sends ambassadors to the earl of Hainault.—The marriages of the children of Burgundy and Hainault are concluded 27
155. The duke of Berry betroths his daughter to the son of the count de Blois.—The duke of Bourbon and the count de la Marche issue their summons to invade Limousin . . 28
156. Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, sails to Scotland, to carry on the war against the English at the expiration of the truce . . 29
157. The pillagers of Ghent, surnamed Porkers, commit much mischief.—Francis Atremen defeats some French troops near Ardembourg . 30
158. The duchess of Anjou urges her claim to the possession of Provence.—Galeas Visconti, count de Vertus, orders his uncle, Barnabo Visconti, to be imprisoned . . . 31
159. William de Lignac, seneschal of Saintonge for the king of France, conquers from the English the castle of Aigle.—The army of the duke of Bourbon takes Montlieu, and the bridge of Taillebourg, while besieging that place . 32
160. Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, arrives in Scotland with his army.—He meets with bad treatment there . . . 35
161. The town of Ardembourg narrowly escapes being taken by surprise by Francis Atremen and his Ghent men . . . 37
162. Lewis of France, brother to king Charles VI., is married by procuration to Margaret of Hungary.—Madame de Brabant causes the daughter of duke Stephen of Bavaria to come to France to marry king Charles . . 38
163. Francis Atremen takes Damme.—Those of Bruges attempt to retake it . . . 41
164. King Charles espouses the Lady Isabella of Bavaria.—He besieges Damme . . 42
165. Some citizens of Sluys are beheaded for treason to the French.—The duke of Burgundy acquires Sluys from sir William de Namur, by an exchange for the lands of Bethune . 43
166. Francis Atremen and his men abandon Damme.—The town is destroyed by the French: they also ruin the country of the Quatre Mestiers . 44
167. The king of France leaves Flanders, and disbands his army.—During the time he is at Paris, treating with ambassadors from Hungary, news arrives that the Marquis de Blancquefort had forcibly married the heiress of Hungary 45
168. The duke of Bourbon takes Verteuil in Poitou, and returns to the king of France at Paris . 47
169. The Scottish army, with that of the admiral of France, enter Northumberland; but the English being on their march to meet them, they retreat within the borders . . . ib.
170. Sir John Holland kills lord Ralph Stafford.—The earl of Stafford demands justice from the king 50

CHAP. PAGE

171. The king of England destroys the abbey of Melrose in Scotland.—The barons of France and Scotland invade Cumberland . . 52
172. The king of England destroys Edinburgh, and great part of Scotland.—The French and Scots do the same on the borders and in Northumberland 53
173. The earl of Suffolk prevents the king of England from pursuing the French and Scots who had invaded England.—The English army return home the same way they had entered Scotland.—The French and Scots return in a similar manner 54
174. The Scots treat the admiral of France and his men very harshly.—They return to France . 55
175. The state of Flanders.—Two honest burgesses of Ghent negotiate secretly a peace with the duke of Burgundy, with the assent of Francis Atremen 57
176. The two citizens fix on a day to assemble their friends, to accomplish their plan.—All Ghent are unanimous for peace, notwithstanding the attempts to prevent it by the governor for the king of England and Peter du Bois . 60
177. Sir John d'Elle brings letters patent of peace and pardon to the men of Ghent, from the duke of Burgundy.—This peace is confirmed at Tournay by other letters patent on each side 61
178. The treaty of peace between duke Philip of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, in right of his wife, with the town of Ghent and its allies . 62
179. Peter du Bois, after the conclusion of the peace, retires to England with the lord Bourchier, governor of Ghent 66

BOOK III.

1. Froissart gives his reasons for visiting the count de Foix 68
2. A short repetition of what is contained in some of the preceding chapters, for the better understanding the history of the war between king John of Castille and the bastard of Portugal, brother to the late king don Fernando . 69
3. The count de Foix, at the entreaty of the princess of Wales, remits the count d'Armagnac sixty thousand francs out of his ransom of two hundred and fifty thousand. — The English garrison at Lourde governs the adjoining country 73
4. Sir John Froissart, in his journey towards Bearn, is accompanied by a knight attached to the count de Foix, who relates to him how the garrison of Lourde took Ortingas and Le Pallier, on the renewal of the war in Guyenne, after the rupture of the peace of Bretigny . 75
5. Sir John Froissart and the knight of Foix arrive at Casseres, where the knight relates to him the capture of the town by the Armagnacs, and also the recapture of it by the count de Foix; and, as they journey, they converse on different feats of arms between the Armagnacs and Foixiens 78
6. Froissart continues his journey with the knight of Foix, who relates to him several particulars relative to the sieges of Brest and Derval, and how the duke of Anjou recovered Malvoisin and Trigalet from the English . . 81
7. Froissart continues his journey.—In travelling from Tournay to Tarbes, the knight relates to him how the garrison of Lourde had a sharp rencounter with the French from the adjacent garrisons, with several particulars touching the siege of Lourde, and the death of the governor, who would not surrender it to his relation the count de Foix 85
8. During the journey from Tarbes to Morlens the knight of Foix relates to Froissart the quarrel and reconciliation between the duke of Berry and the count de Foix,—and also the cause of the war between him and the count d'Armagnac 90
9. Sir John Froissart arrives at Orthes.—An old squire relates to him the cruel death of the only son of the count de Foix, and how strange dreams affected sir Peter de Bearn, bastard-brother of the count 94
10. The count de Foix holds solemn festivals on the feast of St. Nicholas and at Christmas; during which Froissart becomes acquainted with le Bastot de Mauleon, who relates to him, among other things, how several of the captains of the free companies were defeated before the town of Sancerre,—how he surprised the town of Thurie in the Albigeois, and how one of the name of Limousin revenged an outrage committed against him by Louis Raimbaut . 100
11. A short recapitulation of what has been before said of the war between king John of Castile and John of Portugal.—This subject continued 109
12. The inhabitants of Santarem rebel against some of the men-at-arms of Castille.—The king of Castille, having raised the siege of Lisbon, marches towards that town, when it makes its peace 112
13. The Spaniards are jealous of the French and Bearnois.—Five hundred English arrive to serve the king of Portugal 114
14. The king of Portugal issues his orders for the army to march towards Santarem.—The king of Castille quits that place to meet him . 116
15. The Portuguese fortify themselves, near the church of Aljubarota, by the advice of the English.—King John of Castille, through the counsel of the French and Bearnois, resolves to fight them.—The hatreds and jealousies of the Castillians still continue against the foreigners . 118
16. The battle of Aljubarota, in which the French and Bearnois, in the interest of Castille, are defeated and slain by the Portuguese, from not being properly supported by the Castillians, who were jealous of them.—They afterwards meet the same fate 121
17. The king of Castille, after his defeat at Aljubarota, retreats to Santarem.—The king of Portugal returns to Lisbon.—A truce is concluded between them 124
18. The count de Foix is rapidly, and in a secret manner, informed of what had happened at Aljubarota.—Froissart, in consequence of this, relates a story which had been told him of a familiar spirit, called Orthon, who served the lord de Corasse in the like manner . . 126
19. Siege is laid to Brest.—St. Forget, and several other English garrisons in the environs of Toulouse, are recovered by the French . . 129
20. The castle of Convalle is stormed by the French.—Some other fortresses turn to the French interest 134
21. A short digression on the manners of the English and Gascons in the time of Froissart . 136
22. The arrival of Leon, king of Armenia, in France, on which occasion Froissart describes the state of Genoa in his time, and relates the death of the king of Cyprus 137

CHAP. PAGE

23. The king of Armenia relates many stories of the Turks and Tartars 139
24. Continuation of the intelligence which the king of Armenia relates to the barons of France . 141
25. During these wars of the Turks, dissensions continue between the two popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII.—Friar John de la Roche-Taillade delivers a good apologue, respecting the papacy, to the cardinals 144
26. The reasons why the Portuguese prefer the Grand Master of Avis for their king to don John, king of Castille, who had married Beatrice, daughter of don Ferdinand, late king of Portugal 147
27. Froissart travels to Middleburgh in Zealand, to make inquiries from a knight, who is going to Prussia, of the affairs of Portugal . . 148
28. The Portuguese, after the battle of Aljubarota, send ambassadors to England to inform the king and his nobles of that event . . . 149
29. Lawrence Fongasse, one of the ambassadors from Portugal to England, relates to the duke of Lancaster the events which had happened in Portugal since the earl of Cambridge had left it 152
30. The ambassadors from Portugal return with satisfactory answers.—The duke of Lancaster embarks on an expedition to recover Castille . 165
31. Many French knights and squires offer their services to the king of Castille 167
32. The duke of Lancaster, in his voyage to Castille, attacks the French before Brest, and forces them to raise the blockade 168
33. The duke of Lancaster arrives at Corunna in Galicia.—The French, in the service of Spain, enter the castle to oppose him.—They shortly after defeat a party of his foragers . . 169
34. The duke of Lancaster, after remaining before Corunna upwards of a month, marches his army to Sant Jago, which surrenders on capitulation 171
35. The French knights leave Corunna, and join the king of Castille.—They acquire much wealth by plundering the country, in order to frustrate the English 173
36. Great preparations are made throughout France for the invasion of England.—The death of Francis Atremen 174
37. The French put themselves to useless expense on their marine.—The English make judicious preparations to oppose them . . 177
38. The king of Portugal, when informed of the duke of Lancaster's arrival at Sant Jago, writes him friendly letters.—The king of Castille demands succours from France.—The town of Rouelles in Galicia taken by the English . . 180
39. The marshal of the duke of Lancaster's army attacks and gains by treaty the town of Villeclope in Galicia.—The duke sends ambassadors to the king of Portugal to arrange an interview between them 182
40. The duke of Lancaster has an interview with the king of Portugal.—A marriage is agreed upon between the king and the lady Philippa, daughter of the duke 186
41. The duke of Lancaster's marshal gains for him several places in Galicia.—The conduct of the king of Castille 189
42. The king of France goes to Lille, with the intent to invade England.—Sir Simon Burley advises the removal of the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket from Canterbury to Dover castle, for fear of the French 195
43. The king of France visits his fleet at Sluys.—The king of Armenia crosses to England to attempt a reconciliation between the two kings.—The answer he receives 198
44. The duke of Berry leaves Paris for Sluys.—The constable, after suffering many delays from contrary winds, at length joins the king of France 201
45. The lord de Guistelles appeases an insurrection of the men of Bruges against the French.—The invasion of England is given up on account of contrary winds, the near approach of winter, and in conformity with the advice of the duke of Berry, which causes great rejoicings in England 201
46. Two champions tilt at Paris for life or death . 203
47. The death of Peter, king of Arragon.—His successor, king John, detains prisoner the archbishop of Bordeaux, who was negotiating, for the duke of Lancaster, the payment of certain sums which he claimed as due to him from Arragon 206
48. The duke of Lancaster makes war on Arragon.—The archbishop of Bordeaux is released.—The viscountess of Castle-Bon, suspected of having admitted the English into her castle, appeases the king of Arragon, through the interference of the count de Foix 207
49. Those companions who had conquered Duren, are defeated and slain by a stratagem of Raymond de Bachez, cousin to the king of Arragon 208
50. An achievement of arms performed before the seneschal of Bordeaux, between a knight attached to France and one attached to England . 209
51. Sir Oliver de Clisson delivers John of Blois, son of the late lord Charles of Blois, from his long imprisonment in England, and gives him his daughter in marriage, to the great displeasure of the duke of Brittany . . . . . ib.
52. France makes preparations to assist king John of Castille.—The duke of Bourbon is appointed commander in chief of the French army . 214
53. The English fleet defeats that of sir John de Bucq, admiral of Flanders for the duke of Burgundy.—The English, after doing much mischief to Sluys, and that part of the country, return to London 215
54. The king of Portugal sends ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster to conclude his marriage with the lady Philippa.—Sir Barrois des Barres is ordered by the king of Castille to the castle of Noya 217
55. The duke of Lancaster sends a reinforcement to the siege of Ribadavia.—On that town being taken by storm, Maures instantly surrenders . 219
56. The lady Philippa of Lancaster is married, by procuration, to the king of Portugal.—The ceremony is again performed with great magnificence and feastings at Oporto . . 221
57. The duke of Lancaster marches his army to Entença.—The Inhabitants send, with the consent of the duke, to the king of Castille for succour 222
58. The duchess of Lancaster and her daughter visit the king and queen of Portugal.—The inhabitants of Entença, receiving neither answer nor succour from the king of Castille, surrender to the duke of Lancaster, according to the terms of their treaty 223
59. The count de Foix permits the French captains to pass through his territories, on condition they pay for whatever they take.—They arrive at St. Jean Pied de Port, at the entrance of Navarre 225

CHAP. PAGE

60. Sir John Holland and sir Reginald De Roye perform a tilt, in the town of Entença, before the king and queen of Portugal and the duke and duchess of Lancaster 228
61. The king of Portugal promises to enter Castille while the duke of Lancaster finishes the conquest of Galicia, and then to unite their forces 231
62. Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Hassac traverse the kingdom of Navarre with their army, and arrive at Burgos, where they meet the king of Castille 232
63. Many plans are offered to the king of Castille for carrying on the war: he is determined by the commanders of the French force to delay an engagement until the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, and to make excursions from the different garrisons 233
64. The constable de Clisson makes great preparations to invade England.—Much murmuring and discontent in England against king Richard and his council 236
65. The constable of France with several others make preparations to invade England.—The duke of Brittany practises to prevent this expedition 239
66. The duke of Brittany summons his barons and knights to a council at Vannes.—Sir Oliver de Clisson and the lord de Beaumanoir are made prisoners in the castle of Ermine, and in great danger of their lives 241
67. The constable de Clisson, through the exertions of the lord de Laval, obtains his liberty, by paying a large sum of money, and delivering up to the duke of Brittany some of his castles 243
68. The lord de Beaumanoir is set at liberty by the duke of Brittany, that he may collect the ransom for the constable, who obtains his freedom on surrendering the places agreed on.—The imprisonment of the constable is known at the court of France 245
69. The duke of Brittany dictates the terms of the treaties, for the surrender of different places by the constable.—The expeditions from Treguier and Harfleur are broken up.—The constable, on his deliverance, makes his complaint to the king of France, and resigns to him his office of constable 246
70. The duke of Gueldres sends a challenge to France, in favour of England . . . 249
71. Two Breton captains, having valiantly defended the town of Orense against the duke of Lancaster, capitulate on terms offered by the English 250
72. The king of Portugal, being repulsed in his attempts to storm the castles of Santarem, burns the town.—He marches to Ferrol in Galicia . 254
73. The king of Portugal, not being able to take Ferrol by storm, gains it by an ambuscade, and puts it under the obedience of the duke of Lancaster 255
74. The army of the duke of Lancaster come before Noya in Galicia.—The English are received, at the barriers, by Barrois des Barres and his companions 256
75. The king of France sends some of his nobles to demand from the duke of Brittany the reason of the insult offered to him in the person of his constable, sir Oliver de Clisson . . 258
76. Froissart mentions the person from whom he learnt the arrest of the constable de Clisson; who likewise informs him that sir Bertrand du Guesclin ought to be called Du Glay-Aquin . 258

CHAP. PAGE

77. Ambassadors from the king of France wait on the duke of Brittany respecting the arrest of his constable.—The duke, having heard them, gives them his answer 261
78. The dukes of York and Gloucester, uncles to the king, confederate, with other barons, against him and his council.—The people are discontented with the duke of Ireland.—The Londoners, through the means of the duke of Gloucester and his friends, obtain from the king, that a day should be fixed for those who had managed the finances to render an account of them 263
79. The commissioners of accounts condemn sir Simon Burley to be imprisoned in the Tower of London.—Sir Thomas Trivet is killed by a fall from his horse.—Sir William Elmham is acquitted of having taken money for the surrender of Bourbourg and Gravelines . . 267
80. The king of England having left London, sir Simon Burley is beheaded, to the great displeasure of the king and queen.—A change of the ministry 269
81. While the council, on the state of the nation, is sitting at London, king Richard, by the advice of the duke of Ireland, determines to wage war against his uncles and the principal towns 271
82. The king of England issues his orders for all capable of bearing arms in the neighbourhood of Bristol to march to London.—Sir Robert Tresilian, sent thither as a spy, is discovered, and beheaded by command of the king's uncles 273
83. When the news of the death of sir Robert Tresilian is brought to the archbishop of York and sir Nicholas Bramber, they confirm the king in his intention of making war on his uncles.—The duke of Ireland, as Lieutenant-General, leads the army to Oxford 275
84. The duke of Ireland sends three knights to London to learn intelligence.—The dukes of York and Gloucester take the field against the duke of Ireland and his army . . . 277
85. The king's uncles gain a victory over the duke of Ireland, who saves himself by flight with others of his army 278
86. The duke of Ireland with some of his companions escapes into Holland. — The archbishop of Canterbury is sent by the dukes of York and Gloucester to treat with the king.—He conducts him with honour to London . . . 279
87. The king, by the advice of his uncles and council, summons the nobility and commoners of the realm to a parliament at Westminster, and to renew their homage to him 281
88. The king of Portugal and duke of Lancaster unite their forces.—When distressed to cross the river Duero, a Galician squire, prisoner of war, directs them to a ford 282
89. Sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac advise the king of Castille not to risk a battle before the arrival of the duke of Bourbon.—A party of the English skirmish with the garrison of Vilalpando.—The duke of Lancaster is dispirited by his own ill health and the great sickness of his army 285
90. The duke of Lancaster disbands his army.—Three English knights, having obtained passports, wait on the king of Castille, to negotiate a retreat for the men-at-arms through his kingdom 287

CHAP. PAGE

91. The English ambassadors obtain passports from the king for their sick to pass in safety through Castille, or to remain there to recover their health.—Many knights and squires die in Castille.—The duke of Lancaster dangerously ill at Sant Jago 289
92. Sir John Holland takes leave of the duke of Lancaster, and returns with his lady through Castille, Navarre, and Bayonne, to Bordeaux. Sir John d'Ambreticourt goes to Paris, to accomplish a deed of arms with the lord Boucicaut 291
93. The duke of Bourbon, on leaving Avignon, continues his march to Burgos, where he meets the king of Castille.—The duke of Lancaster, being informed of this, addresses himself to the king of Portugal.—The duke of Bourbon, after a short stay, takes leave of the king of Castille, and returns to France . . . 293
94. The count de Foix receives the duke of Bourbon most magnificently, and makes him handsome presents.—The men-at-arms who were under sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac sack the town of St. Phagon, on their departure from Castille.—The king is very wroth for this against the two captains, who had remained with him . . . 295
95. The duke of Lancaster leaves Saint Jago for Coimbra, and thence goes to Bayonne . 296
96. The count d'Armagnac takes great pains to prevail on the free companies to give up their forts for a sum of money.—The count de Foix, underhand, prevents his success . 298
97. A digression on the quarrel between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres.—The life of count Reginald of Gueldres and his successors, until the reign of Charles VI. of France.—The duke of Gueldres, being an ally of England, sends his challenge to France.—The cause of this challenge 300
98. Froissart returns to the quarrel between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres, which he had left unfinished in the preceding chapter, and continues the history of the dukes of Gueldres to duke William, who sends his challenge to Charles VI., king of France . 304
99. A continuation of the history of the quarrel between Brabant and Gueldres.—On the death of duke Wenceslaus, the young William of Juliers, duke of Gueldres, endeavours by every means to regain the three castles.—He allies himself to the king of England, because France supports the rights of the widow-duchess of Brabant 309
100. The duchess of Brabant sends ambassadors to France for assistance against the duke of Gueldres.—They arrive at the same time the duke's challenge is brought, and receive favourable answers 311
101. Concerning the rumours of the signs of sanctity which were manifested by the cardinal de Luxembourg after his death.—The extraordinary end of the king of Navarre . . . 312
102. The duke of Berry besieges Ventadour . 314
103. The duke of Burgundy sends four hundred spears to the duchess of Brabant.—They surprise and burn the town of Seaulle in Gueldres . 315
104. Geronnet de Maudurant, one of the captains of Perrot le Béarnois, having been made prisoner by John Bonne-Lance, at Montferrant in Auvergne, finds means, after his ransom was paid, to put le Béarnois in possession of Montferrant 316

CHAP. PAGE

105. Perrot le Béarnois and his companions determine not to keep possession of Montferrant.—They make a sally on some troops from Clermont, who had advanced to the barriers of the captured town, and instantly defeat them . 323
106. Perrot le Béarnois and his companions having plundered Montferrant, retreat to their forts.—His answer to the Dauphin of Auvergne, who complains of his having surprised this town during the time treaties were in agitation for his leaving the country . . . 325
107. The Lord Lewis of Blois marries the lady Mary of Berry, and the lord John of Berry the princess Mary of France, who dies shortly after.—The death of the lady Jane of Armagnac, duchess of Berry 326
108. While the council of France is in deliberation whether or not to march an army against the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Berry sends the count d'Estampes to the duke of Brittany, to endeavour to win him over to the party of France, after having alienated himself from it by the arrest of the constable . . 326
109. The Castillians and French, after the departure of the duke of Lancaster from Galicia, re-conquer, in a very short time, all the towns and castles he had won.—The English abuse Castille, when in their own country.—The king of France and his council invite the duke of Ireland who had fled from England, to Paris 329
110. The council of France disagree, as to the king's going into Germany, on account of the state of the realm.—The duke of Brittany strengthens his garrisons, and forms alliances with England and the king of Navarre.—The English raise a large army 332
111. The Brabanters lay siege to the town of Grave.—The constable of France gains the towns of Saint Malo and Saint Matthieu de Fine Pôterne, and garrisons them with his men . 334
112. The duke of Lancaster has intentions of marrying his daughter to the duke de La Touraine, brother to the king of France.—The duke of Berry proposes himself for her husband.—The duke of Lancaster is much satisfied thereat . 335
113. The lord de Coucy and other barons of France are sent to the duke of Brittany.—Before their arrival, he had restored to the officers of the constable the places he had taken from him 337
114. While Helion de Lignac, ambassador from the duke of Berry to the duke of Lancaster, is negotiating the marriage with his daughter, the king of Castille sends ambassadors privately to break it off, and to demand the lady in marriage for his son.—Helion de Lignac is sent away, the day of their arrival, with some truces respecting the frontiers of Aquitaine . 340
115. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy leave Paris for Blois, to hold a conference with the duke of Brittany, who meets them there.—They persuade him, against his inclination, to come to Paris 343
116. Lewis of Anjou, son to the late duke of Anjou, uncle to king Charles VI., makes his public entry into Paris as king of Sicily.—The duke of Brittany comes there shortly after.—Thomas Harpurgan, an Englishman, and John Des Barres, a Frenchman, perform a deed of arms before the king of France at Montereau sur Yonne 344

CHAP. PAGE

117. Perrot Le Béarnois takes the field by command of the earl of Arundel, who lands his forces at Marans, near La Rochelle . . . 346
118. The Rochellers skirmish with the English near Marans.—The English, after pillaging the country round, retire with their booty to their fleet.—Perrot le Béarnois does the same to his fort, with a great deal of plunder . 348
119. The Brabanters press Grave hard by their siege.—The Gueldrians burn a bridge the Brabanters had thrown over the Meuse, to enter Gueldres 350
120. The Brabanters, having passed through Ravestein, enter Gueldreland, and are defeated by the duke of Gueldres.—The siege of Grave is raised in consequence . . . 352
121. The duke of Gueldres, after the defeat of the Brabanters, returns to Nimeguen.—On the news of this victory, the king and council of France send ambassadors to the emperor of Germany, the more securely to carry on the war against Gueldreland . . . 354
122. The king of France and his council permit the duke of Brittany to return home.—The states of Brabant send excuses to the king of France, for not allowing his army to pass through their country.—The success of the ambassadors with the emperor 356
123. The count de Blois sends two hundred lances to serve the king in his expedition to Gueldres.—The ambassadors bring favourable answers from the emperor of Germany.—The king of France continues his march towards the forest of Ardennes.—Sir Helion de Lignac makes his report to the duke of Berry, touching his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Lancaster 358
124. The principal barons of Scotland assemble in arms to make war on England.—They learn from a spy whom they take prisoner that the English are acquainted with their intentions . 361
125. The Scots form their army into two divisions; one, under the command of sir Archibald Douglas, marches to Carlisle, and the other to Newcastle on Tyne, commanded by the earl of Douglas, at the barriers of which place he conquers the pennon of sir Henry Percy . 364
126. The earl of Douglas, when encamped before Otterbourne, is attacked by sir Henry Percy, to re-conquer his pennon, and a general battle ensues 366
127. The earl of Douglas, in rallying his men who were retreating, is mortally wounded.—Sir Ralph Percy, badly wounded, surrenders to sir John Maxwell, who puts him in the hands of the earl of Moray 368
128 The earl of Douglas, though mortally wounded, orders his banner to be raised, as the bearer had been slain, and forbids his lamentable state to be made known to his men, urging them on to the combat, by which they defeat their enemies, and make sir Henry Percy, with many more, prisoners 370
129. The bishop of Durham is anxious to succour the English and rescue sir Henry Percy, but is so badly supported by his men, that he is forced to retreat.—He makes sir Henry Lindsay prisoner, who had taken sir Matthew Redman . 372
130. The bishop of Durham marches on the morrow of the battle to the Scots camp, but retires without daring to attack it.—The Scots return to their own country. . . . 374
131. The king of France enters the duchy of Luxembourg, on his march to Gueldres.—The duke of Juliers, father of the duke of Gueldres, makes excuses for his son to the king of France.—He is graciously received, and has the territory of Vierson restored to him, for which he pays homage to the king . . . 377
132. King Charles VI. quarters his army on a friendly footing in the duchy of Juliers.—A squire of Auvergne is murdered by a wood-cutter whom he is leading away as his prisoner . . . 379
133. The duke of Juliers and archbishop of Cologne leave the king of France, and go to the duke of Gueldres at Nimeguen.—By their remonstrances and negociations, he obtains peace with the king of France and duchess of Brabant . 38
134. The earl of Arundel and his fleet are driven by storms to La Palice, near La Rochelle.—The lord Lewis de Sancerre, having had information of this, chases them at sea, but in vain.—The duke of Lancaster marries his daughter to the heir of Castille 383
135. The king of France, while on the frontiers of Juliers, has part of his camp surprised, and several prisoners made, by some German pillagers.—The king, being twenty-one years of age, takes on himself the government of his kingdom.—He sends to the king of Castille, on hearing of the marriage of his son with the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, to remonstrate with him not to enter into any treaties that may be prejudicial to him or to his kingdom 384
136. The duke of Berry, being disappointed in his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, sends to the count de Foix to demand the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom he had in wardship 385
137. Geoffry Tête-noire is wounded in the head, at a skirmish, and commits excesses which cause his death.—He makes a will, and substitutes two governors of Ventadour in his room . 387
138. The duke of Gueldres is made prisoner in Prussia: and, though delivered by the knights of the Teutonic order, he returns to keep his faith to the person who had taken him . . 388
139. Sir John de Vienne, having received his answer from the king of Castille, returns to France.—The duke of Lancaster proceeds in the marriage of his daughter to the infant of Castille.—The earl of Arundel, having made some cruises on the coasts of Normandy, returns with his fleet to England 390
140. The lord Lewis de Sancerre visits the count de Foix at Orthès.—A deed of arms is performed, before the duke of Lancaster at Bordeaux, between five French and five Englishmen . 391
141. The duchess of Lancaster carries her daughter to Castille, to marry her to the infant.—Having found the bones of her father, she has them conveyed to Seville, and buried with regal obsequies 393
142. The duke of Berry negotiates so successfully with the count de Foix, that he sends to him his cousin of Boulogne, whom he instantly marries 394
143. Certain prudent men negotiate a truce, for three years, between the French and English, and all their allies 395

BOOK IV.

1. Froissart relates his travels after he had left Orthès 397
2. Queen Isabella of France makes her public entry into the city of Paris 398

CHAP. PAGE

3. Sir John de Chatel-Morant brings from England the truces for three years, sealed by king Richard and his allies. — Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, is betrothed and married to a daughter of the king of Arragon 405
4. The king of France is desirous of visiting the distant parts of his kingdom.—At the request of the lord de Coucy, he orders the duke of Ireland out of France 407
5. King Charles of France visits his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and pope Clement at Avignon . 408
6. The king of France sends the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to their homes, to their great dissatisfaction, and continues his journey from Avignon to Languedoc 410
7. During the time king Charles of France is at Montpelier, three of his chamberlains undertake to hold a tournament near to Calais, against all comers 411
8. During the king of France's residence at Beziers, accusations are made against Bethisac, treasurer to the duke of Berry.—Thinking to be sent to the pope and escape punishment, he confesses himself a heretic and sodomite, but is transferred over, by the official at Beziers, to the secular power, and burnt . . . 416
9. When the king of France is at Toulouse, he summons the count de Foix, who, on his arrival, pays him homage for his county of Foix 421
10. The king of France and his brother, the duke of Touraine, wager which shall arrive the soonest at Paris, from Montpellier, each attended by only one knight 424
11. The death of pope Urban at Rome, called the anti-pope.—Pope Clement writes to the king of France, his uncles, and the university of Paris, on the occasion.—The election of pope Boniface by the Roman cardinals . . . 426
12. The surrender of the strong castle of Ventadour in Limousin, that had been the chief residence of Geoffry Tête-noire 428
13. Three French knights hold a tournament at Saint Inglevere, near Calais, and defend the lists, for thirty days, against all comers, from England and elsewhere 434
14. The duke of Bourbon is appointed chief of an expedition to Africa, that is under taken by several knights of France and England at the solicitation of the Genoese 446
15. Aymerigot Marcel, captain of the pillaging companies, having fortified La Roche de Vandais, on the borders of Limousin and Auvergne, is besieged by the viscount de Maux, by command of the king of France . . . 449
16. Aymerigot Marcel endeavours, but in vain, to raise the siege of La Roche de Vandais, by letters and messages to the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, the viscount de Meaux, and even to the duke of Berry . . . 455
17. Aymerigot Marcel having left La Roche de Vandais, to seek succour from other pillagers, his lieutenant, Guyot du Sel, is surprised by an ambuscade, and the fort surrenders on capitulation 460
18. The messengers from England, hearing of the surrender of La Roche de Vandais, take leave of the duke of Berry.—Aymerigot retires to the house of a relation, called Tournemine, who betrays him to the king of France.—He is carried to Paris, and there beheaded, and his body quartered 462

CHAP. PAGE

19. The Christian lords weigh anchor, and leave the island of Comino, in order to lay siege to the town of Africa.—The manner in which they conduct themselves 465
20. The conduct of the Saracens during the siege of the town of Africa.—They send to demand from the French the cause of their making war against them 470
21. Some miracles are shown to the Saracens, as they attempt to attack the camp of the christians.—Several skirmishes during the siege.—The climate becomes unwholesome, and other accidents befal the besiegers . . . 472
22. A challenge is sent by the Saracens to offer combat of ten against ten Christians.—The Saracens fail in their engagement.—The town of Africa is stormed, but unsuccessfully, and with the loss of many worthy men . 474
23. A grand tournament is holden at London.—The king of England gives splendid entertainments during the siege of the town of Africa by the Christians.—The count D'Ostrevant receives the Order of the Garter, which displeases the king of France . . . 477
24. The siege of Africa is raised.—The cause of it.—The knights and squires return to their own countries 481
25. King Charles of France proposes to march to Italy, to form a union of the Church by force, and thence to Barbary.—Ambassadors from England offer proposals for a peace between him and king Richard.—The death of John, king of Castille.—He is succeeded by his son Henry, who is crowned king, though but nine years of age 484
26. Of the expedition of count John d'Armagnac into Lombardy.—His death at the siege of Alexandria 488
27. The king of England is anxious to make a peace with France.—The duke of Gloucester throws obstacles in the way.—Sir Peter de Craon, formerly the favourite of king Charles and his brother the duke of Touraine, incurs their hatred, and takes refuge with the duke of Brittany 495
28. The death of the young count Louis de Chastillon, son to count Guy de Blois.—The sudden death of Gaston count de Foix . 499
29. Sir Evan de Foix, bastard-son to the late count, intending to carry away privately the treasure of his father, is discovered by the townsmen of Orthès, who, however, promise every assistance to him and to his brother that is not incompatible with the true heir to the count de Foix, the viscount de Chastelbon . . . 500
30. The corpse of the count de Foix is brought from Rion to Orthès.—The king of France sends the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere into the county of Foix, to make arrangements, according to the decree of the council . 502
31. The viscount de Chastelbon, heir to the count de Foix, attends his funeral at Orthès.—He is advised to send to the before-named commissioners from France, to demand possession of the succession which had fallen to him by the death of the count de Foix: He afterwards sends, to the same purport, to the king of France 503
32. The king of France and the duke of Brittany meet at Tours, to settle their differences.—Ambassadors from England come thither also to negotiate a peace . . .

CHAP. PAGE

33. Sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon, ambassadors from the viscount de Chastelbon, practise so successfully with the court of France, that he is declared heir and successor to the count de Foix by letters patent from the king of France 509

34. During the residence of the king of France and duke of Brittany at Tours, their differences are partly accommodated by means of the marriages of the duke's son with a princess of France, and a son of John of Brittany, son to the late Lord Charles de Blois, with a daughter of the duke of Brittany . . . 511

35. The count de Blois and Mary of Namur, his countess, sell to the duke of Touraine the county of Blois with other lands. — The viscount de Chastelbon takes possession of the inheritance of the late count de Foix . 513

36. A grand assembly at Amiens, of the king and lords of France and England, to treat of a peace between the two kingdoms . . . 516

37. The French and English lords, not being able to agree on the terms of peace, prolong the truce one year.—The English, on their return, are accompanied by the lord de Chasteau-Morant, to bring back the king of England's final answer 519

38. The first illness of king Charles.—Count Bernard d'Armagnac does homage to the king. —The lord de Chastelmorant returns from England with an answer respecting peace . 520

39. Sir Peter de Craon, through malevolence, waylays sir Oliver de Clisson, beats and severely wounds him.—The king and council are greatly angered thereat 521

40. The king of France sends his own physicians and surgeons to visit the constable during the night. —He orders the provost of Paris to pursue sir Peter de Craon, who had fled for refuge to the duke of Brittany.—Some of his men, having remained at Paris, are executed . . . 524

41. The king of France summons the duke of Brittany to deliver up sir Peter de Craon.—His answer not being satisfactory, the king declares war against him.—The king's uncles murmur at the great riches of the constable, which were disclosed by his will . . . 527

42. The duke of Touraine is created duke of Orleans —The constable of France being recovered, the king of France advances to Mans, with the intention of continuing his march to make war on the duke of Brittany 529

43. The king of France, during his stay at Mans, again sends some noble personages to the duke of Brittany, with orders to dismiss sir Peter de Craon.—The king is informed that sir Peter is arrested at Barcelona by command of the queen of Arragon 530

44. The king having left Mans to carry on his war against Brittany, is ordered to return by an unknown person.—This same day, his mind is deranged, and he is brought back to Mans . 532

45. King Charles VI. of France, continuing deranged in mind, is removed from Mans to Creil, on the Oise, the regency of the kingdom is given to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy by the three estates 535

46. The lord de Coucy introduces the great physician, master William de Harseley, to cure the king of France.—Various causes assigned for this disorder 537

47. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy ruin those who had been the confidential servants of the king.—The duke of Burgundy treats rudely the constable de Clisson . . . 539

48. Sir Oliver de Clisson, after the harsh answer of the duke of Burgundy, retires to Montlehery. —Being pursued thither, he has time to make his retreat to Chasteau Josselin . . . 541

49. The lord de la Riviere, the principal minister of the king of France before his illness, is made prisoner by orders of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.—The duchess of Berry intercedes for him with her lord . . . 542

50. After many adjournments and delays, the constable de Clisson is, by judgment of the court of parliament of Paris, banished the realm of France, condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand francs, and declared incapable of holding the office of constable of France . 545

51. King Charles recovers his senses through the mercy of God, and the diligent attention of his physician, master William de Harseley . 546

52. The truce is prolonged between France and England.—The viscount de Chastelbon does homage for the county of Foix to the king of France 548

53. The king of France is in great danger of his life at a masked dance of men dressed like savages. —Pope Boniface and his cardinals at Rome send a learned friar to the king . . 550

54. The duchess of Berry supports the lord de la Riviere, in opposition to the duchess of Burgundy 553

55. The lord de Coucy refuses to accept the sword of constable in the room of Clisson.—The dukes of Berry and Burgundy invest the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, with it, in consideration of his marriage with the lady Mary of Berry, widow of the lord Louis de Blois . . . 554

56. The constable de Clisson, during his absence from France, wages war on the duke of Brittany 556

57. A treaty of peace concluded between the kings of France and England, through the mediations of their uncles 558

58. The treaty of peace is nearly broken off by pope Boniface, and by the king of France relapsing into his former illness 562

59. The death of pope Clement at Avignon.—The election of pope Benedict.—A learned clerk in the archbishopric of Rheims, supports the right of the see of Avignon, by his speeches and preachings 563

60. The king of England is advised to make a journey to Ireland, and to settle on the duke of Lancaster and his heirs for ever the duchy of Aquitaine with all its dependencies . . . 565

61. The death of the lady Anne of Bohemia, queen of England. The duke of Lancaster lands in Aquitaine, and the king of England in Ireland 566

62. Sir John Froissart arrives in England, and is presented to king Richard by the duke of York, uncle to the king 568

63. The information Froissart gains in England, touching the opposition of the inhabitants of Aquitaine to the gift the king of England had made of it to his uncle the duke of Lancaster. —The commissioners sent to remonstrate on the matter with the king cannot obtain a decisive answer relative thereto . . . 571

64. Froissart presents his Book of Love Poems to king Richard of England.—He relates what he had heard of the last expedition of the English to Ireland 577

CHAP. PAGE

65. The duke of Lancaster is ordered back from Aquitaine.—King Richard receives a friendly answer to the proposals his ambassadors had made to the king of France for a marriage between him and the lady Isabella, princess of France 582
66. A squire of Normandy, called Robert the Hermit, having declared he had seen a vision, while at sea, ordering him to interfere in making a peace between France and England, is sent to king Richard and his uncles to this effect 584
67. The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier are delivered out of prison . . . 588
68. The duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson are reconciled.—The dowager queen of Sicily institutes a law-suit in the courts of Paris against sir Peter de Craon 589
69. The king of Hungary writes to the king of France his situation in respect to the sultan Bajazet.—John of Burgundy, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy, marches, as commander-in-chief, an army to the succour of the Hungarians . 593
70. The count d'Ostrevant, brother-in-law to John of Burgundy, being desirous to march to Hungary, is advised by his father to attempt, in preference, the re-conquest of Friesland, which belonged to them 596
71. John of Burgundy, count of Nevers, leads an army into Hungary against the Turks.—The negotiations for the marriage of king Richard of England with the eldest princess of France are continued 597
72. The queen of Naples, widow to the late duke of Anjou, obtains judgment in parliament against sir Peter de Craon . . . 598
73. The marriage is concluded between king Richard of England and the lady Isabella, eldest daughter to Charles VI. king of France.—The duke of Lancaster marries again.—Sir Peter de Craon is, after some time, delivered from prison, at the entreaty of the young queen of England . 599
74. John of Burgundy, count of Nevers, passes the Danube with his army.—After the capture of several places, the town of Nicopoli is besieged 601
75. A digression from the principal history to explain why John Galeas of Milan was moved to give the Turk information of the expedition intended against him 604
76. While Bajazet is raising a great army to oppose the Hungarians and French, the lord de Coucy, during the siege of Nicopoli, defeats a large body of Turks with an inferior force . . 607
77. The duke of Gueldres prevents the earl of Derby joining the counts of Hainault and of Ostrevant in their expedition against Friesland.—Negotiations for peace between France and England are continued until king Richard crosses over to Calais, to conclude them with the duke of Burgundy 609
78. The counts of Hainault and of Ostrevant raise a large army of men-at-arms, knights and squires, to invade Friesland.—The king of France sends them assistance, under the command of count Walleran de Saint Pol and the lord Charles d'Albret 612
79. The earl of Hainault lands with his army in Friesland.—He defeats the Frieslanders in battle, but is nevertheless forced to retire to Holland, to pass the winter, without having gained anything in Friesland 615
80. The ceremony of the marriage of the king of England with a princess of France.—The king of France delivers her to the king of England, in his tent between Ardres and Calais . 618
81. The Christians are forced to raise the siege of Nicopoli, by the arrival of Bajazet in Turkey.—They are defeated, and the Hungarians put to flight, through the presumptuous folly of the French 622
82. The Turks, after the battle of Nicopoli, put to death all their prisoners, except the count de Nevers and some other great lords . . 625
83. The French and others who had been in Turkey suffer great hardships on their return home, after having escaped from the battle of Nicopoli.—Sir James de Helly brings certain intelligence of this defeat to the king of France . . 627
84. Sir James de Helly, having received his despatches from the king of France, arrives in Hungary, in his way to Turkey.—The king sends sir John de Chastelmorant, with presents to Bajazet, and his recommendations in favour of the French prisoners.—The manner in which they are treated 629
85. Sir James de Helly, on his return to Turkey, obtains his liberty, and carries a passport from the sultan to sir John de Chastelmorant in Hungary.—Sir John de Chastelmorant is forced to send a messenger to the king of France, to inform him that the king of Hungary will not allow the presents to be carried to the sultan . 631
86. The duchess of Orleans is suspected of causing the king's illness 633
87. The duke and duchess of Burgundy diligently exert themselves to find means to ransom the count de Nevers, their son, and his fellow-prisoners in Turkey.—The king of Hungary, through the persuasion of the grand master of Rhodes, permits the ambassador from the king of France to pass through his kingdom with the presents for the sultan Bajazet . . . 634
88. The duke of Gloucester plots the destruction of his nephew the king of England.—The king, having information of his practices, has him arrested by the earl marshal 635
89. The lord de Coucy and the count d'Eu, constable of France, die in Turkey, before the treaty for their deliverance is arranged.—A ransom is agreed on for the other prisoners who were taken at the battle of Nicopoli . . . 644
90. The French lords who had been prisoners in Turkey return by sea to Venice . . . 649
91. The lord Louis de Sancerre is made constable of France, in the room of the count d'Eu, who had died in Turkey.—Boucicaut, during his absence with the count de Nevers, is appointed marshal of France in the place of the lord Louis de Sancerre.—The French lords who had been prisoners in Turkey return to France 653
92. The deaths of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel.—The manner in which the dukes of Lancaster and York, and the Londoners, take the matter 655
93. A great assembly holden at Rheims, by the emperor of Germany and king of France, on the schism in the Church, and on the means of uniting the two parties 659
94. The earl marshal challenges the earl of Derby, son to the duke of Lancaster, in the presence of the king and his council 661
95. King Richard of England banishes the earl of Derby from England for ten years, and the earl marshal for his life 666

CHAP. PAGE
96. The earl of Derby, in consequence of his banishment, leaves England for France.—The earl marshal, in obedience to his sentence, goes to Flanders, and thence into Lombardy . 667
97. The count d'Ostrevant sends ambassadors to the earl of Derby.—The earl arrives at Paris . 668
98. The emperor and the king of France pursue the plans they had settled at Rheims, for a union of the church.—The bishop of Cambray is sent by them to the pope at Rome.—The answer that is made him . . . 669
99. The king of France, in conformity to the advice of his nobles and the university of Paris, sends the bishop of Cambray to pope Benedict at Avignon, on the subject of a union of the church, and also his marshal Boucicaut thither to constrain the pope to obedience by force of arms, should there be occasion 670
100. In consequence of the answer of pope Benedict, the marshal Boucicaut obliges him by force of arms to submit himself to the will of the king of France respecting a union of the church . 672
101. The marshal Boucicaut returns to Hungary against the Turks.—The earl of Derby sends to request permission of the duke of Lancaster to accompany Boucicaut in this expedition.—The king of England is solicited by the king of France to engage his subjects to a neutrality between the two popes, until a new election shall take place; but they refuse compliance with their monarch's request . . 674
102. The answer the duke of Lancaster gives the knight who had been sent to him by the earl of Derby, to request his permission to join the expedition against the Turks.—The death of the duke of Lancaster . . . 675
103. The king of England makes the king of France acquainted with the death of the duke of Lancaster, but does not notice it to the earl of Derby, though son to the late duke . 676
104. The treaty of marriage between the earl of Derby and the daughter of the duke of Berry is broken off by the king of England, through the means of the earl of Salisbury . . . 677
105. King Richard of England proclaims a tournament, which is attended by very few persons.—On setting out for Ireland, he banishes the earl of Northumberland and his son the kingdom . 681
106. The English, and particularly the Londoners, rise in favour of the earl of Derby against king Richard . . . 682
107. The archbishop of Canterbury is sent to France by the Londoners, and others of their party in England, to bring back the earl of Derby . 684
108. The earl of Derby takes leave of the king and lords of France, to visit his cousin the duke of Brittany 685

CHAP. PAGE
109. The earl of Derby sails from Brittany to England.—His reception by the citizens of London . 687
110. The earl of Derby, now duke of Lancaster, undertakes the government of England, and, by the aid of the Londoners, determines to seize the throne.—He marches in arms against king Richard at Bristo. 689
111. King Richard is informed that the earl of Derby is marching against him with a powerful army.—He retires to Flint castle . 690
112. King Richard surrenders himself to the earl of Derby, to be conducted to London . 690
113. The lady of Coucy is taken away from the young queen of England, and a new household appointed for her.—King Richard is confined in the Tower of London . . . 693
114. The earl of Rutland, constable of England, hearing the king has surrendered, dismisses his men-at-arms.—Four knights of the king's chamber, having been put to death by the Londoners, he is advised by those who were imprisoned with him to resign his crown to the duke of Lancaster . . . 694
115. King Richard of England resigns his crown and kingdom into the hands of the duke of Lancaster . . . 696
116. A parliament meets at Westminster, when the duke of Lancaster is publicly acknowledged king of England.—The great magnificence of his coronation 698
117. Intelligence of the imprisonment of king Richard is carried to France by the lady of Coucy.—King Charles is much displeased thereat.—The duke of Bourbon attempts in vain to reduce Bordeaux, and other towns in Aquitaine, to the crown of France . . 701
118. The council of France, by permission of king Henry, send over persons to visit Isabella, queen to Richard II. . . . 703
119. The earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and some others, having failed to murder treacherously king Henry of Lancaster, rise in arms against him.—They are defeated and beheaded, and their heads sent to the king . 704
120. On the death of John of Montfort, duke of Brittany, the Bretons undertake the wardship of the young duke, and to be friendly to France.—The French king, distrusting the sentiments of the new reign in England, makes provision against any sudden change 707
121. The death of king Richard.—The truces are renewed and kept between France and England.—The earl marshal, who had been banished England, dies at Venice . . . 708
122. France preserves a neutrality between the popes of Rome and Avignon.—The election of the emperor Robert 710

THE

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—THE ENGLISH AND GHENT MEN MAKE A SHARP ATTACK ON YPRES; BUT, LEARNING THAT THE KING OF FRANCE HAD MARCHED AN ARMY INTO ARTOIS, THEY INSTANTLY BREAK UP THE SIEGE.



IT always happens, that in war there are gains and losses: very extraordinary are the chances, as those know well who follow the profession. The siege of Ypres was pushed on with unwearied force; and it was fully the intention of the bishop of Norwich, the English, and Peter du Bois, to conquer Ypres by storm or otherwise, as the vigour of their attacks showed. Among the many assaults, there was one much severer than the rest; for it lasted from morning until almost night. Many valiant actions were done by several on both sides, and the English and Flemings made vast exertions to conquer it. The besieged created that day four knights, John de St. Pi, nephew to the governor, François Belle, George Belle, and John Belle, who showed themselves good knights in this first display of their knighthood. An English squire, called Lewis Lin, was killed * at this attack, which was very sharp; and numbers were wounded on each side, who too rashly exposed themselves.

The English archers, posted on the ditches of the town, shot so expertly and rapidly that scarcely any dared to appear on the battlements to defend the place. There were collected that day in Ypres two tons † of artillery, especially arrows, which were shot into the town, so that none ventured to pass through those streets near the walls where the attack was made, for fear of being killed, if not well armed and shielded. This attack lasted until night, when the English and Flemings, who had fought the whole day in two battalions, returned to the camp quite tired, as were likewise those in the town.

The English and Flemings, finding they could not take the town by storm, and having expended much of their artillery, resolved to have quantities of faggots made and collected, with which and earth they could fill up the ditches, so that they might advance to fight hand to hand with the garrison, undermine the walls, and, by throwing them down, win the place. Workmen were instantly employed to procure and cut down as much wood as possible in the neighbourhood of Ypres, which was to be placed withinside of the ditches, and covered with earth: but this was not so soon done, nor could they accomplish their intentions; for the king of France, having a great desire to raise the siege and fight with the English at all events, hastened his preparations, set out from Compiegne and marched to Arras.

The constable of France, with many barons who formed the van of the army, had already arrived, and were quartered in Artois. The duke of Brittany came with two thousand

* "D'un traict du canon;" by a cannon ball, according to D. Sauvage.—Ed.

† "La valeur de deux tonneaux pleins d'artillerie;" as much as two *tuns* full, not two *tons* weight, of artillery.—Ed

lances, as he was anxious to assist his cousin the earl of Flanders on this occasion. Indeed he was much bounden so to do, for he had found him, in former times, eager to befriend him in his distress. All the lords, both from far and near, were on their march and at hand. The count of Savoy and the count of Geneva, came with seven hundred honest Savoyards. Duke Frederick of Bavaria was hastening with a strong body of men at arms, and had arrived in Hainault. He resided at Quesnoy with his uncle duke Albert, his aunt, the duchess Margaret, and with his cousins.

The dukes of Lorraine and Bar arrived with a large body in Artois. Sir William de Namur, not having attended the former war, as the earl had excused him, came with two hundred good lances to serve the king of France and duke of Burgundy. He had passed through Hainault, and fixed his quarters in the country round Tournay. It was wonderful to see what bodies of men different lords brought to serve the king of France. The count Guy de Blois lay ill at Landrecy* during the whole time these warlike preparations were making, and neither himself nor his people knew if he would be able to bear the fatigues of this campaign with the king. He was carried in a litter to Beaumont in Hainault, and was somewhat better, for that air was more agreeable to him than that of Landrecy. Notwithstanding he was very unwell and feeble, he made ample preparations, as did his dependants in the country of Blois, such as the lord de Montigny, the lord de Vresin, sir Vilhennes de St. Martin, sir Waleran de Doustienne governor of Remorentin, and other knights and squires who came to serve under the young king of France.

News was brought to the bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley and the English besieging Ypres, that the king of France was hastening by forced marches, with an army of upwards of twenty thousand men at arms, knights and squires, and sixty thousand other men. This intelligence was repeated from so many quarters, that at last it was thought to be true, for at first they would not believe it. They heard for certain that it was so, and that if they remained where they were, they would have to fight with them. They also learnt that the duke of Brittany was with the king of France, and coming against them, which astonished them much. They called a council on this information, to consider what line of conduct to pursue. Having weighed every circumstance, and not finding themselves in sufficient strength to wait for the whole force of the king, they judged it to be more prudent for Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre and the Ghent men to return to their town, and the English to retreat towards Bergues and Bourbourg, which they were to garrison: and if any force should come from England, or if king Richard or his uncles should cross the sea, they would send them advice of it. This resolution was adopted, and they broke up their camp. The Ghent men set out on their return home, where they arrived. The English retired to Bergues and Bourbourg, and entered the forts which they had conquered.

The day that the English began their retreat, Thomas lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, arrived. He came from Prussia, and hearing on his road that the kings of France and England were to engage in the plains of Flanders or Artois, each at the head of his army, the knight was so much rejoiced, and had so great a desire to be present at the battle, that the journey, which at a moderate rate of travelling would have taken forty days, he performed in fourteen, leaving his equipage and servants behind, and frequently changing horses. He afterwards learnt that his baggage had arrived in less than twenty days in the town of Ghent. Such good will and gallantry deserve much praise.

CHAPTER CXL.—DUKE FREDERICK OF BAVARIA ARRIVES AT THE ARMY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—COUNT GUY DE BLOIS, NOTWITHSTANDING HIS ILL HEALTH, COMES TO ARRAS ATTENDED BY HIS MEN AT ARMS.

Intelligence was brought to the king of France, in the city of Arras, and to the lords with him, that the English and Ghent men had raised the siege and decamped from before Ypres. The king was eager to hurry matters and pursue them, so that they should not escape. He set out from Arras, and came to Mont St. Eloy, a very handsome abbey, where

* "Landrecy,"—a strong town in Hainault, diocese of Courtray.

he remained four days waiting for the arrival of the duke of Berry. The army was continually increased by those who came to it from all parts, and it was known, through the constable, the marshals and sir Guiscard count dauphin, master of the cross-bows, that the king had with him upwards of one hundred thousand men.

The king departed from Mont St. Eloy, following the road to St. Omer, and came to Aire, of which place the viscount de Meaux was governor. He tarried there two days, the army still increasing. The constable with the van were advanced, and quartered in the town of Cassel. The king went to St. Omer, where he stopped for the arrival of his people, who were coming to him from every quarter. When duke Frederick of Bavaria arrived at the army, the great barons of France, in order to do him honour, went out to meet him, as he had come from such a distant country to serve the king, who entertained him handsomely, and was thankful for his arrival. He caused him to be quartered as near to himself as possible during the whole expedition, as was but just.

In the army were full three hundred thousand horses: and it was wonderful where provisions could come from, or be found to supply such an army. At times, indeed, there was a scarcity; at others, they had abundance. The count Guy de Blois, who resided at Beaumont in Hainault, notwithstanding he was not yet recovered from the long illness he had been visited with during the summer, thought it would not be for his honour to remain idle, when so many great and powerful princes and lords were in the field; besides, inquiries had been made after him, as he was one of the leaders of the rear-ward. It was therefore better for him to join them, trusting to the will of God, than to remain behind under a supposition of dissembling.

This gallant lord began his journey; but as he was unable to ride, he ordered his litter, and took leave of the lady his wife, and of his son Lewis. Several of his council, on account of the great heat and closeness of the weather, looked on this journey as a wrong measure, whilst others who heard of it thought it a great proof of his courage. He was accompanied from Hainault by the lord de Sanzest, the lord de Hanzelles, sir Gerard de Warrieres, sir Thomas de Distre, the lord de Doustrenent, John de Ghisnelle, who was created a knight on the road, and several more. He passed through Cambray, and came to Arras, and the longer he travelled the better was his health. His vassals from Blois, hearing of his journey, went to meet him. On his arrival at Arras, his people collected together, to the amount of more than four hundred lances, and always followed him. He had his provisions from Hainault, and in this respect was most abundantly supplied. Let us return to the king of France.

CHAPTER CXLI.—THE VAN OF THE FRENCH ARMY TAKES CASSEL AND TRUGHEN.—THE ENGLISH ABANDON BERGUES, AND RETIRE TO BOURBOURG, WHEREIN THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THEM.

The king of France continued his march to St. Omer, where he halted and refreshed himself. The van, with the constable and marshals, advanced to Cassel, which was in the hands of the English. The town was attacked, taken by storm, and all in it put to the sword. Those who could escape retreated to Bergues, where was sir Hugh Calverley with full three thousand English. The bishop of Norwich was not there, having retired to Gravelines, to be the sooner at Calais should there be occasion. The English had burnt and pillaged all the country near to Cassel. The king of France, on his arrival at St. Omer, was lodged at an abbey out of the town, on the road to Bergues, called Ranombergues, where he remained. He came there on a Friday, and on the following day the constable, the marshals, with the lord de Coucy and a great number of good men at arms, took the field and came before the castle of Trughen, wherein were about three hundred men at arms, who had formed a garrison of this place the whole season.

They made a vigorous attack on the castle, and exerted themselves very much: indeed, they were forced to do so if they wished for conquest, as the English within defended themselves so valiantly that it was marvellous to think of their prowess. However, by

continued attacks, and gallant deeds of arms, the castle was taken, and all within put to death, for the constable would not show mercy to any one. In the lower court was found the most beautiful white horse that had been seen for years, which was presented to the constable, who instantly sent it to the king of France. The king willingly accepted the horse, and was so pleased with it that he rode it all Sunday.

The count de Blois, at this period, arrived at the army with his company. He was appointed to the rear division, as he had been last year at the battle of Rosebecque, in company with the count d'Eu, the count de Harcourt, the lord de Châtillon and the lord de la Fere. Men at arms were constantly coming in from all parts. It was a fine dry summer, otherwise it would have been bad for the horses near the sea-shore and impossible for them to have advanced into the country. All the English except the bishop, who, quite thunderstruck, was gone to Gravelines, had retired into the town of Bergues, which was only inclosed by a palisade and ditches: he sorely repented having undertaken this expedition, for he saw that all he had done would now be turned with shame against him, and was still more sorry for the words he had uttered which had been repeated through France. He had boasted during the time he was besieging Ypres, that he would there wait for the king of France and his army, and offer them combat. He now felt how suddenly he had been forced to raise the siege and fly, for his army could not resist that of the king.

The English at Calais found great fault with him, saying he had very ill employed the pope's money. In truth, the duke of Lancaster, who had been prevented by this expedition of the bishop from carrying his own into execution, did not wish it would turn out otherwise. The principal barons of England were of the same sentiment; for when sir William Windsor, their marshal, sent to tell them, whilst before Ypres, that if they wished for reinforcements, they should have very numerous ones, the bishop answered, as did sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon*, that they had strength enough, and more than they wished, to combat the king of France and the army he could bring against them. But sir Hugh Calverley, who had seen more service than any of the others, had always held a different language, and said during the siege of Ypres, when he heard of the offer from the barons in England,—"Gentlemen, you seem to have great confidence in your strength: why should we refuse the assistance of our countrymen, when they offer to come to us and the country consents to it? A day may come, perhaps, when we shall repent of our refusal." But these words were not attended to, as they said they had men sufficient. Things, therefore, continued as they were, and in the end they lost more than they gained by it.

Sir Hugh Calverley, on his arrival at Bergues, quartered himself and his men in the different hotels and houses of the town: they were in the whole, including archers, more than four thousand men. Sir Hugh said,—"I am determined to keep this town; it is of good strength, and we are enough to defend it. I expect we shall have, in five or six days, reinforcements from England; for they will learn our situation, and also the force of our enemies." All replied, "God assist us!" Upon this he made very prudent regulations: on dividing his men under pennons and into companies, to mount the walls and guard the gates, he found he had numbers sufficient. He ordered all the ladies and women, children and lower classes of inhabitants, to retire into a church, whence they were not to stir.

The king of France was at the abbey of Ranombergues, and learnt that the English had retreated to Bergues. A council was held on the occasion, when it was ordered that the van, with the constable and marshals, should advance beyond the town and encamp on one of its sides; and the king of France, with the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, would follow with the main army; that the count de Blois and the count d'Eu, with the rear division, should lodge themselves on the other side of the town, and thus surround the English. This plan was executed; and the king set out from Ranombergues, attended by his whole army. It was a beautiful sight to behold these banners, pennons and helmets glittering in the sun, and such numbers of men at arms that the eye could not compass them: they seemed like a moving forest, so upright did they hold their lances. Thus they marched in four divisions towards Bergues, to inclose the English in that town.

About eight o'clock in the morning, an English herald entered the town, who, by the

* "Sir W. Helmon." Elmham, according to Carte.

courtesy of the lords of France, had passed through their army: he waited on sir Hugh Calverley in his hotel, and spoke so loud that every one heard him. "Herald, whence dost thou come?" "My lord," replied the herald, "I come from the French army, where I have seen the finest men at arms, and in such vast numbers that there is not at this day another king who can show the like." "And these fine men at arms which thou art speaking of," said sir Hugh, "what number are they?" "By my faith, my lord, they are full twenty-six thousand men at arms: handsomer nor better armed were never seen." "Ha, ha!" replied sir Hugh, who was much provoked at the latter part of his speech, "thou art a fine fellow to come and mock us with this pompous tale. I know well thou hast lied; for many a time have I seen the armies of France, but they never amounted to twenty-six thousand; no, not even to six thousand men at arms."

As he said this, the watch of the town, who was at his post, sounded his trumpet, for the van of the enemy was about passing near the walls. Sir Hugh then, addressing the knights and squires present, said; "Come, come: let us go and see these twenty-six thousand men at arms march by, for our watch blows his horn." They went on the walls of the place, and, leaning on them, observed the march of the van, which might have consisted of about fifteen hundred lances, with the constable, the marshals, the master of the cross-bows and the lord de Coucy. Next came the duke of Brittany, the earl of Flanders and the count de St. Pol, who had under their command about fifteen hundred lances more. Sir Hugh Calverley, who thought he had seen the whole army, said,—"Now see if I did not say truth: where are these twenty-six thousand men? Why, if they be three thousand men at arms, they are ten thousand. Let us go to our dinner, for I do not yet see such a force as should oblige us to surrender the town. This herald would frighten us well, if we were to believe him."

The herald was much ashamed, but he said,—"My lord, you have as yet only seen the van-guard: the king and his uncles are behind with the main army, and there is besides a rear division, which consists of more than two thousand lances. You will see the whole in four hours, if you remain here." Sir Hugh paid not any attention to him, but returned to his house, saying he had seen every thing, and seated himself at table. He had scarcely done so, than the watch again blew his horn, and so loud as if he would burst it. Sir Hugh rose from table, saying he would see what was the cause of this, and mounted the battlements. At this moment, the king of France marched by, attended by his uncles, the duke Frederick, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Savoy, the dauphin of Auvergne, the count de la Marche and their troops: in this battalion were full sixteen thousand lances. Sir Hugh felt himself much disappointed, and said to the herald, who was by his side, "I have been in the wrong to blame you: come, come: let us mount our horses and save ourselves, for it will do us no good to remain here. I no longer know the state of France: I have never seen such numbers collected together by three-fourths as I now see and have seen in the van: besides, the rear division is still to come." Upon this, sir Hugh Calverley left the walls and returned to his house. All the horses being ready saddled and loaded, they mounted, and, having ordered the gates to be opened which lead to Bourbourg, they set off without any noise, carrying with them all their pillage. Had the French suspected this, they could easily have stopped them; but they were ignorant of it for a long time, so that they were nearly arrived at Bourbourg before they heard of it.

Sir Hugh Calverley halted in the plain to wait for his rear and baggage. He was very melancholy, and said to sir Thomas Trivet and others who had come to meet him; "By my faith, gentlemen, we have this time made a most shameful expedition: never was so pitiful or wretched a one made from England. You would have your wills, and placed your confidence in this bishop of Norwich, who wanted to fly before he had wings: now see the honourable end you have brought it to. There is Bourbourg! if you choose it, retire thither; but for my part I shall march to Gravelines and Calais, because I find we are not of sufficient strength to cope with the king of France." The English knights, conscious they had been to blame in several things, replied; "God help us! we shall return to Bourbourg and wait the event, such as God may please to ordain." Sir Hugh on this left them; and they threw themselves into Bourbourg.

The king of France heard that the English had marched from Bergues and retreated to Bourbourg, leaving Bergues quite empty; the gates of which were opened to him, when the king entered with all who wished it. The first who did so found enough to pillage, for the English had not been able to carry away every thing. The women were saved and sent to St. Omer, but almost all the men were put to death and the town set on fire. The king marched on to lodge at a village, on account of the greatness of the fire. This happened on a Friday; and the lords encamped themselves separately in the fields as well as they could. It was fortunate for them that it was dry weather, for it could not be a finer season; had it been cold and rainy, they could not have foraged. Indeed it was wonderful where they found forage for such numbers of horses, as well as provision for so large an army. But on the day on which they came before Bourbourg great quantities of stores arrived, of which the lords of France were duly informed. They resolved to surround the town and attack it. The Bretons were, from avarice, eager to take it, on account of the great booty they expected to find there.

On the Saturday morning it was clear weather, and the army made itself ready to march to Bourbourg. The van-guard, the duke of Brittany, the earl of Flanders, the count de St. Pol, the constable of France, with about three thousand lances, marched on the outside of the walls, and halted opposite to the king's division, which consisted of the finest men at arms that could be seen or imagined. They advanced to a large plain before Bourbourg, where the different lords drew up their men; and it was for a long time their intention to storm the place. Banners and pennons were flying in the wind, and each lord under his own banner. The lords of France made a splendid show, and had not been sparing of any expense in exhibiting appearances suitable to their rank. The lord de Coucy and his state were particularly noticed, for he had led coursers richly caparisoned, and ornamented with housings with the ancient arms of Coucy mixed with those he now bore. He himself was mounted on a beautiful horse, on which he rode from side to side in a most graceful manner, to the delight of those who saw him: all praised him for the agreeable manner with which he addressed every one. The other great lords kept up a state suitable to their dignity. More than four hundred knights were this day created. The heralds mustered the knights who were before Bourbourg with the king, and they amounted to from seven to nine thousand. In the army were upwards of twenty-five thousand men at arms and squires.

The English were at their posts in the town of Bourbourg, and, seeing this immense force of the king of France before them, expected an assault: they were pleased at the thought; but when they found themselves shut up in a town which was only defended by palisadoes, they were not so well satisfied: however, like men of courage, they had posted themselves in companies round the town. The lord Beaumont* (who is an earl in England, and his name Henry) commanded one hundred men at arms and three hundred archers, to guard one part of the town: sir William Elmham, with as many men, guarded another part. Sir John de Châteauneuf, with the Gascons, had another quarter to defend as far as the tower, opposite to the quarters of the constable. The lord Ferrers, an Englishman, was with forty men at arms and as many archers at another part, so that the whole place was well guarded with men at arms and archers. Sir William Farrendon, sir Matthew Redeman, and sir Nicholas Tracton †, with two hundred men and as many archers, were posted in the square before the church. They had appointed a body of men to watch and extinguish any fires that might happen; for the English were much afraid of the town being burnt, as the houses were only covered with thatch.

In this situation were the English. I must now relate the gallant action which Francis Atremen performed this same Friday in the evening, when the king of France, after having taken Bergues, continued his march.

* "Lord Beaumont."—Froissart mistakes: he was a baron, and his name was John: his son's name was Henry.—See Dugdale.

† Q. If not Drayton, or Tresham.

CHAPTER CXLII.—FRANCIS ATREMEN SURPRISES OUDENARDE IN THE NIGHT-TIME.

Francis Atremen, Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre and the other captains, after their return to Ghent from the siege of Ypres, were daily and nightly imagining how they could annoy their enemies. Francis Atremen found out, that the governor of Oudenarde, sir Gilbert de Lieneghen and the men at arms, had left Oudenarde, by orders from the earl of Flanders, and were with the army of the king of France before Bergues and Bourbourg. He also learnt that the town was carelessly guarded, and that the ditches in the meadows on the road to Hamme were dry, as they had emptied them of water to get the fish, so that the walls of the town might be approached on foot, and might be entered with ladders. Such was the intelligence the spies of Francis Atremen had brought to Ghent, who, at their leisure, had examined the town; for the guards held the Ghent men very cheap, and, as it were, had forgotten, or were quite indifferent concerning them.

When Francis Atremen had heard all this from his spies, he went and related it to Peter du Bois, and said; "Peter, such is the situation of Oudenarde: I am resolved to risk the chance of taking it with scaling ladders: there never can be so good an opportunity as the present, for neither the governor nor the men at arms are in it, but with the king of France near St. Omer, and they have not the least fear or suspicions of any one." Peter du Bois instantly assented to the proposal, and said; "Francis, if you succeed in this expedition, no man will ever have behaved better, and every one will praise you for so gallant an action." "I do not know," replied he, "how it may turn out, but my courage does not fail me, and my heart tells me that this night I shall gain Oudenarde."

Francis Atremen then chose four hundred men in whom he had the greatest confidence, and, towards night-fall, set out on his road to Oudenarde. It was in the month of September, when the nights are tolerably long, and such beautiful weather that it was a pleasure to be out in it. About midnight they arrived in the meads of Oudenarde, having ladders with them. As they were traversing the marshes, there was a poor woman gathering grass for her cows, who, hiding herself, heard their conversation, and knew from it that they were Ghent men going to surprise the town, for she saw them carrying ladders. She was at first much frightened, but recovering courage, said to herself, that she would hasten to the town and inform the guard of what she had heard and seen. She made for the town by a short path she was acquainted with, and arrived at the ditches before the Ghent men, when she began to moan and complain, so that one of the night-guard going his rounds heard her, and asked who she was, she said she was a poor woman who had come to tell them that a body of Ghent men were close at hand; and that she had seen them carrying many ladders to surprise Oudenarde; but now she had given this information she must get away, for should they meet her she would be a dead woman. The poor woman departed, and the watch remained perfectly astonished. He determined to keep quiet where he was, to see if this woman had told truth. The Ghent men, without horn or trumpet, were silently advancing to begin their enterprise: they made not any noise except by talking. Francis Atremen sent forward four of his men, ordering them to reconnoitre without making the least noise by coughing or otherwise, and report to him, should they observe anything.

They obeyed their orders, and Francis Atremen remained hid in the marshes with his men, very near this poor woman, who heard and saw them distinctly; but they did not notice her. The four men advancing up to the ditches, neither saw nor heard anything. It was very unlucky; for, if they had but seen a lighted candle, they would have thought there had been a good watch kept. They returned to Francis telling him they had not seen anything, nor heard the least noise. "I believe the watch has gone his rounds," said Francis, "and is now retired to bed: come, let us take this upper road which leads to the gates, and enter the ditches." The good woman heard these words; and what did she do? Why, she instantly returned by the same way as before, and came to the man who was listening on the walls and told him all she had heard, begging of him, for God's sake, to be on his guard and go to the Ghent gate to see if his companions were in a proper state, for

very shortly the Ghent men would be at their post. "I must now return," said the woman, "as I dare not stay longer, but I have told you all I have seen and heard: pay proper attention to it, for I shall not again come to you this night." On saying which, she departed. The man now remained alone, but did not treat the information he had received with indifference. He went to the gate leading to Ghent, where he found the guard playing at dice. "Gentlemen," said he, "have you well fastened your gates and your barriers? for a woman came to me this night, and gave me notice of her having seen a body of Ghent men marching hither." "Yes," replied they: "our gates are fast enough: but may a scurvy night befal this woman, who has thus alarmed you at such an hour. There probably were cows and calves that had got untied, and these she fancied to have been Ghent men coming hither: they have not any such intentions."

While this conversation was passing between the constable of the watch and the guard at the gate, Francis Atremen and his companions were executing their plan: they had got into the ditches, which were dry, as they had fished them this week, and had broken down a little of the palisades near the wall, against which they had placed their ladders and had entered the town. They marched to the market-place without any noise, and continued so until they were all collected, when they met a knight, called sir Florens de Halle, lieutenant-governor, who was there on guard with about thirty men at arms of the town. The Ghent men began to shout "Ghent, Ghent!" and to attack the guard, whom they slew, as well as sir Florens de Halle. Thus was Oudenarde taken. You may suppose that the inhabitants, who were sleeping in their beds, were exceedingly astonished when they heard these shouts and saw the town taken by scalado without having any remedy for it. Their houses were forced open, and those within slain; for they were so suddenly surprised, there was not any help for it. Those who could escape did, leaving their houses in a state of nakedness, and leaping over the walls, saved themselves by the ponds and ditches of the town. None of the rich men could carry any part of their wealth with them, but were happy if they saved their lives. This night great numbers were killed, or drowned in the ponds; and thus ended this expedition.

In the morning, when the Ghent men saw themselves masters of the town, they sent out of it all the women and children in their shifts, or in the meanest dress they had. In this plight those who had escaped got to Mons, Arras, Condé, Valenciennes, or Tournay, in the best manner they could. News was spread everywhere of the capture of Oudenarde. The inhabitants of Ghent were greatly rejoiced at it, and said that Francis Atremen deserved to be highly prized for his valour. Francis Atremen remained governor of Oudenarde, where he gained great riches, with all sorts of stores, which was a fortunate circumstance for the captors, such as corn and wines of all sorts. Everything fell into their hands, and all the wealth which was there from France, Flanders, and Tournay; but whatever belonged to Hainault was saved, nor was any part of that taken but what was duly paid for.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—AYMERIGOT MARCEL, AN ENGLISH CAPTAIN ON THE BORDERS OF AUVERGNE, TAKES BY STRATAGEM THE CASTLE OF MARQUEL. — THE COUNTESS DAUPHINE RANSOMS IT FOR FIVE THOUSAND FRANCS.

In the same week an almost similar adventure happened in Auvergne, where the English held several castles bordering on the territories of the count dauphin, and on those of the bishops of St. Flour and of Clermont. The English garrisons knew the country of Auvergne had been drained of men at arms, for the greater part of them were with the king of France in Flanders: they, in consequence, began to lay plans for surprising some of the strong places of Auvergne. Aymerigot Marcel, governor of Aloise, a handsome castle situated a league distant from St. Flour *, set off from his castle at day-break, attended only by thirty picked men. He marched silently for the lands of the count dauphin, having formed his plan to take by scalado the castle of Marquel (which the count dauphin bears for his arms), and rode through woods and a close country. Aymerigot and his men took up their lodgings early

* "St. Flour,"—a city of Auvergne, situated on a mountain, generality of Riom.



The taking of Oudenarde by Frenchmen.

in a small wood near the castle, where they remained until sun-set, and the garrison had retired into the castle: while the governor, whose name was Girardon Buissel, was at supper, the English, who knew well what they were to do, affixed their ladders and entered the castle at their ease.

Those passing through the court saw them climbing over the walls, and instantly cried out, "Treason, treason!" On Girardon hearing this, he had not any hopes of saving himself but through a private passage which led from his apartment to the great tower, and which served as the dungeon of the castle. Thither he instantly retired, taking with him the keys of the gates, and shut himself in, whilst Aymerigot and his companions were otherwise employed. When they discovered that the governor had escaped into the great tower, which they were unable to take, they said they had done nothing, and repented greatly having thus inclosed themselves; for, the gates being fastened, they could not get out. Aymerigot having mused a little, came to the tower, and, addressing the governor, said, "Girardon, give us the keys of the castle-gate, and I promise you we will leave it without doing any mischief to the castle." "Indeed," replied Girardon, "but you will carry off all my cattle: how can I believe you?" "Give me thy hand," said Aymerigot to him, "and I swear to thee, on my faith, that thou shalt not suffer the smallest loss." Upon this, he, like a fool, came to a small window in the tower, and offered his hand for him to pledge his faith on; but the moment Aymerigot got hold of it he pulled it to him, squeezing it very hard, and called for his dagger, swearing he would stick his hand to the wall unless he gave up all his keys.

When Girardon saw himself thus caught, he was stupified, as indeed he had reason; for Aymerigot would not give up his hand without nailing it to the wall, unless he received the keys. With his other hand, therefore, he gave the keys, for he had them near him. "Now, see," said Aymerigot to his companions, when he had got the keys, "if I have not well cheated the fool: I am equal to many such feats as this." They opened the tower gate, and, being the masters, put out of the castle the governor and all who were in it, without doing them any other harm. News was carried to the countess dauphine, who resided at a strong castle in the good town of Zaides, a league distant, how the English had won Marquel. The lady was much surprised, and because her lord, the dauphin, was not in the country, she immediately sent to all to the knights and squires who were at home, to request they would assist her in recovering possession of her castle. Knights and squires, on hearing this, instantly waited on the lady and laid siege to the castle; but the English were not alarmed and held the place for fifteen days. During this time the lady entered into a treaty, and Aymerigot received five thousand francs in hard money, for which he and his men surrendered it and returned to his garrison.

In another part those of Caluisel, of which Perrot le Brenois was captain, harassed much the countries of Auvergne and Limousin. The English had at that time upwards of sixty strong castles on the borders of Auvergne, Limousin, and Quercy, and they could march from fort to fort, even unto Bordeaux. But the castle which harassed the country most was Ventadour *, one of the strongest castles in the world: the captain of it was a Breton, called Geoffry Tête-noir. This Geoffry was a wicked man, showed mercy to none, and would just as soon put to death a knight or squire as a peasant: he held all men so cheap, and was so much feared by his soldiers, that they dared not anger him. He maintained in this castle full four hundred men, whom he paid regularly every month; and the whole country was under such subjection and awe of him, that none dared to ride over his lands. His castle of Ventadour was more largely supplied with every sort of store than that of any lord. There were warehouses of Brussels and Normandy cloths, of furs, merceries, and other articles, which he sold to his people, deducting the prices from their pay. He had stores of steel, iron, wax, spices, and every necessary, in as great plenty as at Paris. Sometimes he made war on the English as well as on the French, in order to be the more dreaded: and his castle of Ventadour was always provided for a siege of seven years. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders.

* "Ventadour,"—a castle in the diocese of Limoges, near Tulles.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS BOURBOURG TO BE ATTACKED.—IT IS SURRENDERED TO HIM BY CAPITULATION, WHEN THE ENGLISH QUIT FLANDERS.—HE THEN DISBANDS HIS ARMY.

When the king of France came before Bourbourg there were never seen such fine men at arms nor such numbers as he had with him. The lords and their men were all drawn up, and eager for the attack. Those who had reconnoitred the place said, it could not hold out long; but that it would cost dearly in men: and several wondered why the attack was delayed. Some said, that the duke of Brittany and the earl of Flanders, who were on the other side of the town, were treating with the English to surrender without waiting for the assault. On this the Bretons, Burgundians, Normans, Germans, and others, who knew there was much wealth in the place, which, if taken by storm, would probably fall to their share, were much exasperated at the thoughts of a capitulation, and began to skirmish with the infantry at the barriers, without waiting for orders from the constable or marshals of the army: indeed, they were not forbidden to assault it. This skirmish increased so much that the French set fire to the town by means of fire-arrows and cannons, so that such a flame and smoke came from the houses of Bourbourg as might have been seen forty leagues off. The attack then began with shouts; and sir William de Namur, who with his men, was in the front ranks, fought valiantly. Many gallant deeds were done, and the assailants leaped cheerfully into the mud of the ditches above the knees, when they engaged with the English at the palisade and barriers.

The garrison defended themselves handsomely: indeed they had need of their exertions, for they knew not on which side to turn themselves. They were attacked on all parts: and the houses of the town were blazing with fire, which more confounded the English than anything else. This, however, did not throw them off their guard, nor cause them to quit their posts. Sir Matthew Redman and sir Nicholas Drayton, with their men, in the centre of the town, endeavoured to check the progress of the fire; but it was such a dry season, that the smallest spark set the houses in flames. It is certain, that if the attack had begun earlier, or had not the night come on soon, the town must have been taken by storm, but the approach of night put an end to it. Sir William de Namur's division had thirty-six killed and wounded; and the army lost, according to the report of the heralds, upwards of five hundred. On the attack ceasing, the French retired to their quarters, to attend the sick and bury the dead. They said, that on the morrow they would renew the attack, and it should be irresistible. The English, all this Saturday night, were employed in repairing the palisadoes which had been broken, in putting all things in a good state, and in extinguishing the fires in the town. They were in a most perilous situation, being surrounded on all sides, without means of escaping by flight.

On the Sunday morning when the king had heard mass, it was proclaimed through the army, that whoever should bring a faggot to the king's tent should receive a halfpenny, and as many faggots so many halfpence. These faggots were intended to be thrown into the ditches, so that they might resolutely pass over them, and engage with the English, on the Monday morning at the palisadoes. Upon this all the lower ranks, and the servants, began to make faggots and carry them to the king's tent, insomuch that a very large heap of them was made there. Sunday passed without any attack. Some say that on this day, and appearances confirmed it, the duke of Brittany, who was on the opposite side of the town to the king, entered into negotiations with the English, aware of the peril they were in. He advised them to surrender the town, on their lives and fortunes being spared. This they were very willing to do, and they entreated the duke, through love of God, and in honour of his gentility, to undertake the business.

The duke sent information of what he had done to the king, his uncles, the constable of France, the count de St. Pol, and to the council. Having considered how advisable it was to gain all the strong places in Flanders, in whatever manner they were offered to be surrendered, and that to win Bourbourg they must renew the attack, which would cost them, probably, numbers of lives; besides, they should at last only conquer a handful of men, who would defend themselves until they dropped; the king of France and his uncles replied, that,

in God's name, they would willingly agree to a treaty, if the duke of Brittany and the constable of France would undertake it. In this manner Sunday passed, without anything being done. I heard that, in the evening, on a promise of safety, John de Châteauneuf, a Gascon, and Remonnet de St. Marc, came to the tent of the lord Guy de la Tremouille to play and amuse themselves, where they staid all night. On the Monday morning they returned to Bourbourg; and at their departure the lord Guy said to them, "John and Remonnet, ye shall both be my prisoners this evening." They replied, they would prefer being his, than belonging to any other knight.

Intelligence arrived this Sunday of the capture of Oudenarde, which much vexed sir Gilbert de Lieneghien the governor, as it had been lost through his absence; but he was exculpated from all blame by his lord the earl of Flanders, who had sent for him. The count de Blois commanded the king's guard this Sunday, and every one thought the attack would be renewed on Monday: but in the morning it was proclaimed through the army, that the king forbade any attack until further orders. This proclamation made every one quiet; and several lords guessed that the English would escape by means of a treaty, as the attack was forbidden. After dinner, those who were to negotiate came out of the town, such as sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Nicholas Drayton, sir Matthew Redman, and others, to the number of fourteen knights and squires, whom the duke of Brittany, the constable of France, and the count de St. Pol, conducted to the tent of the king. The king was much pleased thereat, as he had scarcely seen any English except sir Peter Courtenay, who had come to Paris to fight with the lord Guy de la Tremouille, but the king and his council had made up the quarrel. Now, as the English had been much renowned for gallantry and deeds of arms, the young king of France wished to see them: and their treaty was much the better for it.

On the Monday this negotiation was carried on in the king's tent, and in his presence. There were also present the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, Brittany, the earl of Flanders, and the constable of France, and no more. The duke of Brittany was very active in this business: and it was settled, that the English should depart from Bourbourg and Gravelines, and carry away with them as much of their wealth as they could. Several of the Bretons, French, Normans, and Burgundians were much vexed at this treaty, for they thought of partaking of the spoils; but the king and his council had ordered it otherwise.

After the treaty had been signed, the English took leave of the king of France, his uncles, the duke of Brittany, and the constable, and went with the count de St. Pol, who carried them to supper at his house, where he entertained them as handsomely as he could in such a situation. After supper he had them conducted to the gates of Bourbourg, for which they testified to him their thanks. The whole of Tuesday they employed in shoeing their horses, and in packing up all their wealth, of which they had much, and in making preparations for their departure. On the Wednesday morning they loaded their baggage-horses and began their march, passing through the army with passports from the king. The Bretons were much exasperated when they saw them so loaded; and they treated very indifferently a few who tarried behind. Thus the English marched to Gravelines, where they halted. On the Thursday morning, when they left it, they set fire to the place, burned it to the ground, and arrived at Calais with all their pillage. They stopped there to refresh themselves, and to wait for a favourable wind to return to England.

The king of France, and all the lords of his army, with their attendants, entered Bourbourg on the Thursday morning, when the Bretons began to plunder it, without excepting even the church of St. John: in which church, a pillager having mounted on an altar, with the intent of forcing out a precious stone that was in the crown of an image made to represent the person of our Lady, the image turned about, and the pillager in his fright fell from the altar and was instantly struck dead. This is a certain truth, for many persons were witnesses of it. Shortly afterwards, another pillager came with a similar intent of robbing the image; but all the bells began a peal without any one touching them, for no one could have rung them, the bell-ropes being drawn up and fastened. On account of these miracles, the church was visited by crowds. The king made a handsome present to it, as did all the lords, so that the amount of their gifts was upwards of three thousand francs.

On Tuesday, the army began to decamp, and the king and constable gave permission to

several of the men at arms to return home. The king thanked those who had come from distant parts, and in a particular manner the duke of Bavaria and the count of Savoy, who had come from such a distance to serve him. Each lord now returned home, and the king went to France; but the duke of Burgundy staid a short time with his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, to regulate his affairs, and resided at St. Omer. The lord de Coucy, with many knights and squires from Ponthieu, Vimeu and Picardy, entered Gravelines when the English had left it, repaired and greatly strengthened it, and made it a garrison as a frontier to Calais.

The countries of Furnes, Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Nieuport were by degrees re-peopled. They had lost everything by this war, but they now began somewhat to recover themselves.

CHAPTER CXLV.—THE BISHOP OF NORWICH AND THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION ARE BADLY RECEIVED ON THEIR RETURN TO ENGLAND.—CERTAIN GREAT PERSONAGES ARE DEPUTED TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE OR TRUCE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF BAVARIA DIES.

You must know that the duke of Lancaster was not very sorry this expedition of the bishop of Norwich had failed, for by it his intended voyage to Spain and Portugal had been frustrated. When these knights returned to England, they were attacked by the common people, who told them they had behaved very badly in their expedition, for, from the prosperity they had been blessed with at the beginning, they ought to have conquered all Flanders. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were more blamed than the rest; but sir Hugh Calverley was not any way found fault with, either by the king's council or the populace, for they well knew, that if they had paid attention to what he had advised, the event would have been more to their honour. They laid to their charge, that they had sold Bourbourg and Gravelines to the king of France, which exasperated the people to a great degree, and they were at one time in danger of their lives. The king ordered these two knights to be confined in the tower of London, and during the time of their imprisonment the country was quieted: on their liberation, they threw themselves on the king's mercy*.

At this time, negotiations were set on foot to conclude a truce between England and France, in which the Ghent men were to be included, to the great displeasure of the earl of Flanders; but he could not help it. When the army decamped from Bourbourg, the duke of Brittany remained with his cousin the earl of Flanders at St. Omer, and was desirous that a long peace or truce should be established between his lawful lord, the king of France, and the king of England. In order to make a beginning to such business, he had mentioned the subject to some of the English knights, on the Monday, when they were in the king's tent before Bourbourg; which knights had promised, on their arrival in England, to propose it to the king, his uncles, and his council. However, to show that this matter was quite agreeable to him, and that he was anxious about it, he sent two of his knights to England under good passports. These knights, the lord de la Houssaye and the lord de Mailly, managed matters so well that the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, the bishop of Hereford, the lord John Holland, brother to the king, the lord Thomas Percy, and others of the king's council, were ordered to Calais, having full powers from the king of England to conclude a peace or truce, according to their pleasure. On the other hand, there came to Boulogne the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Laon, and the chancellor of France, having also full powers from the king of France and his council to conclude either a peace or truce.

When assembled at Calais and Boulogne, they were delayed a short time by the non-arrival of the deputies from Spain; for the French would not enter into any treaty that did not at the same time include the Spaniards. At last, a bishop, a dean, and two knights arrived on the part of the king of Spain. As they were not empowered on either side to grant

* Writs were issued to the sheriffs of London, Somerset, Dorset, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, to levy on the goods of sir W. Elmham, for 3080 golden francs,—sir W. de Farndon, 1400 ditto,—sir Thomas Trivet, 1400 ditto,—sir Henry de Ferrers, 6080 ditto,—Robert Fitzrauf, 300 ditto. They were also to be taken into custody; but no mention is made of the Tower of London. Robert de Foulmer, clerk, treasurer to the bishop of Norwich, was also imprisoned, and 5000 golden francs levied on his goods. Dated 6th March,—pardoned 14th May.—*Rymer*, ann. 1384, ann. 7 Ric. II.

passports, that the negotiators from France might come to Calais, or the English go to Boulogne, it was settled between them, that the conference should be transferred to a village that had a church, half way between these two towns, above Buissem *, called Bolinges †. Thither all the parties went, and the lords, with their council, were together for many days. The duke of Brittany and the earl of Flanders were present, and the great tent of Bruges was pitched, wherein the earl entertained at dinner the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, and the other English lords. Each negotiator kept up a grand state; but, notwithstanding there were many conferences holden, yet they could not agree upon a peace, for the French wanted the English to give up Calais, Guines, and all the fortresses which they possessed in Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle, as far as the river Garonne. But the English would not any way listen to such a proposal; nor would they ever consent to give back such places as Calais, Guines, Cherbourg, or Brest. These conferences lasted three weeks, in which they or their councils discussed these matters daily.

At this period, the gallant duke Winceslaus of Bohemia departed this life, in the town of Luxembourg: he was in his time magnificent, blithe, prudent, amorous and polite ‡; and, when he died, it was said that the prince of the highest birth, of the most noble blood, and most numerously and honourably connected, was gone. God have mercy on his soul! He lies buried in the abbey of Vaucler, near Luxembourg. The lady Jane, his duchess, remained a widow, and never had any inclination to marry again. All who loved the duke were exceedingly concerned at his death.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—DURING THESE CONFERENCES THE GHENT MEN INSULT TOURNAY.—A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND AND THEIR ALLIES.

We will now return to the conferences which were holding between the lords of France and England, half-way between Calais and Boulogne, at the before-mentioned village. Neither side seemed willing to accommodate the other. Some said it was owing solely to the earl of Flanders, at the instigation of the town of Bruges, who would not consent that the Ghent men should be included in the treaty. This the English resented, and of course the treaty was stopped; for they had formed so strong a connection with Ghent, that they would not conclude a peace unless that place were included. They had sworn to observe this during the time they were together at Calais, and this compact frequently interrupted the negotiations.

Since there seemed no probability of a solid peace being made, they proposed a truce, and on this ground the conferences were continued. The earl of Flanders would willingly have had Ghent excluded, and remain in a state of war, but the English absolutely refused to consent, so that a truce was made to comprehend Ghent, and every thing was to remain in its present situation, without any surrender of forts: Oudenarde and Gravelines therefore belonged to Ghent. Notwithstanding the conferences, the Ghent men in garrison at Oudenarde marched to Tournay, burnt the suburbs, and returned back in safety with their pillage. About Christmas the Ghent men went and received the rents of the lord d'Estournay in his own town, which made him very melancholy; and he swore to God, that if he would be pleased to assist him, whatever treaty or agreement should be made between the country of Flanders and these men, he would never pay any attention to it, but would continue the war against them to the utmost of his power, for they had robbed him of his inheritance. He was ignorant how he should live, if his friends in Brabant did not assist him, so completely had they plundered him.

With some difficulty, the lords who had held so many conferences at Bolinges concluded a truce between the kings of France and England and their allies. On the part of France was included all Spain, as well as Scotland. The king of France bound himself to send

* Probably what is now Haut Buisson. † Q. If not Bollinghem, now a village, near Boulogne.

‡ Noble, joli, frisque, sage, *armeret* et amoureux,—noble, handsome, lively, wise, *valiant*, and amorous.—Ed.

notice of this truce to the king and barons of Scotland as speedily as possible; and the bearers of this information were to have passports for their safety, in going to and returning from Scotland through England.

On the part of the English were included all their allies and adherents, wheresoever they might be. Ghent was expressly mentioned in all their deeds, to the great displeasure of the earl of Flanders. This truce was to last until the Michaelmas of the year 1384: and these commissioners were to see that the articles were duly observed, having full powers to enforce them. Public acts were made of each different article for the better observance of them; and the lords present swore they should all be loyally kept, and in no way infringed.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS DIES.—THE CEREMONY OF HIS FUNERAL.

On the conference breaking up, the French lords returned to France, and the English lords to Calais. The duke of Brittany went back to his duchy, and the earl of Flanders to St. Omer. Shortly after, he was taken so ill that he died*. It was ordered that he should be buried in the church of St. Peter in Lille. The earl departed this life on the 20th day of January, in the year 1383, and his body was carried to Los, an abbey near to Lille. The body of the countess his lady, who had died five years before in the county of Rethel, was also brought thither, and from thence to Lille, where they were interred together in the church of St. Peter†.

I will now relate the arrangement of this ceremony, and the manner in which it was conducted, and describe the order of procession at the funeral of the earl and countess of Flanders, whose bodies had been carried to Los, an abbey near Lille. When they were about to enter Lille, a great number of lords from France, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, who had arrived there the eve of the funeral, were to meet the body at the gate of the Invalids, and to carry it through the town to the church of St. Peter. They were to be armed as for war, as well as their squires who supported them.

Sir John Haluin was nearest the body, supported by Enguerrand de Volemie, and Roger de l'Espierre: then the lord de la Marque, supported by John de l'Espierre, and the lord Sausée de Fretin; the lord de Mauvis, supported by Godfrey de Noille, and Henry de la Vacquerie. The names of those appointed to the convoy were, sir Peter de Bailleuf, near the body, supported by Guyot de Lompré, and John Louis lord of Lamberticourt: sir Sohier de Gand advanced before sir Peter de Bailleuf, supported by Hugart de Quinghen, and by Michael de la Quarrie: sir John du Moulin advanced before sir Sohier de Gand, supported by John de Quinghen and Haubequin le mareschal. Next followed the banners of the bier; first, sir Francis de Hasurquerque and sir Goussain le Sauvage in front; sir Lancelot de la Personne before sir Goussain, and sir John de la Helle before sir Lancelot de la Personne. Those who bore the banners of the bier and convoy came next, sir Matthew de Hunieres, and before him sir John de Helles lord des Aveaux, and sir Cierchelart de la Barre before the above named lord des Aveaux; and sir John de Paris before Cierchelart. The names of those barons who assisted to carry the corpse of the earl from the gate of the Invalids, in procession through the town of Lille, to the church of St. Peter: first, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, on the right, and the lord de Guistelles on the left; sir Valeran de Ravenal on the right, the castellan de Disquenieu on the left; the lord d'Estournay on the right, and sir Ansel de Salins on the left.

Those barons who assisted in bearing the corpse of the countess of Flanders from the gate of St. Ladre to the church of St. Peter were, the lord de Sully on the right, and the lord de Châtillon on the left side of the body; sir Guy de Pontalliers, marshal of Burgundy, on the

* Some authorities state that he was stabbed by the duke of Berri, because he insisted on receiving the homage of the latter for the earldom of Boulogne, held by him in right of his wife.—Ed.

† The earl of Flanders left only one legitimate child, Margaret of Flanders, his sole heiress; but he had eleven illegitimate children, the eldest of whom was Louis, before-mentioned, called the Haze, Anglicè *Hare* of Flanders. The origin of this title is uncertain.—Ed.

right, sir Guy de Guistelles on the left; then sir Henry du Coing on the right, and the castellan of Furnes on the left.

I shall now mention the regulations on the day of the obsequies, which were performed in the church of St. Peter, the names of those present as well as of the squires who supported



Funeral of the Earl of Flanders.—Bearing the body into the Church, with an array of Priesthood, &c.

the shields during the whole mass, until the offertory: first, the duke of Burgundy by himself, and the first shield was borne before him, which shield was supported by the lord de Ravenal, by the lord de la Gouneuse, by Labequin de la Coutre, and by John de Pontalliers brother to the marshal of Burgundy.

The second shield was borne before my lord John of Artois, count d'Eu, and the lord Philip de Bar, by Valeran de la Sale and Lesclaus d'Annequin. Next followed the count de la Marche and the lord Philip d'Artois; the shield was borne by Gillon de Labert and Robin de Florigny. Then came sir Robert de Namur, and with him his nephew sir William de Namur: the shield was borne by Chaux Bernard and Girard de Sternaille.

The shields of the convoy: the lord d'Anghien, and with him sir John de Namur; the shield carried by Aillart de Ponthées and Henry de Moucy. Next followed sir Esne de Châtillon, and the lord de Fere; the shield supported by John de Heluin and Edward de Castron; then the lord d'Ancoing and the lord de Guistelles: the shield-bearers were Tristan de Landres and John du Béart; then the lord de Moriennes and the lord de Silly: the shield borne by Fresingue and by Damas de Bucy.

Then came those who were to make offerings of the war-horses of the earl: first my lord de Châtillon and sir Simon de Lalain, bailiff of Hainault. These lords were on foot, and the horse was armed and caparisoned; with the second horse were sir Valeran de Ravenal and the castellan de Dixmude: with the third, sir Hugh de Melun and the lord d'Aucy: the lord de Burnel and the lord de Brumeu were with the fourth horse. Then came those who were to offer the steeds of the convoy: first, sir Henry d'Ancoing and sir Gerard de Guistelles; with the second, the lord de Montigny and the lord de Rasenghien; the lord de la Haurade and the castellan de Furnes were with the third; and the fourth had the lord de Saugmelles and sir Rowland de la Clicque.

Next came those who were to offer the earl's swords of war; my lord admiral of France bore the first, the lord de Rary the second, the marshal of Burgundy the third, the lord de Saint Py the fourth. The names of those who offered the swords of the convoy: sir William de Ponthieu bore the first, sir William de la Trimouille the second, the castellan of Ypres the third, and sir Guy de Hâncourt the fourth. Then came those who offered the war-helmets of the earl; the lord de Mailly bore the first; the second was borne by sir William de Hornes and sir Ansel de Salins: sir John Doppem and the castellan of St. Omer had the third; and sir Guy de Guistelles and le Galois d'Aunoy the fourth.



Placing the body before the Altar.

The helmets of the convoy were borne and offered as follows: the first by sir Josse de Hallain and sir Oliver de Guffy; the second by the lord d'Ysebobecque and the lord de Lalain*; the fourth by sir Tristan du Bois and sir John de Jumont. Then came those who offered the banners of war: the lord de Listrenaille offered the first, sir Leoncel d'Airainnies the second, sir Giles de la Gouneuse the third, and sir John de Luisolom the fourth. The banners of the convoy were next offered: the first by sir Orengois de Rely, the third† by sir John de Disqueniue and the fourth by sir Vilaines de la Clicque.

Those who, after the obsequies were ended, laid the body of the earl of Flanders in the earth were, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, the lord de Guistelle, sir Valeran de Ravenal, the castellan de Dixmude, the lord de Ray and sir Ansel de Salins. Those who interred the body of the countess, consort to the earl, were, sir Guy de la Trimouille, the lord de Châtillon, the séneschal of Burgundy, the lord Gerard de Guistelles, sir Henry d'Antoing and the castellan of Furnes.

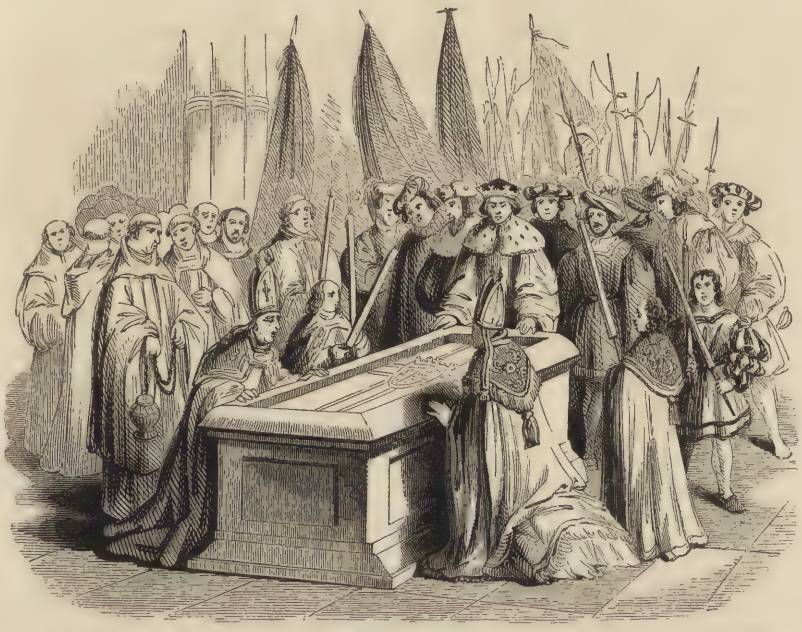
It should be observed, that all who officially had entered the church of St. Peter at Lille, with the corpse in the evening, remained there until the mass of the morrow, as well those knights who were armed as those who bore the banners and the squires who led the horses. There were about four hundred men, clothed in black, appointed to carry the body of the earl and countess of Flanders, through Lille, to the church of St Peter, and each of them

* The third is not mentioned in any of my editions.

† The second is forgotten.

bore a torch in his hand. These four hundred men held their torches on the morrow in the church during mass, and they were all of them officers in the principal towns or of the earl's household.

The archbishop of Rheims celebrated the mass, assisted by the bishops of Paris, Tournay, Cambray and Arras, and likewise by five abbots. There were in the church, during the obsequies, seven hundred candles or thereabouts, and each candle weighed one pound. On the catafalque were five banners: in the centre, the banner of Flanders; on the right, that of Artois; on the left, lower down, that of Boulogne; the fourth of Nevers, and the fifth of Rethel. The catafalque was emblazoned on the right side with the scutcheons of Flanders, and on the left with those of Flanders and Brabant. Down the church were twelve hundred and twenty-six candles, similar to those around the bodies. There was not any lady or damsel present on the part of the duke or duchess of Burgundy except the lady of the governor of Lille.



Placing the body in the Tomb.

A magnificent dinner was provided, and every knight and squire were gratuitously entertained the day and night of the obsequies; and all the black cloth they had worn was given to them. After this ceremony they all returned to their homes.

The duke of Burgundy placed in the garrisons and towns in Flanders, knights and squires, notwithstanding the truce which had been made between France and England, and between their allies, for every one was on his guard. The duke of Burgundy then returned to France, but the lady-duchess remained a considerable time in Artois.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—THE EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND NOTTINGHAM RAISE A BODY OF ENGLISH TO MAKE AN EXCURSION INTO SCOTLAND.—AMBASSADORS ARE SENT FROM FRANCE TO SCOTLAND, TO NOTIFY THE TRUCES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

You have before heard how the lords of France who had attended the conferences in Bolinge had engaged on their departure to notify the truces that had been made between them and the English, to the Scots and to the king of Scotland, so that any misunderstanding should be prevented between the two countries. The council of France, however, to say the truth, did not use all the diligence they should have done; for they were to have sent instant information of this truce, which they did not do. I know not how this happened, except it were owing to the duke of Burgundy being so much engaged by the death of his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, and taken up with the business of his obsequies, as you have heard related. He likewise did not imagine the English would have acted as they did; for, soon after Easter, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the barons of Northumberland, collected a body of about two thousand lances and six thousand archers, with which they marched by Berwick and Roxburgh, and entered Scotland.

They burnt all the lands of the earl of Douglas and of the lord Lindsay, and left nothing unmolested as far as Edinburgh. The barons of Scotland were not apprised of this invasion, and took the affair much to heart, saying they would revenge it to the utmost of their power. They added that the English ought to have been at peace with them according to what had been reported of the truce; but they knew not this for certain, as in fact it had not at that time been notified to them; and they well knew that they had not entered into any treaty with the English. The war was thus begun; and they had suffered in the first instance from it, which greatly displeased them. Intelligence soon spreads abroad; it was known in Flanders, particularly at Sluys, from some merchants who had sailed from Scotland, that the English had invaded that country, and that king Robert and his barons were collecting a numerous force to engage the English. It was also known in France that the English had taken the field, and they said among themselves that a battle must be the consequence.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king's council, hearing this news, said it was foolishly done not to have notified the truce to Scotland, according to their promise. It was then ordered by the king, his uncles and his council, that sir Hemart de Massé, a very prudent knight, should go to Scotland, properly authorised, and with him sir Peter de Flamel; and a serjeant at arms of the king, who was of the Scots nation, and called Janequin Champenois, was likewise ordered to attend them, because he was acquainted with the country and understood the language. While these ambassadors were making their preparations, and the English overrunning Scotland, the news of which was spoken of every where, several men at arms from France who had fixed their residence at Sluys, not knowing where to offer their services, as a truce was now established between France and England, resolved to go to Scotland. They heard the news of this war between Scotland and England; and it was confidently said at Sluys, that an engagement must very soon take place. These men at arms, such as sir Geoffry de Charny, sir John de Plaissy, sir Hugh de Boulon, sir Sainge de Villiers, sir Garnier de Libourne, sir Garnier de Gussangin, sir Odin de Motin, sir Robert de Campignen, James de Montfort, John de Heluin, John de Mellez, Michael de la Barre, William Gobart, heard this information with pleasure: they might amount to about thirty men at arms, knights and squires.

In order to advance their renown, they had determined among themselves, since they knew not where to offer their arms, to hire a vessel and seek for adventures with the Scots. This resolution they followed, and having embarked all their arms and baggage, they themselves went on board and set sail from Sluys as soon as the wind became favourable. They left their horses behind, on account of the dangers of the sea and the length of the voyage: besides, the mariners who conducted them knew they could not land at Edinburgh, Dunbar, nor any of the adjoining ports, on account of the English fleet, with the purveyances which followed the army, being masters of all the havens.

About this time the ambassadors from France arrived in England, and waited on the king and his uncles, who entertained them handsomely. They dissembled a little the first day, because they knew a war was carrying on in Scotland: but, on hearing their people had finished the business, they hastened the messengers from France, sir Hemart de Massé and the others, and, for their greater security, ordered some of the king's heralds to attend them through England, and to have all towns and castles opened to receive them. This being arranged, they set out on their embassy. The French knights who had sailed from Sluys, by coasting the shores of Holland and England, and carefully avoiding the English fleets, arrived safely at a small sea-port in Scotland called Monstres*. The Scots who lived in the town, hearing that the passengers were Frenchmen come thither to seek for deeds of arms, showed them great kindness, and supplied them with every necessary to the utmost of their power. When these knights and squires had refreshed themselves for two days, and had gained sufficient intelligence, they set out mounted on hackneys, and rode to Dundee, from whence, continuing their journey as well as they could, they came to Perth, a handsome town. The river Tay runs by it: there is a good sea-port, from whence one may sail to any part of the world. On their arrival at Perth, they learnt that the English had retired, and that the king and all the nobility of Scotland were assembled in parliament at Edinburgh. Upon this they resolved to send sir Garnier de Cuissangin and Michael de la Barre, to Edinburgh, to have a conference with the king and the nobles, to know if they could be employed, and to testify their good will, at least, in coming from Flanders to Scotland: sir Geoffry de Charny and the rest were to remain at Perth, until they heard how they had been received.

As they had resolved, so was it executed: the ambassadors set out from Perth and came to Edinburgh, where the king was. The earl of Douglas was there, whose name was James, for sir William, the present earl's father, was lately dead: there were present also the earls of Moray and Orkney, the lords de Versi, Sutherland, Lindsay and his six brothers, who were all of them knights. These Scots lords entertained very handsomely the knights of France. Sir Garnier explained to the king and his barons the intentions of his companions, and their reasons for coming to Edinburgh. The ambassadors from France, sir Hemart de Massé, sir Peter de Flamel and Janequin Champenois, arrived with copies of the truces entered into between the kings of France and England; but the Scots having no inclination to accept of them, dissembled, by saying that they had come too late, and that they should not now pay any attention to them, for the English had just made a grievous war on the country. King Robert did every thing he could for their being accepted, saying, that in truth, since they had been notified to them, they had not any pretence for a refusal: this caused a difference between the king and the knights of his country.

The earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the children of Lindsay, and such knights and squires of Scotland who wished for war, held a secret meeting in the church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, where the French knights, sir Garnier and Michael de la Barre, were desired to attend. The Scots barons said they would enter into a treaty with their companions, and they should soon hear good news from them, but it must be kept secret. Upon this they returned to Perth, and related all they had seen and heard.

CHAPTER CXLIX.—THE BARONS AND KNIGHTS OF SCOTLAND, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SOME FRENCH KNIGHTS, UNDERTAKE AN EXPEDITION INTO ENGLAND WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND, WHO SENDS A HERALD TO MAKE HIS EXCUSES TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Sir Geoffry de Charny and the other knights and squires were much pleased at this intelligence. Leaving Perth, they continued their march until they arrived at Edinburgh. They gave not the smallest hint of their expectations, and had not remained there twelve days when the earl of Douglas gave them a secret invitation to come to him, and at the

* "Monstres." Mr. D. M'Pherson, in his excellent Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, translates it Melrose; but I think it must be a mistake, as Froissart calls it, "un petit port." From what follows it must be some small port near to Dundee; and I should suppose it to mean Montrose.

same time sent horses to conduct them to his castle of Dalkeith. On the morrow after their arrival, he carried them to where the barons and knights of Scotland were mustering their men. In three days' time they amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand on horseback, all armed according to the usual manner of the country. When the whole were collected, they said they would make an inroad, and revenge themselves on the English for the mischiefs they had done.

They began their march through the woods and forests of their country, and entered Northumberland, on the lands of the lord Percy, which they pillaged and burnt. They advanced further, and then returned through the estates of the earl of Nottingham and the lord Mowbray, to whose lands they did much damage. They passed by Roxburgh: for they had a very large booty with them, as well in men as in cattle, and returned to their own country without any loss; for the English had been some time disbanded, and could not be reassembled in time to oppose them: they were, therefore, obliged to suffer this insult, as they had before given a similar one to the Scots. The king of Scotland could easily excuse himself for this inroad, as he had been kept entirely ignorant of their assembling and march. Since the country was so inclined, it was not material that he should know any thing about it; but supposing he had known it, and there had been no other treaties than those which existed between the two countries, they would not have acted otherwise for him.

Notwithstanding the barons of Scotland, with the French knights, had thus invaded England, sir Hemart de Massé and sir Peter de Flamel continued to reside at Edinburgh, near king Robert: they allowed the Scots to act as they pleased, that it might not be said, nor the English suppose, that it was through their fault, or those of their country who had come with them, that the treaties had been infringed which had been concluded at Bolinghen by the nobles and council of France, England and Castille. The king of Scotland and the ambassadors sent each a herald to England fully instructed what they were to say. When the heralds arrived in England, they found the whole country in motion, and eager to renew the war, by marching into Scotland. The duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge were, however, anxious to go to Portugal and Castille in the course of the year, with a large body of men at arms and archers, under the power of one or both of them; for they considered themselves as heirs by their ladies to all Castille, and they wished to renew the war between the king of Portugal and the king of Castille. King Fernando was dead, and the Portuguese had crowned his bastard brother don John, a valiant man who wished for a war with the Spaniards, but not without having succours from England. Of this the duke of Lancaster was well informed, but dissembled his knowledge as well as he could, and endeavoured through his friends to prevent any forces being collected to carry on a war with Scotland. It was asserted, that the king of Scotland had refused to authorise the war which the French and Scots knights wished for, and that the late expedition had been made without his knowledge.

The Scots herald on his appearance before the king of England and his uncles, well knowing his duty, threw himself on his knees, and requested that, as herald from the king of Scotland, he might deliver his message. The king and the nobles granted his request: he then declared why he had been particularly sent by the king and the ambassadors from France, and excused them, by saying, that the king of Scotland had graciously received the embassy from France, and having assented to the treaties which the king of France had made, should conform to the truce: that he had ordered, as strongly as lay in him, his vassals to do the same; but that the borderers of Scotland, on the lands of the lord Percy and the earl of Nottingham, such as the earl of Douglas, the earl of Mar his uncle, sir Archibald, sir Rame, sir Peter, sir William and sir Thomas Douglas, all the brothers of Lindsay and Ramsay, with sir William Seton, would not attend the parliament in which this treaty was agreed to, nor would they accept it; for they said there had been such damage done to their lands as was disagreeable to themselves and friends, which they would revenge the very first opportunity. These lords, whom I have just named, collected their forces to invade England, but they never mentioned it to the king, nor to any of his household, for they well knew he would not have consented to it. "They say, however, in Scotland, that England first began hostilities; that, my lords, you knew well a truce had been concluded beyond

sea; and that on your return from Calais, it ought to have been signified to us. They say likewise, that the ambassadors from France, when they passed through this country, were detained from coming to us as they were bound to do, and that you kept them too long here with your entertainments: on which accounts, this misunderstanding has happened between Scotland and England, urged on by those who had long meditated it, and under shadow of dissimulation the greater part of it has been effected. But my most redoubted and sovereign lord, the king of Scotland, and the ambassadors from the king of France, who reside at present with him, exculpate themselves from any knowledge of the last expedition which the barons and knights of Scotland made into England, having been completely ignorant of it. Therefore, to redress all complaints and place things on a proper footing, I am ordered to say, that if you will conform to the treaties concluded beyond sea through the discretion and wisdom of the counsellors of the king of France and your own, and will agree that the truces last the time such truces have been agreed to with my very redoubted and sovereign lord the king of Scotland, he and his council will confirm them, and swear to keep and maintain them, out of respect to the king of France and his council, as well by himself as by his vassal; and upon this subject you will be pleased to give me your answer."

The king of England and his uncles paid attention to the herald while he was speaking, and willingly heard him. The duke of Lancaster told him, that indeed he should have an answer. They ordered him to remain in London, where he had had his audience, to wait the answer from the king of England.

CHAPTER CL.—THE TRUCES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BETWEEN THE FRENCH, THE ENGLISH AND THEIR ALLIES, ARE PROCLAIMED IN SCOTLAND.—THE FRENCH KNIGHTS, ON THEIR RETURN FROM SCOTLAND, ARE IN GREAT DANGER FROM THE ZEALANDERS.

At the end of two days, the council agreed on an answer. Sir Simon Burley, chamberlain to the king, drew it up: and by these means all disputes were settled. To say the truth, the lords of England who had been at the conferences at Bolinghen had not acted very honourably when they had consented to order their men to march to Scotland and burn the country, knowing that a truce would speedily be concluded: and the best excuse they could make was, that it was the French, and not they, who were to signify such truce to the Scots. The herald was told, that in God's name he was welcome, and that it was the intention of the king of England, his uncles and council, to keep and maintain what they had sealed and sworn to, and that they would no ways infringe it, but, on the contrary, would preserve it, for those who had been most active had lost the most. The herald demanded all this to be put in writing, that he might the more readily be believed. They made him rich presents, and in such quantity that he was well contented, and greatly thanked the king and his nobles. Having left London, he continued his journey until he arrived in Scotland, where the ambassadors from France were waiting to know his answer, for they were anxious to learn how the English would conduct themselves. When they saw the answers from the king and his uncles, in the sealed letters which were delivered to them, they were well satisfied and much rejoiced thereat. Thus was the truce continued for this year between England and Scotland, and for greater security it was proclaimed throughout the two kingdoms.

The French ambassadors returned to their own country, through England, without any accident, and related to the king of France and his uncles what they had done, and the opposition they had met with: in short, they recounted every thing you have just heard. When sir Geoffry de Charny and the French knights in his company found that the truce was to be established between Scotland and England, they took their leave of the barons of Scotland, more especially of the earls of Douglas and Moray, who had shown them much kindness. These barons of Scotland, as well as some other knights, said to them, joking,—"Gentlemen, you have seen the condition and manner of our country, but you have not seen its whole strength and power. Know that Scotland is the country of the world most dreaded by the English; for we can, as you have seen, enter England at our pleasure,

without any danger from the sea: if we were in greater numbers, we should do them more mischief than we are now able to do. Be so good therefore, when you are in France, to tell this to your knights and squires, who shall be eager for renown, to excite them to come hither in search of deeds of arms. We can assure you, that if we had a thousand lances from France, with the good people here, we would give such a considerable blow to England that it should be visible for forty years to come. Have the goodness to remember this when you shall be on the other side of the water."

The French knights replied they would not fail to do so, for it was not a thing to be forgotten. Upon this, they embarked on board a vessel they had engaged to carry them to Sluys; but they had contrary winds when at sea, which obliged them to run for a port in Zealand called la Virille*. When they landed there, they thought they were in a place of safety, but were disappointed, for the Normans had lately visited that coast, and had done, as it was said, much mischief to the Zealanders. These knights and squires were in great danger; for, while a different language was held in the town, their vessel was seized, their trunks broken open, and their arms taken away, and they themselves in risk of losing their lives.

At that time there was in the town a squire of the count de Blois, whose name was Jacob, an agreeable man, who assisted them in all things. He talked with the principal people of the town, and with such good effect that a part of their baggage was restored to them. In order to save them from their peril, for he knew the people were much enraged against them, and had intentions of attacking them on the sea, as they had sent notice of their plans to the neighbouring towns, and were in sufficient force to do so, he showed them much courtesy, and, out of affection to them, explained how greatly the country was exasperated against them, but that, out of regard to his lord and the realm of France, he would counteract it. They warmly thanked him for his kind intentions. Well, what did Jacob do? He went to a mariner and hired a vessel to carry him and his company wherever he pleased, saying his intentions were to go to Dordrecht. The mariners having agreed to this proposal, he and his company embarked on board the vessel, and at first made for Dordrecht; but, when Jacob saw it was time to alter their course, he said to the sailors, "Now, mind what I am going to say: I have hired with my money this vessel to carry me whithersoever I shall please: turn, therefore, the helm for Strueghene†, as I want to go thither." The sailors refused to do so, saying they had been only engaged to sail to Dordrecht. "Attend to me," replied Jacob: "do what I have ordered you, if you do not wish to be put to death." The sailors dared not make any reply, for they were not the strongest; so they at once turned the helm and set the sails, and made for the town of Estrimohee‡, where they arrived without fear of danger, for it belonged to the count de Blois. After they had refreshed themselves, they departed and returned through Brabant and Hainault to their own country, thanking Jacob for the kindness he had done them.

When sir Geoffrey de Charny, sir John de Plaissy and the other knights and squires who had been in Scotland, returned to France, they were interrogated as to news from that country They related all they had seen and heard from the barons and knights of Scotland. Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, conversed on the subject with sir Geoffry de Charny, who was surprised, as well as other barons of France, to hear that the French, through Scotland, could gain an easy entrance into England. Sir Hemart de Massé continued the conversation, and added, the Scots could not any way love the English; and he had been directed to say this by order of the Scots council, that the king of France and his uncles might have information of it. The French instantly determined, as soon as the truces should be expired, to send a powerful army to Scotland to lay waste England. This was planned by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the realm at their pleasure, and the constable of France; but the whole was kept very secret.

* "La Virille."—Q. if not la Brille.

† "Strueghene."—Q. Gertruydenbergh.

‡ "Estrimohee."—Q.

CHAPTER CLI.—THE LORD DESTOURNAY ASSEMBLES FORCES TO RETAKE OUDENARDE.—HE CONQUERS IT BY STRATAGEM.

You have before heard how Francis Atremen took by scalado the town of Oudenarde, while the treaties for a truce were negotiating before Bergues and Bourbourg, to the great surprise of Tournay and the adjacent towns. The garrison of Oudenarde, during this time, had overrun the country: and done much mischief to the territories of Tournay: the whole estate of the lord Destournay was under their subjection. They had at the feast of Christmas collected his rents and duty-fowls, from the towns belonging to him, for their own use, which displeased him and his friends exceedingly. He therefore declared, that whatever truce or respite there might be between the kings of France and England with the Flemings, he should not pay any attention to it, but would exert himself in doing them as much damage as he was able, for they had so grievously oppressed him that he was become a poor man.

The lord Destournay turned his whole attention to retake Oudenarde, and succeeded through the friendship of some knights and squires from France, Flanders and Hainault, who assisted him in it. When he sent to these friends, several were ignorant of his intentions. The expedition was undertaken on the 17th day of May 1384; for the lord Destournay learnt by his spies, that Francis Atremen was gone to Ghent, trusting to the truce which had been made with the French: by so doing he committed a fault, and was no longer attentive to guard Oudenarde, as I shall relate. The lord Destournay formed a considerable ambuscade of four hundred knights, squires and good men at arms, whom he had entreated to assist him. These he posted in the wood of Lart, near to the gate of Oudenarde. There were among them sir John du Moulin, sir James de la Trimouille, sir Gilbert and sir John Cacquelan, sir Roland de l'Espierre, sir Blanchart de Calonne, and the lord d'Estripouille, who was created a knight.

I will now relate their stratagem, and how those of Oudenarde were deceived by it. They filled two carts with provision, which they put under the charge of four hardy and determined men dressed as carters, clothed in grey frocks, but armed underneath. These carters drove the carts to Oudenarde, and gave the guards to understand that they had brought provision from Hainault to victual the place. The guards not thinking but all was right, drew up the portcullis, and allowed them to advance on the bridge. The carters knocked out the pins which held the traces of the horses, and flung them into the ditch. Upon this, the guards cried out to them, "Why do not you drive on?" and taking hold of the horses, drove them before them, and thus left the carts standing, for, as I said, they were unharnessed. The guards then found out that they had been deceived and betrayed, and began to strike the carters, who defended themselves ably: for they were well armed under their frocks, and were men of tried courage. Having killed two of the guards, they were instantly reinforced; for the lord Destournay followed them so close with his men, that the guards fled into the town, crying out, "Treason, treason!" but, before the townsmen could be awakened, the men at arms had entered it, and killed all who put themselves on their defence, shouting out as they came to the square, "Victory!" Thus was Oudenarde won. Of the Ghent men, full three hundred were killed or drowned. A large sum was found in the town belonging to Francis Atremen, which I heard amounted to fifteen thousand francs.

News was soon spread abroad, that Oudenarde had been taken during the truce, which angered the Ghenters much, as was natural, for it nearly affected them. They held a meeting on this subject, and resolved to send to the duke of Burgundy to remonstrate with him on the capture of Oudenarde during the truce, and to say, that if it were not delivered back to them they should consider the truce as broken. But the duke excused himself, declaring he had not interfered any way in the business, and that as God might help him, he was entirely ignorant of this expedition of the lord Destournay: he added, that he would willingly write to him, which he did, and order him to give back Oudenarde, for it was neither honourable to him nor agreeable to the duke to capture any towns, castles, or forts during a truce.

The lord Destournay acknowledged the letters from the duke, and in answer said, that the garrison of Oudenarde had always made war on his lands, whether truce or no truce, and had

seized on his inheritance, and that he had never consented to any truce with them; that he had conquered Oudenarde in fair war, and that he would keep possession of it as his own proper inheritance until Flanders and Ghent should be completely re-united, for his other property had been ruined by the war. Things remained in this state, for nothing better could be done.

Francis Atremen was very much blamed for not having better guarded the place, and especially by the lord de Harzelles, insomuch that Francis was wroth with the knight, and high words ensued, adding, whatever he might have done in regard to Oudenarde, he had always acquitted himself loyally towards Ghent. This provoked answers, and the lie was given on both sides. Shortly after, the lord de Harzelles was killed; and some say that Francis Atremen and Peter du Bois were the authors of it. About this time, the Ghent men requested the king of England to send them a valiant man for governor, and one who was connected with the crown by blood. In consequence, the king sent to Ghent one of his knights, a gallant man of sufficient prudence to govern the town: his name was sir John Bourchier *, who remained governor of Ghent upwards of a year and a half.

CHAPTER CLII.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU DIES AT A CASTLE NEAR NAPLES.—HIS WIDOW IS ADVISED TO SOLICIT THE POPE FOR THE POSSESSION OF PROVENCE.

You have before heard how the duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Sicily and Jerusalem, had marched into la Puglia and Calabria, and had conquered the whole country as far as Naples: but the Neapolitans would never turn to his party, and continued the support they had always given to the lord Charles Durazzo. The duke of Anjou remained on this expedition three whole years; you may suppose, therefore, that his expenses were very great, for there is no treasury, however rich, but men at arms will drain it: whoever is desirous of their services must pay them well, if they expect any advantage from them. It must certainly have cost the duke immense sums of money; but those who sunk his treasury the deepest were the earl of Savoy and the Savoyards. That earl, however, and a great many of his knights, died on this expedition, which weakened the duke of Anjou in men. It was on this account that he sent to France to implore the assistance of his brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who did not fail him in his necessities, but replied that they would support him with men and money. These two dukes considered who would be the proper persons to send on this expedition. After having maturely weighed everything, they thought they could not fix better than on the gallant lord de Coucy and the lord d'Anghien, count de Conversano †, whose earldom is situated in la Puglia.

These two lords, having been solicited to undertake the business by the king of France and his uncles, cheerfully complied, for it was highly honourable to them. They instantly began their preparations, and set off as speedily as possible with a handsome company of men at arms: but when they arrived at Avignon, and were busily employed in forwarding their troops and other business, certain intelligence was brought them of the death of the duke of Anjou at a castle near Naples ‡. The lord de Coucy, on hearing this, advanced no further, seeing that the expedition was at an end; but the lord de Conversano continued his march, for he had many things to settle in his own country, in la Puglia and in Conversano. This intelligence was soon known in France to the king and his uncles, who supported the death of the king of Sicily as well as they could.

When madame d'Anjou, who resided at Angers, heard of the death of her lord, you may imagine she was greatly afflicted. The count Guy de Blois her cousin-german, who lived at Blois, on receiving the news, set out with all his equipage to visit her at Angers, where he remained a considerable time comforting and advising her to the best of his abilities. From

* "Sir John Bourchier." Lord Bourchier of Essex. See *Dugdale*.

† Conversano is a town in the Neapolitan dominions, near Bari: its bishopric is suffragan to Bari.

‡ He died at Bisélia, near Bari, the 20th or 21st September, 1384.—*Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

The authors of the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, by mistake, have placed his death at Paris, but with the same date.

thence the queen came to France (for she styled herself queen of Naples, Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and Jerusalem) to wait on the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to have their advice and comfort: she was accompanied by her two sons, Louis and Charles. The lady was advised by the nobles of her blood to go to Avignon, and entreat of the pope that she might have possession of Provence, which is a territory dependent on Sicily. The queen approved the advice, and made preparations for her journey, carrying with her her eldest son Louis, who was everywhere on the road called king, from being heir to the king his father; but these affairs were not so speedily terminated as I have pointed them out.

CHAPTER CLIII.—PREPARATIONS ARE MADE IN FRANCE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH ENGLAND.—THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SUCCEEDS IN FORMING A MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE CHILDREN OF BURGUNDY AND THOSE OF HAINAULT.

During the winter, the French were busily employed in preparations to send forces to Scotland; but the truces were prolonged between the French and English, and their allies, from Michaelmas to the ensuing first day of May. They, however, continued their preparations by sea and land, for it was the intention of the council of France to carry on the war with vigour in the course of the next summer; and the admiral of France was to sail for Scotland with two thousand spears, knights and squires. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon and the count de la Marche were ordered into Languedoc, Limousin, and Auvergne, with two thousand men, to recover certain castles which the English and pillagers held, and which did much mischief to the country. Great numbers of battle-axes were ordered to be made in Picardy and Hainault for the expedition into Scotland; and in Artois, Lille, Douay, and Tournay, much biscuit was made, and various other stores got ready along the coast from Harfleur to Sluys, which was the principal harbour whence this armament was intended to be embarked.

The duchess of Brabant, widow of Winceslaus duke of Bohemia, by whose death she had lost a companion and much comfort, which had caused her great grief, resided with her attendants at Brussels. She was much hurt at the troubles which existed in Flanders, and, if she had possessed the means, would most cheerfully have put an end to them; for she was daily hearing how the Ghent men were strengthening themselves by an alliance with the English, who promised them great support. She also saw that her nephew and niece of Burgundy, who were in truth her heirs, and among the greatest princes of the world, as well by their own heritages, as by what they had in reversions, were very uneasy at these disturbances in Ghent. She knew that duke Albert, regent of Hainault, had two fine sons and two handsome daughters, neither of whom were yet married; but she had heard that the duke of Lancaster was very desirous to accomplish the marriage of his daughter Philippa, who had been borne to him by the lady Blanche his first wife, with the eldest son of duke Albert, who, by his own right, was heir to the countries of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand.

This lady foresaw, that if such an alliance should take place between Hainault and England, the French would be much hurt, and the fair country of Hainault harassed either secretly or openly, by all those who should pass and repass from France to Flanders. In addition to this, the Hollanders and Zealanders who bordered on the sea assisted the Ghent men in various ways, of which the duke of Burgundy and his council had been informed. He did not love duke Albert the better for this; not, however, that he was any way to be blamed for it; for with regard to the Hollanders and Zealanders, as the war in Flanders no way concerned them, he could not, neither ought he to have, forbidden the free course of commerce.

The good lady having considered all these things, and the dangerous consequences which might ensue, resolved to bring the duke of Burgundy and duke Albert to a good understanding, and offered herself as guarantee of all the treaties. She was determined also to prevail on the duke of Burgundy to receive the men of Ghent into his mercy. Clerks and messengers were immediately set to work: and she managed so well that a conference was fixed to meet at Cambray on the part of the two dukes. They both assented to it, as well as their council, though neither of them knew the subjects this conference was to treat of.

To this conference, which they had under their seals appointed to be holden at Cambray on the twelfth day in the ensuing January, the two dukes came, attended by their councils. The duchess of Brabant came thither also, who was the mover in the business. She first addressed the duke of Burgundy, saying, " He was the greatest prince on earth, and had very fine children: she, however, would be more happy if they were placed in a different situation from what they actually occupied, which would increase their worth; and, for the present, she could neither see nor point out any better place than Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, which would unite the whole country together, and give greater fear and alarm to its enemies; for, ' fair nephew,' added she to the duke of Burgundy, ' I know for a truth, that the duke of Lancaster, who is so powerful in England, is extremely anxious for his daughter to espouse my nephew, William of Hainault, and I certainly wish such good fortune may fall to your children rather than to the English.'" " My good aunt," replied the duke of Burgundy, " I return you my thanks, and, as a proof that I believe you, I shall allow you to unite my daughter Margaret with the youth of Hainault." Upon such good success, she instantly began to treat of this marriage. Duke Albert, to whom the proposition was quite new, replied very courteously, but said, he had not with him those whom he wished to consult on the subject. " And what advice do you want?" answered the duchess, " when it is a question to act properly, and keep your country in peace." " My wife," replied the duke; " for without her I shall do nothing: she is as much interested in my children as I am; and, besides, fair aunt, it will be proper that the nobility of the country be apprised of it." The duchess answered, " Well, God's will be done." She thought the best she could now do was to let them separate in good humour with each other, and desire they would permit her to call them again together in the same city during Lent, and that they would bring the duchess of Burgundy and madame de Hainault, with their councils, along with them.

The lady acted in all this so secretly, that very few persons knew anything of the matter, nor why this conference had been holden. In this state the two dukes left Cambray: the duke of Burgundy went to the city of Arras, where his lady was, and duke Albert returned to his duchess in Holland. The duchess of Brabant returned to her own country, and continually wrote to each party, but secretly. She had great difficulty to bring them and their ladies to Cambray, and laboured hard at it; for she was very eager this marriage should take place, to confirm the union and friendship of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. The duchess managed so well that the different parties and their councils met her and her council at Cambray, where was a grand display of pomp, for each was anxious to do honour to the other. The duchess Margaret of Burgundy and the duchess Margaret of Hainault were present, and the last very active in this business. She said, that if they wished to marry their son with Margaret of Burgundy, John of Burguudy must marry her daughter, by which the ties of affection would be the more strengthened.

It was much against the inclination of the duke of Burgundy to marry his children at once and to the same family. He thought it sufficient for his daughter to marry the heir of Hainault, and excused himself for not agreeing to the marriage of his son John, on account of his youth. The duke's intention was to marry him to Catharine of France, sister to his nephew the king of France. These treaties and conferences were, therefore, on the point of being broken; for the duchess of Bavaria declared, a marriage should never take place with her children, unless they were both married at the same time; and this resolution she kept, notwithstanding all they could say to make her alter it. The duchess of Brabant took great pains in going from one to the other, and in preventing the treaties from being broken off: she at last succeeded, by reasoning properly with the duke and duchess of Burgundy, to bring the affair again under consideration: and it was then agreed that the marriages should take place between the children of the duke of Burgundy and those of duke Albert.

This business had been delayed four or five days by an obstacle which had arisen from the council of the duke of Burgundy, who stated that duke Albert had only a reversionary interest in Hainault, for his elder brother William was then alive, though dangerously ill at Quesnoy, and he might survive his brother, and if that should happen, it was clear his other brothers would have the government of Hainault, and the children of duke Albert be driven from thence. This obstacle delayed the marriages a short time, which was employed in

proving that duke Albert had no other brother but William, and that the country of Hainault must descend to him and to his children. When all this was cleared up, there was not any longer delay, but the marriages were concluded and sworn to for William of Hainault to have for his wife Margaret of Burgundy, and John of Burgundy to espouse Margaret of Hainault. They were all to return to Cambray the octave of Easter, in the year of grace 1385, to perform the ceremonies of the marriages.

CHAPTER CLIV.—THE KING AND THE NOBLES OF FRANCE AND HAINAULT LAY IN GREAT PROVISION OF STORES AT CAMBRAY.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF HAINAULT.—THE MARRIAGES OF THE CHILDREN OF BURGUNDY AND HAINAULT ARE CONCLUDED.

THINGS were in this state when they all left Cambray. The duke of Burgundy returned to the king in France; the duchess to Arras. Duke Albert and his duchess went to Quesnoy in Hainault; and the duchess of Brabant to her own country. Carpenters and masons, and all sorts of workmen, were instantly sent to prepare hôtels in the city of Cambray, and purveyors were also ordered thither to lay in vast quantities of provision; it was proclaimed, that every store was to be delivered into the city the week before the octave of Easter. When the king of France heard of this, he said that he would be present at the marriages of his cousins; and commanded his maîtres-d'hôtel to lay in there such provisions as was befitting him. The palace of the bishop had been retained for the duke of Burgundy, and was already preparing for him; but it was necessary to give it up to the king, and workmen were set to embellish it in a royal manner, as it appears at this day: for never was there a feast in the memory of man, nor for these last two hundred years, that had such grand preparations made for it. The nobility, in order to appear with the most pomp and magnificence, were no more sparing of their money than if it had rained gold on them: and each endeavoured to outshine the other.

Intelligence of these marriages was carried to England, and how the dukes of Burgundy and Albert intended uniting their children together. The duke of Lancaster (who had nourished the hope that William of Hainault would choose his daughter, at least he had so been given to understand) was pensive and melancholy at this news; in order to be better assured of it, he determined to send, as ambassadors, knights and squires of his household to Ghent, with instructions to talk with duke Albert on the subject. When they arrived at Ghent, they found there the lord Bourchier, Francis Atremen and Peter du Bois, who entertained them handsomely for two or three days. They then departed and went to Mons in Hainault; from thence to Quesnoy where duke Albert resided, and waited on him. The duke, the duchess, and their children, in honour of the duke of Lancaster received the English very politely, and the duke entertained them well, as did the lord de Gouvingen.

The master of the wool-staple of all England, being one of the envoys, delivered his credential letters, and spoke first. He strongly recommended the duke of Lancaster to his cousin duke Albert, and then began on the subjects with which he had been charged. Among other topics, as I have been informed, he asked the duke if it were his intention to persevere in the proposed union of his children with those of the duke of Burgundy. This speech moved a little the duke's choler, who replied, "Yes, sir, by my faith do I: why do you ask?" "My lord," said he, "I mention it because my lord of Lancaster has hitherto had hopes that the lady Philippa, his daughter, would have been the wife of my lord William your son." Upon this, duke Albert said,—"My friends, tell my cousin, that when he marries any of his children, I shall never interfere: he therefore need not trouble himself about mine, nor how I marry them, nor with whom, nor when." This was the only answer the English had from duke Albert. The master of the staple and his companions took leave of the duke after dinner and went to Valenciennes, where they lay that night: on the morrow they returned to Ghent. More of them I know not, but I believe they returned to England.

Easter was the time fixed for the king of France, the dukes of Burgundy, of Bourbon, the duke Albert with the duchess his lady, the duchesses of Burgundy and of Brabant, sir

William and sir John de Namur, to be at Courtray. The king resided in the bishop's palace, and each lord and lady at their own hôtels. You may easily imagine, that where the king of France was and so many of his nobles, there would also be the flower of his knighthood. The king arrived at Cambray on the Monday by dinner-time. All the nobles and ladies, having preceded him, went to meet him out of his city; into which he was escorted, and conducted to the palace, to the sound of numerous trumpets and minstrels. On Monday, the contracts of marriage were signed in the presence of the king and his nobles. The lord William was to possess from thenceforward the county of Ostrevant*, and the lady Margaret his wife was to have the whole territory and castlewick of Arque† in Brabant: the duke of Burgundy gave besides to his daughter one hundred thousand francs. Thus were the portions settled.

On Tuesday, at the hour of high mass, they were married, in the cathedral church of our Lady in Cambray, with great solemnity, by the bishop of Cambray, whose name was John, and a native of Brussels. There was a very magnificent dinner at the palace, to which were invited many of the great nobles. The king of France had the bridegrooms with their brides seated at his table. Several of the principal lords served the king and his guests, mounted on large war-horses. The constable and the admiral of France were seated at table. Sir Guy de la Trimouille and sir William de Namur served, with many other great barons of France. There had not been, for five hundred years, so magnificent or renowned a solemnity seen in Cambray as was that of which I am now speaking.

After this noble and grand dinner, great numbers of lords and knights armed and made themselves ready for the tournament. It was held in the market-place, and there were forty knights. The king of France tilted with a knight from Hainault called sir Nicholas d'Espinoit. This tournament was very handsome: the tilts were well performed and lasted a considerable time: a young knight, called sir John Destrenne, from near Beaumont in Hainault, won the prize. This knight tilted to the satisfaction of the lords and ladies, and received as the prize a clasp of precious stones, which the duchess of Burgundy took from her breast; and the admiral of France and sir Guy de la Trimouille presented it to him. These feasts and amusements continued until Friday, when they took leave of the king after dinner; and the king, the lords and the ladies, departed from Courtray. The duchess of Burgundy carried with her, to Arras, Margaret of Hainault, her daughter-in-law: and madame de Hainault carried madame Margaret of Burgundy to Quesnoy. Thus ended all this business.

CHAPTER CLV.—THE DUKE OF BERRY BETROTHES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE SON OF THE COUNT DE BLOIS.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON AND THE COUNT DE LA MARCHE ISSUE THEIR SUMMONS TO INVADE LIMOUSIN.

About this time there was a treaty of marriage between Louis de Blois, son of the count Guy de Blois, and the lady Mary de Berry, daughter of the duke of Berry. The count de Blois carried his countess and his son Louis, well attended by lords and ladies, to Bourges in Berry, where the duke and duchess were waiting for them, who received them and their company most magnificently. Every thing was there settled respecting this marriage, and the archbishop of Bourges betrothed them in the presence of a large company of nobility of both sexes. The marriage was not solemnised at that time, because both were very young; but all the contracts and engagements were signed, as to its future completion, in the presence of several great barons and knights. There were, at this betrothing, great feasts of dinners, suppers, dancings and carollings; after which, the count and countess returned with their son to Blois. The young lady remained with the duchess her mother, at a handsome castle in Berry called Mehun sur Yevre‡.

At this time, the duke of Berry set out for Auvergne, Languedoc and Avignon, to visit pope Clement. It had been before determined that the duke de Bourbon and the count de

* Ostrevant, or island of St. Amand. This was formerly a part of the country of Valenciennes. It lies on the borders of Flanders and Artois.—*Baudrand.*

† Q. if not Ath.

‡ "Mehun sur Yevre,"—four leagues from Bourges.

la Marche should enter Limousin, with two thousand men at arms, to free the country from the English thieves, who were pillaging it; for there were still some castles in Poitou and Saintonge whose garrisons did much mischief; and, complaints of them having been made, the duke of Berry was desirous of providing a remedy for them. He had therefore entreated his cousin the duke of Bourbon to undertake it, and not to quit Limousin or Saintonge until he should have conquered the castle of Vertueil: for it was from that garrison the country had suffered the most. The duke de Bourbon accepted the command, and issued his summons for the assembling of his vassals at Moulins in the Bourbonnois, the first day of June. From thence they marched towards Limoges, and were met by several bodies of men at arms. The duke de Bourbon had at that time for his squire an amiable gentleman called John Bonne Lance*, master and captain of his men at arms. Of all the flower of his knights and squires, certainly this squire was well worthy of such a command.

The count de la Marche was to accompany the duke de Bourbon in this expedition, and made his preparations in the town of Tours.

CHAPTER CLVI.—SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, SAILS TO SCOTLAND, TO CARRY ON THE WAR AGAINST THE ENGLISH AT THE EXPIRATION OF THE TRUCE.

At this period, those men at arms who had been fixed on to accompany sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, to Scotland, arrived at Sluys in Flanders. He was to have under his command a thousand lances, knights and squires, and, I believe, they were all there: for such was the ardour of those who wished to advance themselves, that several went with the admiral though they had not been summoned.

The fleet was ready prepared at Sluys, and the stores in great abundance and good. They embarked arms sufficient for twelve hundred men from head to foot. These they had brought from the castle of Beauté, near Paris, and they were the arms of the Parisians, which had been ordered to be deposited there. With the admiral were plenty of excellent men at arms, of the flower of knighthood. It was the intention of the admiral to give these arms to the knights and squires of Scotland, the better to succeed in their enterprise; for sir Geoffry de Charny and the others had told the king, on their return home last year, that the Scots were very poorly armed.

I will now name some of those lords of France who went into Scotland. First, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, the count de Grand-pré, the lords de Verdenay, de Sainte Croix, the lord de Montbury, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir William de Vienne, sir James de Vienne, lord d'Espaigny, sir Girard de Bourbonne, the lord de Hetz, sir Florimont de Quissy, the lord de Marnel, sir Valeran de Rayneval, the lord de Beausang, the lord de Wainbrain, the lord de Rinolle, baron d'Yury, the lord de Coucy, sir Perceval d'Ameual, the lord de Ferrieres, the lord de Fontaines, sir Bracquet de Braquemont, the lord de Grandcourt, the lord de Landon, a Breton, sir Guy la Personne, sir William de Courroux, sir John de Hangiers, sir Bery de Vinselin, cousin to the grand master of Prussia, and many other good knights whom I cannot name: there were a thousand lances, knights and squires, without reckoning the cross-bows and sturdy varlets.

They had favourable winds and a good voyage; for the weather was very fine, as it usually is in the month of May. The truces had expired between the French and English, the Ghent men and the Flemings, and in all other parts. War was sought for, as it seemed, in every quarter; and those knights and squires who went to Scotland gallantly wished for it, as they said, with the assistance of the Scots they would make a good campaign, and carry on a successful war against England. However, the English, who had received intelligence of this expedition, very much suspected whither it was bound.

* "Bonne Lance." I suspect this is a *nom de guerre*, for no mention is made of him under this name in the life of the duke.

CHAPTER CLVII.—THE PILLAGERS OF GHENT, SURNAMED PORKERS, COMMIT MUCH MISCHIEF. —FRANCIS ATREMEN DEFEATS SOME FRENCH TROOPS NEAR ARDEMBOURG.

The lord Bourchier, who had the government of Ghent by order of the king of England and the captains of the commonalty, Francis Atremen, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, had made every preparation, knowing the war was to be renewed. They had been very busily employed during the truce, in strengthening and victualling the town of Ghent, as well as the castle of Gauvre and all other places under their obedience.

At this period, there were a set of vagabonds who had taken refuge in the wood of la Respaille, and had fortified themselves in a house so strongly that it could not be taken. They had been driven out of Alost, Grammont and other towns in Flanders: having wasted their all, and not knowing how to live otherwise than by plunder, they robbed and pillaged any one who fell in their way. The subject of universal conversation was these Porkers of la Respaille, which wood is situated between Regnais, Grammont, Anghien, and Lysines. They did much mischief in the castlewick of Ath, and on the lands of Floberge, Lysines and Anghien; and these pillagers were supported by Ghent. Under their countenance they committed many murders and robberies: they entered Hainault, from whence they dragged people out of their beds, and carried them to their fort, when they ransomed them, and thus made war on all mankind. The lord de Baudrius and de la Morte, castellan of Ath, watched them several times, but he could never catch them, for they were too well acquainted with the means of escaping. They were so much dreaded on the borders of Hainault and Brabant that none dared to travel those roads, nor through that part of the country.

The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the renewal of the war, had reinforced the garrisons of his towns and castles in Flanders with men and stores. The lord de Guistelles was commander in Bruges, and sir John de Jumont in Courtray: for sir William de Namur was at that time lord of Sluys: sir Roger de Guistelle governed Damme, and sir Peter de la Sieple Ypres. Men at arms were stationed in all the frontier towns of Flanders by order of the duke of Burgundy. Sir Guy de Pontarlier, marshal of Burgundy, remained in garrison in the town of Ardembourg, with sir Rafflart de Flandres, sir John de Jumont, sir Henry du Coing, the lord de Montigny in Ostrevant, the lord de Longueval, sir John de Bernecte, sir Peter de Bailleul, Belle-Fourriere, Phelippot Ganey, Raoullin de la Folie, and several more, to the amount of two hundred combatants. They determined among themselves to make an excursion into the Quatre Mestiers and ravage that country, for much provision was carried from thence into Ghent. They therefore, having fixed on a day for this enterprise, armed themselves and marched thither.

The same day that the French had fixed on for their expedition, about two thousand determined men had sallied out of Ghent under the command of Francis Atremen: accidentally they found themselves in a village in the midst of the French. When they had reconnoitred each other, they saw a battle was unavoidable. The French instantly dismounted, and, grasping their lances, advanced on the enemy: the Ghent men, who were as numerous, did the same. The combat began sharply; but the Ghent men advanced into a pass which was much to their loss, where the battle was more severe: many gallant deeds were done, and many beat down. Sir Rafflart de Flandres in that place showed the greatest courage; and the knights and squires engaged the Ghent men with determined valour, as indeed it behoved them to do, for quarter was given to none. At last the Ghent men, by having superior numbers, gained the field, and the French were obliged to mount their horses or they would have been slain, for their opponents much outnumbered them. In this encounter were killed sir John de Bernecte, sir Peter de Bailleul, Belle-Fourriere, Phelippot de Ganey, Raoullin de la Folie, and many others: the more the pity. The rest were obliged to fly and re-enter Ardembourg, or they must inevitably have been killed.

After this event, the viscount de Meaux was sent with all his men at arms to garrison Ardembourg, which he repaired and strengthened. He had with him several knights and squires who were good determined soldiers. At this time sir John de Jumont was great bailiff of Flanders, and had been so for the two preceding years. He was much feared

through all that country for his great prowess, and the deeds he had performed. Whenever he got hold of any Ghent men he put them to death, or had their eyes thrust out, or their hands, ears or feet cut off, and in this state sent them away to serve as an example to their fellow-citizens. He was so renowned throughout all Flanders for his pitiless justice in thus cruelly punishing the Ghent men, that no one was talked of but him in the whole country.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—THE DUCHESS OF ANJOU URGES HER CLAIM TO THE POSSESSION OF PROVENCE.—GALEAS VISCONTI, COUNT DE VERTUS, ORDERS HIS UNCLE BERNABO VISCONTI TO BE IMPRISONED.

Thus was there confusion in all parts of the world, as well between the kings of France and England as between John king of Castille and the king of Portugal, for the war there had been renewed.

Madame d'Anjou, who retained the title of queen of Naples and Jerusalem, went to Avignon, where the pope resided, and there kept her state with her son Lewis, who styled himself king of Sicily, which his father had conquered. The queen had intentions to make war on the Provençals, if they did not acknowledge her as their sovereign lady and put themselves under her obedience. Sir Bernard de la Salle had already entered Provence and declared war in her name. At this time, the lord de Coucy was also at Avignon; for he had been confined to his bed for fifteen weeks from a bruise he had received on his leg during an excursion on horseback. On his recovery, he often visited the queen, and comforted her much, as he was well able to do. She was expecting the duke of Berry, who was on his road to Avignon to hold a conference with the pope, to assist her.

The king of France and his uncles had sent the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, to Provence, with five hundred men at arms, to make war on the Provençals, if they did not submit to the queen. Some had done so, but not all: however, the city of Marseilles and the greater part had surrendered themselves to her; but the cities of Aix and Tarascon, and some knights of the country, refused to admit her claim to the county of Provence, until she had been peaceably acknowledged as queen, and her son as king, of la Puglia, Calabria, Naples, and Sicily; and they said, that when she should be in quiet possession of the above, all Provence, as was just, would obey her. The count de Conversano and his son sir John de Luxembourg made war for her in those distant parts, against the lord Charles Durazzo. Sir John de Bueil remained with the queen, at Avignon, as her counsellor.

At this period, another marvellous event happened in Lombardy, which was the subject of general conversation. The count de Vertus, whose name was John Galeas Visconti *, and his uncle were the greatest personages in all Lombardy. Sir Galeas and sir Bernabo were brothers, and had peaceably reigned and governed that country. One of these lords possessed nine cities, and the other ten; the city of Milan was under their government alternately, one year each. When sir Galeas, the father of the count de Vertus, died, the affections of the uncle for his nephew were much weakened; and sir Galeas suspected, that now his father was dead, his uncle Bernabo would seize his lordships, in like manner as sir Galeas, his father, and uncle Bernabo had done to their brother sir Matthew, whom they had put to death. The count de Vertus was very suspicious, and plainly showed that he had his fears of this event taking place. However, by his actions and the capture he made, he proved himself the more subtle of the two. I will relate the circumstance.

Sir Bernabo heavily oppressed that part of Lombardy of which he was lord, and taxed his vassals, two or three times a-year, a half or a third of their wealth; but none dared to murmur against him. Sir Galeas, count de Vertus, to acquire popularity and praise, did not levy any taxes on his possessions, but simply lived on his rents. This mode he had followed for five years, ever since the death of his father, which gained him so much the love of the Lombards, that they all praised him, and lived happily under him; whilst, on the contrary, they abused underhand sir Bernabo, who would not leave them anything. The count de

* John Galeas Visconti, count of Vertus, succeeded his father Galeas in the government of one-half of Lombardy in 1378.—Ed.

Vertus (who had formed his plan, and was acting accordingly, from the suspicions he had of his uncle, and, as some said, from appearances having been manifested, that confirmed them) issued a secret summons to those in whom he confided the most: to some of whom he revealed his plan, but not to all, lest it should be made public. A day had been appointed by sir Bernabo to make an excursion of pleasure from one of his castles to another. Upon this, his nephew placed three ambuscades on the road sir Bernabo was to take; so that it was not possible but he must fall into one of them. He had ordered that he should be made prisoner, and on no account killed, unless he made too obstinate a defence.

Thus as sir Bernabo was riding from one town to another, mistrusting no evil, nor any way thinking of his nephew, but considering himself as perfectly safe, he entered one of the ambuscades, when the men planted in ambush instantly advanced to him full speed and with lances in their rests. Sir Bernabo had a German knight with him, who cried out, "My lord, save yourself! for I see people of a bad mien coming towards you, and I know them to be persons belonging to your nephew sir Galeas." Sir Bernabo replied, that "he was not acquainted with any place where he could save himself, if they had any evil intentions against him, and that he was unconscious of having done anything against his nephew that should make him fly." Those who had been placed in ambuscade continued advancing towards sir Bernabo. When the German, who was a man of honour and knight of the body to sir Bernabo, saw them thus approaching his lord, having the sword of his master before him, he instantly drew it out of its scabbard and placed it in the hands of sir Bernabo (which was seen by those who were pressing forward); and then the knight drew his own sword, like a valiant man, and put himself on his defence. This, however, did not avail, for he as well as sir Bernabo were instantly surrounded, and the knight was slain under pretence that at the commencement he meant to defend himself; for whose death sir Galeas was afterwards sorely vexed.

Sir Bernabo was made prisoner without any defence made by him or his attendants, and carried to a castle where his nephew was, who much rejoiced on his arrival. That same day his wife and children that were marriageable were also arrested, and confined by the lord of Milan, who took possession of all the lordships, castles, towns, and cities which sir Bernabo held in Lombardy. His uncle died shortly after; but I know not by what means, though I believe it was from being bled in the neck, for in Lombardy they are accustomed to make such bleedings when they wish to hasten the death of any one *. News of this was soon spread abroad: some were pleased at it, others vexed; for sir Bernabo had in his time done so many acts of cruelty, and without reason, that few pitied him, saying, he had well deserved it. This was the end of sir Bernabo Visconti, who had reigned most powerfully in Lombardy.

CHAPTER CLIX.—WILLIAM DE LIGNAC, SENESCHAL OF SAINTONGE FOR THE KING OF FRANCE, CONQUERS FROM THE ENGLISH THE CASTLE OF AIGLE.—THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES MONTLIEU AND THE BRIDGE OF TAILLEBOURG, WHILE BESIEGING THAT PLACE.

We will now return to the army which the duke of Bourbon and the count de la Marche conducted into Poitou and Limousin. The duke left Moulins in the Bourbonnois, and marched with a handsome company of knights aud squires to accomplish his expedition, attended by John de Harcourt his nephew. The duke of Bourbon had issued his special summons for those of Berry, Auvergne, Poitou, Rouergue, Saintonge, and Limousin, to assemble at Niort, twelve leagues from Poitiers. While this army was assembling, sir William de Lignac, a valiant knight and séneschal for the king of France of Saintonge, and governor of Millau†, resided in that country. He advanced into the Angoumois with all his men at arms, to the amount of two hundred combatants, and halted before the castle of Aigle,

* Bernabo was seized by his nephew on the 6th of May and died on the 18th December, 1385.—Ed.

† "Millau." Q. if not Millac; which is in those parts.



Galeas of Milan surprises and imprisons
his Uncle

which the English possessed, and from this place during the winter and the preceding summer, they had exceedingly harassed the country.

Sir William, on his arrival at the castle, dismounted, and ordered his men to do the same, when they instantly began the attack. It was very severe and of long continuance, for those within it fought for their lives. Sir William performed such gallant deeds as proved him worthy of being their leader. He did not spare himself, and showed how they ought to attack it. The place was at last taken by storm, and the French, entering it by ladders, made prisoners of all that were found there, or put them to the sword. This first conquest this season was made by sir William de Lignac, as he was waiting for the duke of Bourbon and his army.

On the duke's arrival at Niort, he found plenty of men at arms impatient for his arrival. His cousin the count de la Marche, with a large body, the viscount de Tonnerre, sir Henry de Thouars, séneschal of Limousin, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Tours, de Pousanges, and many other barons of Poitou and Saintonge were there. Sir William de Lignac came thither to wait on the duke, having conquered the castle de l'Aigle, for which the duke felt himself obliged to him. When all these men at arms were mustered, they amounted to full seven hundred lances, not including the Genoese and the lusty varlets: in the whole, two thousand combatants. They then held a council whither they should turn their arms; to Bertueil, Taillebourg*, or Montlieu†. After having well considered each situation, they determined to march to Montlieu, because it was a strong castle near the moors of Bordeaux; and, if they should succeed in taking it, the others would be weakened, and none able to quit Bordeaux without their knowledge.

They marched through the Angoumois, and on arriving at Montlieu, prepared for the siege. Sir James Poussart and John Bonnelance were the leaders of the duke of Bourbon's men at arms, and of the whole army. They were not long besieging Montlieu before they made ready their ladders and other things, necessary for an attack. They surrounded the castle and began the assault, but those within defended themselves vigorously. The combat was very sharp, long continued, and many gallant deeds were done; for the French mounted their ladders with rapidity, and fought hand to hand on the battlements with their daggers: in short, they exerted themselves so much that the castle was fairly won by storm, and most within perished.

When the lords of France had got possession of Montlieu, they reinforced it with a new garrison and stores, and then took the road to Taillebourg on the Charente. Dinandon de la Perate, a Gascon, was governor of this fortress, an able man at arms, who held the French cheap. When they came before Taillebourg, the duke of Bourbon and his company took two small forts which had much harassed the borders of Poitou and Limousin, la Froncette, and Archac: the garrisons were slain, and the castles given up to those of the adjacent countries, who instantly razed them to the ground.

The siege of Taillebourg was now formed, and four block-houses were erected before it. Near Taillebourg was a bridge over the Charente, which the English and Gascons had fortified, so that no vessels from la Rochelle or Saintonge could pass without great danger, unless by paying toll. The French lords determined to gain this bridge, to facilitate their other attacks, and to be in greater security in their block-houses. They ordered vessels ready prepared and armed to ascend the Charente from la Rochelle, in which they had placed large bodies of cross-bows and Genoese, to skirmish with those at the bridge. The attack was severe, for the English and Gascons had well fortified the bridge, and they defended it with spirit, as it behoved them to do, for they were vigorously attacked by land and water. The eldest son of the count de Harcourt, named John, was made a knight at this assault, by his uncle the duke of Bourbon, and displayed his banner.

This attack on the bridge of Taillebourg was long continued: many gallant actions were performed; but the cross-bows and Genoese in the vessels shot so ably, that those on the bridge scarcely dared to appear and defend themselves. Why should I make a long tale of this? The bridge was carried by storm, and all found there slain or drowned: not one

* "Taillebourg,"—a town in Saintonge on the Charente, three leagues from Saintes.

† "Montlieu,"—a village in Saintonge, election of Saintes.

escaped. Thus did the French gain the bridge of Taillebourg. Their siege was carried on more eagerly for this. Taillebourg is situated three leagues from St. Jean d'Angely, and two from Saintes, in the finest country in the world.

Dinandon, and those in the castle, were much astonished and vexed at the capture of the bridge; and they had reason, for they lost by it the passage of the river. However, they would not surrender; for they felt themselves in a strong place, and expected succours from Bordeaux, as it had been currently reported on the borders of the Bordelois, and confirmed by all the English and Gascon garrisons, that the duke of Lancaster or the earl of Buckingham, was to arrive at Bordeaux with two thousand men at arms and four thousand archers, to combat the French and to oblige them to raise all their sieges: in this they placed great hopes, but it turned out otherwise, as I shall tell you.



Genoese Crossbowmen attacking the Bridge of Taillebourg. The Archers taken from contemporary Illumination, and from Specimens of their Costume and Weapons, in Sir Samuel Meyrick's Collection, Goodrich Court.

In truth, before the army under the command of the admiral of France was prepared to sail for Scotland, it had been ordered in England that the duke of Lancaster, sir John Holland, brother to the king, sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, the lord Fitzwalter, sir William Windsor, sir John Silbain, and other barons and knights to the amount of a thousand lances and three thousand archers, should sail for Bordeaux, and remain there the whole summer, to reinforce Mortaigne, Bouteville, and those castles which held out for them in Gascony and Languedoc: they were to fight with the French, should they find them in the country; and, after having remained there a season, they were to march to Castille by way of Bayonne and Navarre, for there was a treaty between them and the king of Navarre. All this had been settled in the imaginations of the English, but it proved a disappointment; for, when they learned for a truth that the admiral of France with a thousand lances of chosen knights and squires were preparing to sail for Scotland, their counsels were changed, and none dared to

think of quitting their country, nor of weakening their forces: for they much dreaded the consequences of this junction of the French with the Scots. There was also a report at this time, that England was to be attacked in three different parts by the French. One expedition was from Brittany, as it was said that the duke of Brittany was become a good Frenchman; another from Normandy, where the constable of France was making his preparations at Harfleur, Dieppe, and all along the coast as far as St. Valery and Crotoy; the third from Scotland. From fear of this, the government of England would not allow any knights or squires to quit the country, but attended to the fortifying of their harbours. At this season Richard, earl of Arundel, admiral of the English sea, was cruising with sixty or fourscore large vessels, armed and fitted with men at arms and archers: he had, besides, nine light vessels off Normandy to gain intelligence.

We will leave for a while the duke of Bourbon and the siege of Taillebourg, which lasted upwards of nine weeks, and relate how the admiral of France, with the army under his command, landed in Scotland, and what a handsome reception, in appearance, they met with from the country.

CHAPTER CLX.—SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND WITH HIS ARMY.—HE MEETS WITH BAD TREATMENT THERE.

The French army that was bound for Scotland had very favourable winds, for it was in the month of May, when the weather is temperate and agreeable. They coasted Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, and advanced until they approached so near Scotland as to see it; but before they arrived there an unfortunate accident befel a knight of France and an expert man at arms, named sir Aubert d'Angers. The knight was young and active, and to show his agility he mounted aloft by the ropes of his ship completely armed; but, his feet slipping, he fell into the sea, and the weight of his armour, which sunk him instantly, deprived him of any assistance, for the ship was soon at a distance from the place where he had fallen. All the barons were much vexed at this misfortune, but they were forced to endure it, as they could not any way remedy it.

They continued their voyage until they arrived at Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, where the king chiefly resides when he is in that part of the country. The earls of Douglas and Moray, from the information they had received, were waiting for them in Edinburgh and as soon as they were come, hastened to meet them at the harbour, and received them most amicably, bidding them welcome to their country. The Scots barons instantly recognised sir Geoffry de Charny, for he had resided full two months with them last summer in Scotland. Sir Geoffry made them acquainted, as he very well knew how, with the admiral and the barons of France. At that time the king was not at Edinburgh, but in the Highlands* of Scotland: his sons received them handsomely, telling them the king would shortly be there.

They were satisfied with this information, and the lords and their men lodged themselves as well as they could in Edinburgh, and those who could not lodge there were quartered in the different villages thereabout. Edinburgh, notwithstanding it is the residence of the king, and is the Paris of Scotland, is not such a town as Tournay or Valenciennes; for there are not in the whole town four thousand houses. Several of the French lords were therefore obliged to take up their lodgings in the neighbouring villages, and at Dunfermline, Kelson†, Dunbar, Dalkeith, and in other villages.

News was soon spread through Scotland, that a large body of men at arms from France were arrived in the country. Some began to murmur and say, "What devil has brought them here? or who has sent for them? Cannot we carry on our wars with England without their assistance? We shall never do any effectual good as long as they are with us. Let them be told to return again, for we are sufficiently numerous in Scotland to fight our own quarrels, and do not want their company. We neither understand their language nor they

* *"En la sauvage Escosse."*

† "Kelson"—Q. Kelso would have been too far distant.

ours, and we cannot converse together. They will very soon eat up and destroy all we have in this country, and will do us more harm, if we allow them to remain among us, than the English could in battle. If the English do burn our houses, what consequence is it to us? we can rebuild them cheap enough, for we only require three days to do so, provided we have five or six poles and boughs to cover them." Such was the conversation of the Scots on the arrival of the French: they did not esteem them, but hated them in their hearts, and abused them with their tongues as much as they could, like rude and worthless people as they are.

I must, however, say that, considering all things, it was not right for so many of the nobility to have come at this season to Scotland: it would have been better to have sent twenty or thirty knights from France, than so large a body as five hundred or a thousand. The reason is clear. In Scotland you will never find a man of worth: they are like savages, who wish not to be acquainted with any one, and are too envious of the good fortune of others, and suspicious of losing any thing themselves, for their country is very poor. When the English make inroads thither, as they have very frequently done, they order their provisions, if they wish to live, to follow close at their backs; for nothing is to be had in that country without great difficulty. There is neither iron to shoe horses, nor leather to make harness, saddles or bridles: all these things come ready made from Flanders by sea; and, should these fail, there is none to be had in the country.

When these barons and knights of France, who had been used to handsome hotels, ornamented apartments, and castles with good soft beds to repose on, saw themselves in such poverty, they began to laugh, and to say before the admiral, "What could have brought us hither? We have never known till now what was meant by poverty and hard living. We now have found the truth of what our fathers and mothers were used to tell us, when they said,—'Go, go, thou shalt have in thy time, shouldst thou live long enough, hard beds and poor lodgings:' all this is now come to pass." They said also among themselves, "Let us hasten the object of our voyage, by advancing towards England: a long stay in Scotland will be neither honourable nor profitable." The knights made remonstrances respecting all these circumstances to sir John de Vienne, who appeased them as well as he could, saying,—"My fair sirs, it becomes us to wait patiently, and to speak fair, since we are got into such difficulties. We have a long way yet to go, and we cannot return through England. Take in good humour whatever you can get. You cannot always be at Paris, Dijon, Beaune or Châlons: it is necessary for those who wish to live with honour in this world to endure good and evil."

By such words as these, and others which I do not remember, did sir John de Vienne pacify his army in Scotland. He made as much acquaintance as he could with the Scottish barons and knights: but he was visited by so very few it is not worth speaking of; for, as I have said before, there is not much honour there, and they are people difficult to be acquainted with. The earls of Douglas and Moray were the principal visitants to the lords of France. These two lords paid them more attention than all the rest of Scotland. But this was not the worst, for the French were hardly dealt with in their purchases; and whenever they wanted to buy horses, they were asked, for what was worth only ten florins, sixty and a hundred: with difficulty could they be found at that price. When the horse had been bought there was no furniture nor any housings to be met with, unless the respective articles had been brought with them from Flanders. In this situation were the French: besides, whenever their servants went out to forage, they were indeed permitted to load their horses with as much as they could pack up and carry, but they were way-laid on their return, and villanously beaten, robbed, and sometimes slain, insomuch that no varlet dared go out foraging for fear of death. In one month the French lost upwards of a hundred varlets: for when three or four went out foraging not one returned, in such a hideous manner were they treated.

With all this the king required many entreaties before he would come forward: the knights and squires of Scotland were the cause of this, for they declared, they would not at this season wage war with England, that the French might pay more dearly for their coming. Before the king would come to Edinburgh, it was necessary to pay him a large sum of

money for himself and his courtiers. Sir John de Vienne engaged, under his seal, that he would never quit Scotland until the king and his people were perfectly satisfied: for, had he not done so, he would not have had any assistance from the Scots. He was obliged to make this bargain or a worse; but however advantageous it was for them, and whatever affection he gained by it, they made the war solely profitable for themselves, as I shall relate in this history. At present I wish to return to what was passing in Flanders, and to speak of the marriage of the young king of France, which happened at this period.

CHAPTER CLXI.—THE TOWN OF ARDEMBOURG* NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY FRANCIS ATREMEN AND HIS GHENT MEN.

After the defeat of the detachment of sir Rafflart de Flandres, which he had led into the Quatre Mestiers, sir Robert de Bethune, viscount de Meaux, came to Ardembourg, whither he had been sent to garrison it. He found there sir John de Jumont and his companions: he had also brought with him about forty knights, who were eager to meet with adventures. On the viscount's arrival, he began to repair and strengthen the fortifications of the town. Francis Atremen and those of Ghent were constantly devising plans to annoy their enemies, and do them mischief. Their attention was particularly directed to places in their neighbourhood, such as Oudenarde, Dendremonde, Ardembourg, Damme, Bruges and Sluys. It behoved those towns to keep a strict guard and watch well; for in regard to storming and scaling towns, and such like subtleties, these Ghent men were very skilful and alert.

About the end of May, Francis Atremen, with seven thousand armed men, sallied out of Ghent, with the intent to take Ardembourg by surprise, and to make all the knights and squires there in garrison prisoners. They were more desirous to take the governor, sir John de Jumont, than all the rest; for he had done them much mischief, by slaying and taking their people, thrusting out their eyes, cutting off their hands or ears, so that they could not love him. For this purpose, they came on Wednesday at day-break to Ardembourg, having with them their ladders ready prepared. Now observe what great peril they were in: the viscount de Meaux, sir John de Jumont, sir Rafflart de Flandres, the lord de Daymart, sir Tiercelot de Montigny, sir Perducas de Port St. Marc, the lord de Longueval and sir John his son, sir Hugh Desnel, the lord de Lalain, sir Reginald de Lommie and several more, were sleeping quietly in their beds, trusting to the watchfulness of the guard: but the guards of the night were almost all retired, and the watchman was mounting his post, when Francis Atremen and his Ghent men, with their ladders on their shoulders, had crossed the ditches and fixed their ladders to the walls, which the foremost had begun to mount.

By accident, the lord de St. Aubin and a squire from Picardy, called Enguerrand Zendequin, were at this moment parading the town close by the walls: they had with them three picards armed with pikes. I believe they had been on guard this night, and were then retiring. To say the truth, if they had not been where they were, Ardembourg must infallibly have been taken, and all the knights in their beds. When the lord de St. Aubin and Enguerrand Zendequin perceived the Ghent men mounting by ladders to the battlements, and that one of them was actually putting his leg over the wall to enter the town, they were very much alarmed, but not so much as to prevent them defending the place: they saw clearly, that if they fled, the town must be conquered; for the Ghent men had arrived there so opportunely that they were entering it just between the time of the dismissal of the night-guard and the watchman mounting his post.

"Forward, forward!" cried sir Enguerrand to the pikemen: "here are our enemies: let us defend ourselves and our town, or it is taken." They then advanced to the place where they had fixed their ladders and intended entering. The pikemen attacked him who was about to enter so vigorously with his pike, that he tumbled into the ditch. At this time, the watch was at his post, who, noticing the large battalion in the ditches and thereabouts, sounded his horn, crying out, "Treason, treason!" The town was in motion,

* Ardembourg, ten miles N. E. from Bruges.

and the knights heard in their beds the noise and confusion, and also how the Ghent men wanted to surprise their town. They were very much astonished, and having armed themselves as speedily as they could, sallied forth against them. Notwithstanding they were discovered, the Ghent men laboured hard to enter the town; but those five men held out valiantly against them for upwards of half an hour, and performed wonders in arms, for which they were highly praised.

The lords now advanced in handsome array; the viscount de Meaux with his banner before him, sir John de Jumont with his pennon, sir Rafflart de Flandres and all the others, shouting their war-cries, and found the knight and squire, with the three pikemen, defending the walls most gallantly. When Francis Atremen and the Ghent men found their scheme had failed, they called back their men and retreated in a handsome manner into the Quatre Mestiers.

The garrison were more attentive in guarding their town for the future, and in posting their sentinels. They honoured greatly their five defenders; for, if they had not been there, Ardembourg had been lost, and all their throats cut.

CHAPTER CLXII.—LEWIS OF FRANCE, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES VI. IS MARRIED BY PROCURATION TO MARGARET OF HUNGARY.—MADAME DE BRABANT CAUSES THE DAUGHTER OF DUKE STEPHEN OF BAVARIA TO COME TO FRANCE TO MARRY KING CHARLES.

You have before heard how the duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, had carried on a war for three years in la Puglia, Calabria and Naples, against Charles de Durazzo, and that during that war he had died*. His opponent was dead also. It was said he was killed in Hungary with the consent of the queen; for, after the death of the king of Hungary, being the son of his brother, he wished to maintain that the kingdom had devolved to him, as the king of Hungary had left no male issue. The queen, suspecting his intentions to disinherit her daughter, had him put to death†. This event caused much wonder everywhere; and the war of the queen of Naples and her son Lewis, who resided in Avignon, was more strenuously carried on in Provence.

During the lifetime of the late king of Hungary, the great barons and prelates had advised that the eldest of his daughters, the lady Margaret‡, who was very handsome, and was likewise heiress to the kingdom, should be given to Lewis count de Valois, brother to the king of France, because they thought he would reside in Hungary, and the king, had he lived, would have followed this advice.

After the decease of the king of Hungary, ambassadors were sent to France, to the king and his uncles, to notify the wish of the queen of Hungary to unite the count de Valois with her eldest daughter. This seemed to the king and the barons of France as if it was very desirable, except that it would separate and place at too great a distance the count de Valois from his family and the powerful kingdom of France. On the other hand, they considered it was a grand as well as a profitable offer for the count de Valois to be king of Hungary, which is one of the greatest realms in Christendom. The Hungarians sent by the queen were magnificently received, and large presents were made to them. The bishop de Maillerets and John de Personne, returned with them as ambassadors from France, who, on their arrival in

* At the castle of Biseglia, near Bari.

† The Hungarian nobles, tired of the government of two women (Elizabeth the wife of Louis, and Mary his daughter) and their favourites, secretly called in Charles of Durazzo, who in spite of the entreaties of his wife Margaret, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom of Naples, set sail on the 4th September 1385, for Signa in Sclavonia, and was proclaimed king by the nobles unanimously, in a diet held at Alba-Royal. He was, however, in February, 1385, old style, or 1386 new style, set on by assassins employed by the queen's favourites, and brought to the ground by a sabre cut on the head; all his attendants were massacred. Charles survived his wounds, but he was imprisoned at Visgradi, and on the 3d of June 1386 poison completed the work left unfinished by the sword. *Sismondi's Italian Repub.*—Ed.

‡ This is a mistake; the lady's name was *Mary*, not Margaret; Froissart appears to have been also misinformed regarding the proposed alliance between her and the count de Valois, for she had already been betrothed to Sigismond, marquis of Brandenburg, whom she afterwards married, and no mention is made of it by other historians. —Ed.

Hungary, espoused by procuration, in the name of the count de Valois, the princess Margaret. John de la Personne courteously lay on a bed beside hers. They then came back to France, and showed their letters patent and other public instruments, which gave great satisfaction to all France; and the count de Valois signed himself king of Hungary for a long time.

You have before heard how the duke of Burgundy and duke Albert of Bavaria, lord of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, had intermarried their children in the city of Cambray, at which marriage the king of France had assisted with great magnificence. Some seemed to say, as I was then informed, that the same week the king and all his nobles were at this marriage, there was a secret negotiation for a marriage between the young king of France and the lady Isabella, daughter of duke Stephen of Bavaria, chiefly through the means of the duchess of Brabant. The late king of France had on his dying-bed ordered, that his son should be married, if possible, to a princess of Germany, to strengthen the union of France with that country; for he had seen that the king of England, by marrying the sister of the emperor of Germany, had gained by it. The duchess of Brabant was a lady of a very active mind; she conversed with the king's uncles and his council, while in the city of Cambray, on this subject, explaining to them, that as this young lady was the daughter of a great lord in Germany, and the most powerful in Bavaria, through him great alliances might be made in that country; that duke Stephen was so potent, he could well break the purposes of the great lords of the empire; for he was as powerful, if not more so, than the emperor. This object made the council of France listen more readily to the proposal: it was, however, carried on with the utmost secrecy, and very few knew anything of it until it was settled. The reason for this you shall hear. It is customary in France, for the lady destined to be married to the king, however high may be her birth, to be examined quite naked by ladies, whether she be well made, and have no apparent hindrance to her bearing children. As this lady was to come from so distant a country as Bavaria, they were ignorant if she would be agreeable to the king, for otherwise every thing would be broken off. These were the reasons why this affair was kept so secret. About Whitsuntide the young lady was brought to the duchess in Brabant, who received her very cordially, and accustomed her to the usages in France. She was accompanied by duke Frederick of Bavaria, her uncle, by whom, in truth, this marriage was first moved, for the causes which I will explain to you.

When duke Frederick was before Bourbourg, in the service of the king, he was much feasted by the king's uncles, and the other nobles, for having come two hundred leagues to serve France. They considered his services as very great; and he always quartered near the king, out of affection to him, and had the greatest respect paid him. When he left Bavaria, he thought that there must be a pitched battle, between the kings of France and of England, either in France or Flanders, for such had been the current report in Germany. The king of France and his uncles were very thankful for his coming. It happened, that during the expedition to Bergues and Bourbourg, the king's uncles and other nobles, in amicable conversation, had asked him if he had no daughters to marry? for they wanted a wife for the king of France; and they would prefer marrying him to Bavaria than elsewhere, Bavaria having formerly been in the councils of France. Duke Frederick, in reply to this speech, said he had none himself, but that his brother, duke Stephen of Bavaria, had a very handsome one. "And how old is she?" demanded the king's uncles. "Between thirteen and fourteen," replied the duke. Then, said the uncles, "This is what we want. Do you, on your return to Bavaria, talk with your brother, and conduct your niece, as if in pilgrimage, to St. John at Amiens, and the king shall be placed beside her. Should he find her handsome, we hope he will be desirous of her, for he loves beauty; and if he appear eager for her, she shall be queen of France." This was the beginning of the business, and neither more nor less was said on the subject. The king of France was ignorant that anything had been mentioned respecting his marriage.

Duke Frederick, on his return to Bavaria, repeated these words to his brother, who pondered some time on them, and thus answered, "Fair brother, I believe such speeches have been made to you, and that my daughter would be very fortunate if such a high honour as to become the queen of France should fall to her lot; but the distance is great from hence, and it is a matter of great consideration to attempt the making a queen. I should be

exceedingly vexed if, after having carried my daughter to France, she should be returned to me : and I would rather marry her at my leisure, nearer home." Such was the answer duke Stephen gave his brother, with which he was contented : and he wrote the substance of it to the uncles of the king, to his own uncle, duke Albert, and to madame de Brabant, to whom he had communicated the business on his return home. They thought he had been too indifferent about it, and had made overtures elsewhere, on the subject of the king's marriage. A match was shortly after proposed between the king and the daughter of the duke of Lorraine : she was a very handsome lady, and nearly of his own age : of high birth, being of the family of Blois. The duke of Lancaster's daughter, afterwards queen of Portugal, was also talked of, but this could not be brought about on account of the war : the affair was therefore at a stand.

The duchess of Brabant, when at these marriages at Cambray, and the king and his court present, brought this subject again on the carpet, saying, that a union with Bavaria was the most desirable for the king, on account of the alliances that might be formed with the Germans. " It is so, indeed, lady," replied the king's uncles ; " but we now hear nothing of it." " Be you silent," answered the duchess, " and I will make such advances that you shall, without fail, have certain intelligence of it in the course of the summer." The promises of the duchess were verified ; for she managed so well, that duke Stephen allowed his brother, duke Frederic, to conduct his niece, as you have before heard : and it was given out on the road, that they were going on a pilgrimage to St. John at Amiens. Every body believed it ; for the Germans are fond of performing pilgrimages, and it is one of their customs. After duke Frederick and his niece, the lady Isabella of Bavaria, had been three days at Brussels, they took leave of the duchess : it was, however, her intention to be at Amiens as soon, if not sooner, than they were.

They went through Hainault to Quesnoy, where they found the duke and duchess, and William count of Ostrevant and his wife ; by all of whom they were most graciously received, for duke Albert was his uncle. They were much surprised at their coming, and enquired the reasons of it. " Certainly," said duke Frederick, " I have had much difficulty to persuade my brother ; but, as you see, I have at last brought him to consent that I should conduct his daughter hither. On taking leave, he called me aside and said, ' Now, Frederick, my fair brother, you are carrying away Isabella, and upon no certain conditions ; for if the king of France refuse her, she will be for ever ruined : therefore, consider well this business, for should you bring her back, you will never have a more bitter enemy than me :' and you see, my good uncle, the dangerous situation I am in." " Dear nephew, do not be alarmed ; for, if it please God, she shall be queen of France, and you stand acquitted of blame, and retain the affections of your brother." They remained at Quesnoy for three weeks, during which time the duchess, who was very able, tutored the young lady of Bavaria, as to her manners and appearance ; and did not allow her to keep the clothes she then wore, as being too plain and simple for the French fashions, but had her dressed up and adorned as if she had been her own child. When all had been properly prepared, the duchess and her daughter, the future duchess of Burgundy, set out in great magnificence for Amiens, with the young lady, where the duchess of Brabant was already arrived, as were the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and the council.

The lord de la Riviere, sir Guy de la Trimouille, with many barons and knights, went out of the city of Amiens to meet the company from Hainault, whom they escorted into town with many honours, and they visited each other out of love and affection. But the king could hardly close his eyes that night from the desire of seeing her who was afterwards his spouse. He asked the lord de la Riviere when he should see her. This question much amused the ladies. And on the Friday when the young lady was dressed for the occasion, the three duchesses presented her to the king. She instantly kneeled down very low, but the king directly raised her up by the hand, and continually kept his eyes upon her : so that from that time love and pleasure pierced his heart.

The constable, observing what passed, said to the lord de Coucy, " By my faith, this lady will remain with us : the king cannot take his eyes off her." When the ladies had remained some little time with the king, they took leave of him, and carried back the damsel.

But, as the intentions of the king were not known, the duke of Burgundy charged the lord de la Riviere to sound him when he retired to his closet, which he diligently did, by saying, "Sire, how do you like this young lady? will she remain with us?" "Yes, by my troth, will she," replied the king, "for she pleases us, and you will tell my good uncle of Burgundy to hasten the business."

When the lord de la Riviere had heard these words, he repeated them to the duke of Burgundy, who announced them to the ladies; and they were so well pleased thereat, they began carolling. The whole court were joyous on the occasion; and it was intended by the king's uncles to celebrate the feast at Arras, but it did not please the king to go further. He entreated his uncle to make every haste, for he assured him that he wished no delay, but was anxious to have the business completed in the good city of Amiens. "Very well, my lord," replied the duke, "it shall be done as you order."

The duke of Burgundy, in company with the constable, sir Guy de la Trimouille and several others, waited on madame de Hainault, and found her niece seated beside her. The duke related all that had passed, adding, that the king had made him alter his intention as to the place where the marriage ceremony was to be performed; for he was so deeply smitten, that he had owned he could neither sleep nor take any repose on account of her whom he wished for his wife, but on the morrow they would cure all his ailings. The duchess went out in a fit of laughter, and they separated from each other with much joy and satisfaction.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—FRANCIS ATREMEN TAKES DAMME.—THOSE OF BRUGES ATTEMPT TO RETAKE IT.

On a Saturday night, Francis Atremen marched with seven thousand men from the Quatre Mestiers, whither he had retreated after the failure of his attempt on Ardembourg: he had promised his townsmen, on his departure, that he would never return until he had taken some good town. The Ghent men were desirous of finding the French employment, so that they should be unable to send more men to the admiral in Scotland, to make war on the English; for it was currently reported, that the constable, together with a large body of men at arms and cross-bows, was about to embark to reinforce those sent to Scotland.

Francis Atremen, being an expert man at arms, sallied out one Saturday evening from the country called Quatre Mestiers, and when it was dark, advanced to the walls of Bruges, in hopes of taking it, but could not. When he found he could do nothing, he marched towards Damme, and met his spies whom he had sent thither and round that neighbourhood: they told him he would do well to advance to Damme, for sir Roger Guistelles had left it, and only women were there. This was true; for he had gone to Bruges, thinking the inhabitants were able to defend themselves, but in this he was disappointed. When Francis Atremen heard that sir Roger de Guistelles was not in Damme, he divided his men into two divisions, and, taking the smallest, said to the other, "You will advance to that gate, and make no attack until you hear our trumpets sound: then attempt the barriers, and cut down and destroy all, and on the side we will break down the gate, for we shall never enter the town by ladders."

His orders were punctually obeyed. He advanced with the smaller division, leaving the other behind him: the foremost marched with ladders through the ditches, where they met with no resistance, and, having passed the mud, fixed their ladders to the walls: on entering the town, they sounded their trumpets and made for the gates without opposition, for they were masters of the place, the good people being still in their beds. It was the 17th day of July when Damme was thus surprised. They advanced to the gate, and broke all the bars of it with strong axes: those without destroyed the barriers, and thus all sorts of people entered the town.

The inhabitants began to be in motion; but it was too late, for they were made prisoners in their houses, and those whom they found armed were slain without mercy. Thus was the good town of Damme taken, wherein they found much wealth: in particular, cellars full of Malmsey and other wines. I heard also that those of Bruges had brought thither great

riches for fear of a rebellion of the populace whom they suspected. Francis Atremen was much rejoiced on being master of Damme, and said, "Now I have well kept my promise to Ghent: this place will enable us to conquer Bruges, Sluys, and Ardembourg." He instantly issued a proclamation, that not the smallest harm or insult should be offered to the noble ladies in the town; for there were seven ladies, the wives of knights, who had come thither to visit madame de Guistelles, who was with child and near lying-in. After having pillaged the town and put to death those who would not join their party, they began to repair it.

When those in Bruges heard of this, they were much enraged, and not without cause: they instantly armed and marched to Damme, and began to skirmish and attack it: but it was of no avail, for they lost more than they gained: they therefore marched back to Bruges. You may suppose, when this news reached Ghent, they were much pleased, and considered it as a valiant enterprise, and also looked on Francis Atremen as a gallant soldier.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—KING CHARLES ESPOUSES THE LADY ISABELLA OF BAVARIA.—HE BESIEGES DAMME.

We will return to the marriage of king Charles of France, and relate how it was concluded. The duchess Margaret of Hainault, who had the young queen under her care, on the morning of the wedding dressed her out handsomely, as she knew well how to do, when the duchesses of Brabant and Burgundy came thither grandly attended by ladies and damsels. These three ladies conducted the lady Isabella of Bavaria in the richest covered cars ever seen, with a crown on her head, that was worth all the wealth of the country, and which the king had sent to her a little before. The bishop of Amiens performed the marriage ceremony in the presence of the lords and ladies before mentioned*. After the mass and other ceremonies thereto appertaining, the king, with the lords, ladies, and damsels went to dinner, which was very sumptuous and magnificent, and that day the counts and barons served at it in grand array. After dinner, they amused themselves in different manners, which continued with great enjoyment until evening, when the king retired with his bride.

The feasts were continued until the Tuesday following, when news was brought to the king and to his council that Francis Atremen had taken the town of Damme. A herald arrived at the same time from the duke of Bourbon, who brought letters that Taillebourg, with its castle and bridge, had been subdued, and that the duke, with his army, was on full march to besiege Verteuil, having already conquered back again in Poitou and Limousin, six fortresses. This news rejoiced somewhat the court, and made them indifferent as to the loss of Damme: but it was determined the king should not undertake any thing until he had marched to Flanders and re-taken Damme. He declared he would enter the Quatre Mestiers, from whence this mischief had sprung, and would not leave any house undestroyed. Messengers were immediately sent over the kingdom with summons for every man at arms to be in Picardy by the first of August, to march to Damme. This was soon spread through France, and all knights and squires made their preparations for waiting on the king as they had been commanded. This same day, duke Frederick of Bavaria, duke Albert, and the other barons took leave of the king and departed for their homes, leaving behind the lady Isabella of Bavaria, now Queen of France as you have heard. The king of France, who had sent his summons through the realm, declared he would not return to Paris before he had been at Damme. On the twentieth day of July he set out from Amiens, with the constable and many lords, and came to Arras, where he slept one night. On the morrow he went to Lens†, in Artois: men at arms were daily coming to him from all quarters. He continued his march until he arrived at Ypres, so that by the first of August he was before Damme, and quartered himself so near the town that the arrows flew over his head.

Three days afterward arrived William of Hainault, who was very welcome to the king, and to my lord of Burgundy. The siege was laid to Damme in a handsome manner, and Francis Atremen was enclosed within it. He behaved very gallantly, for every day there were attacks and skirmishes, unless prevented by short truces. The lord de Clary, master

* The marriage took place on the 18th July, 1385.—Ed.

† "Lens,"—four leagues from Arras.

of the ordnance to the lord de Coucy, was hit by an arrow * from the town, which caused his death: it was a pity, for he was a gallant knight. Those of Bruges and Ypres came to this siege; and there were present upwards of one hundred thousand men. The king was quartered between Damme and Ghent. The lord de St. Py and the lord de Guistelles were the commanders of the Flemings: they had about twenty-five lances, and quartered themselves among them for fear of dissensions.

An attack was made on Damme at which all the lords were present. William of Hainault was made a knight by the king's hand, and that day he displayed his banner: during the course of the siege he showed himself an excellent knight. The French, by this assault, lost more than they won, for Francis Atremen had with him some English archers who sorely galled the assailants: he had also many pieces of artillery, for the town, before it was surprised, was well provided; and Francis had ordered more thither from Ghent when he knew it was to be besieged.

CHAPTER CLXV.—SOME CITIZENS OF SLUYS ARE BEHEADED FOR TREASON TO THE FRENCH.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ACQUIRES SLUYS FROM SIR WILLIAM DE NAMUR, BY AN EXCHANGE FOR THE LANDS OF BETHUNE.

During the siege of Damme, some of the principal citizens of Sluys who governed it, were accused of high treason against the king of France: they wanted to deliver the town to his enemies, to murder the governor and all his garrison in their beds, and to set fire to the numerous fleet of France, which was then at anchor in their port, well filled with all sorts of stores. Before the expedition to Damme, the king of France had intended to follow his admiral to Scotland. These wicked people of Sluys also meant to destroy the dykes of the sea, and drown all or the greater part of the army. This had been bargained for by those of Ghent, and it was all to have been done in one night: it would have been executed if one of the inhabitants of the town had not overheard the malice they were devising. He directly went to the governor and told him what was intended, and named the greater part of the conspirators. The knight was much astonished when he heard of this, and taking with him his garrison, which consisted of about sixty lances, went to the houses of the different conspirators, whom he arrested and sent to separate prisons under a strong guard. He then mounted his horse, and hastened to the king's tent, before Damme, where the duke of Burgundy at that time chanced to be. He related to them all that he had heard and done: how near the town was being lost, and his army drowned. The king and his nobles were much surprised; and the governor was ordered to return to Sluys, and to keep his prisoners no longer confined, but instantly to put them to death, that others might from them take example. The governor, on his return, had them beheaded, and thus ended the business.

This same week, the duke of Burgundy, by the advice of sir Guy de la Trimouille, who had last summer resided at Sluys with a considerable force, resolved to open a negotiation with his cousin, sir William de Namur, to obtain that town by exchange for other lands, to add it to the country of Flanders, which lands were equally profitable as to revenue. Sir William de Namur was much displeased when he first heard this proposal for an exchange; for the town of Sluys, with its dependencies and sea-rights, was a noble and profitable inheritance: it had also devolved to him from his ancestors, which made him like it the more. Notwithstanding this, since the duke of Burgundy was desirous of it, he found it necessary to comply. It was the intention of the duke, when in possession of it, to erect there a handsome and strong castle, like to Calais and other places, which should command the harbour of Sluys, and garrison it with men at arms and archers, so that none could approach his territories without danger from them. He said, he would build it high enough to see from it twenty leagues at sea. In short, sir William was so hard pressed by the duke and his council, that he consented to the exchange of Sluys for the whole territory of Bethune, which is one of the fairest inheritances of the whole country. It was given to him and to his heirs. Immediately afterwards, the duke set workmen on the castle he intended to build at Sluys. We will now return to the siege of Damme, and say how it prospered.

* D. Sauvage's edition says, that the lord de Clary, whilst approaching the town to view the guns on the walls was struck by a quarrel from one of them, not by an arrow.—Ed.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—FRANCIS ATREMEN AND HIS MEN ABANDON DAMME.—THE TOWN IS DESTROYED BY THE FRENCH: THEY ALSO RUIN THE COUNTRY OF THE QUATRE MESTIERS.

THERE were several skirmishes almost daily at the barriers of Damme, where many were wounded and slain. The walls could not be approached because the ditches were filled with mud and filth: and, if it had been rainy weather, the army would have had enough to do, and must have decamped whether they would or not: but for the space of one month, during which this siege lasted, there never fell one drop of rain. They had provision in great abundance; but the stench of the beasts killed by the army and the dead horses corrupted the air, and caused many kinghts and squires to be so ill and low spirited that they retired to Bruges or elsewhere: the king was wont to lodge at Marle, notwithstanding his tents were left standing in the camp. It was the intention of Francis Atremen to hold out this siege till the reinforcements which he expected from England should arrive to raise it: for it is certain that Francis, and the men of Ghent, had sent to England for assistance. The uncles of the king of England would undoubtedly have carried over a sufficiency of men at arms and archers, if the admiral of France had not at that time been in Scotland with so large a force. It was confidently said, that the constable was to reinforce the admiral with a greater body: by which means the Flemings were not assisted, and those of Damme were forced to make a bad bargain of it; for on the 27th day of August, 1385, was the town of Damme conquered back again.

When Francis Atremen found, after the king of France had besieged him for a month, that he was not to expect any succour, and that his artillery began to fail, he was much cast down, and said to those of his council,—"I will, that all of us from Ghent return home: but let it be made known to them secretly, so that none of the town be informed of our intended departure, and attempt to save themselves, with their wives and children, by sacrificing us. They would obtain peace, and we should be slain: but I must take good care to prevent this; for we will keep in a body, and go round the town to visit the guard. We will secure all the inhabitants, not having arms, in the churches, and give them to understand, we do so because we expect a grand attack to be made to-morrow, and do not wish them to suffer from it. We must tell the guard of the night that we intend to beat up the enemy's quarters, and the moment we are in the plain we will spur for the fastest to Ghent." His council replied, that he had well spoken. Every man made his preparation accordingly, and in the evening packed up their all, and put the women, children and lower sort of people in the churches: they even ordered thither the ladies of the knights who were prisoners, telling them, that on the morrow there was to be a grand attack, and they wished them not to be frightened: all this was thought very proper.

The first hour of the night the Ghent men went their rounds: there were none of their townsmen on the walls, but only those of Damme. Francis Atremen said to them,—"Keep up a strict watch about midnight; and on no account, whatever you may see or hear, quit the battlements, for in the morning we shall be attacked; but I am resolved this night to beat up their quarters." His words were believed, for they thought he was speaking the truth. After Francis Atremen had arranged all his business, he ordered the gate to be opened, and sallied forth with those his townsmen from Ghent. They were not half a league from the town when day appeared, and the inhabitants discovered that Francis and his companions were gone off: they we much disheartened: but their leaders began to negotiate with those belonging to the king, and said they had killed Francis Atremen the preceding evening.

Several of the town, understanding that Francis Atremen was gone away, and the gate still open, set out from the town as fast as they were able. When this news arrived at the camp, the Bretons and Burgundians, who were eager for pillage, mounted their horses, and pursued them within two leagues of Ghent: several were slain, and upwards of five hundred made prisoners; they were not from Ghent, but the inhabitants of Damme who were running away. Whilst they were pursuing them on all sides, the town, now defenceless, was

attacked: the French entered it at different parts by ladders, which they carried over the ditches with much difficulty. When they had entered, they imagined they should roll in riches; but they found nothing, except poor people, women and children, and great quantities of good wines. In spite, therefore, they set fire to the town and burnt almost the whole of it. The king, and duke of Burgundy were much vexed at this, but they could not prevent it. The noble ladies were, however, saved, but with some difficulty, from having any harm done to their persons.

After Damme had been thus regained by France, the king was advised to decamp and to fix his own quarters at a small town two leagues from Ghent called Artavelle, and that, during the time he should be there, the men at arms should scour the country of the Quatre Mestiers, and completely destroy it; because, in former times, all sorts of provision were sent from thence to Ghent, and more assistance given to that town from those countries than from any others. The king of France and his army marched from before Damme: he took up his quarters at Artavelle; during which time the men at arms destroyed the country, burning all houses, monasteries and forts which had held out for them. They left not any house whole, and killed or drove into the woods all the women and children. When the French had completed this destruction, they were ordered to march and lay siege to the castle of Gaure, and afterwards to do the same to Ghent. But all this ended in nothing.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE LEAVES FLANDERS, AND DISBANDS HIS ARMY.—DURING THE TIME HE IS AT PARIS, TREATING WITH AMBASSADORS FROM HUNGARY, NEWS ARRIVES THAT THE MARQUIS DE BLANCQUEFORT * HAD FORCIBLY MARRIED THE HEIRESS OF HUNGARY.

Intelligence was brought to the king, while at Artavelle, that the queen of Hungary had sent the bishop of Vassereul, attended by several knights and squires as her ambassadors, who had brought credential letters to say that they were come to seek for the lord Lewis of France, count de Valois, and who signed himself king of Hungary, to conduct him to his wife in Hungary, whom John de la Personne, a French knight, had espoused by procuration for the said Lewis count de Valois. This news pleased greatly the king and his council, who, being desirous of properly equipping the young count de Valois, resolved to return to France, saying they had done enough for this season. The king set out from Artavelle the 12th day of September, and disbanded all his men at arms, when each returned to his home. The men of Ghent were much delighted at this event.

The king went to Cray †, where the queen resided; for, when he left Amiens to go to Flanders, she was sent thither to hold her court. I know not how many days he staid there with her; but, when they left it, the king came to Paris, and the queen went to Vincennes, where she resided a while, for they were busily employed in the equipment of the young count, as they were anxious he should have furniture and attendants suitable to his rank as king of Hungary; but things in a short time turned out differently in Hungary, as you shall hear ‡.

* This, I suppose, should be Brandenburgh.

† "Cray." Q. If not Craonne, which is a town in Picardy.

‡ There must be some mistake, or perhaps Froissart was misinformed, for I cannot find any mention of the crown of Hungary being offered to the count de Valois. Underneath is all that is said of the matter in the "Art de Vérifier les Dates."

Mary, surnamed King Mary.—Mary, daughter of Charles the Great, was crowned in Albe Royale, or Stul Weissembourg, in the year 1382, under the name of King Mary. As she was too young to govern the kingdom, the regency was given to her mother queen Elizabeth. Nicholas de Gara having gained the confidence of the two prncesses, ruled despotically in their names, insomuch that it excited great murmurs among the Hungarians. In the year 1385, Charles le Petit, king of Naples, at the solicitations of the discontented party, arrives at Buda, seizes the government, and caused himself to be crowned king of Hungary in Albe Royale the 31st of September, in the same year. On the 5th of February following, he is assassinated in Buda, by order, and in the presence of Elizabeth.—On the 1st of May, 1386, John Horwarh, ban of Croatia, surprises the two queens, attended by Nicholas de Gara, while on a journey: he massacres the last before their eyes, drowns Elizabeth the ensuing night, and carries off Mary prisoner to Croatia. Sigismond, marquis of Brandenbourg, flies, on hearing this, to deliver Mary, to whom he was betrothed. He joins her at Albe Royale, whither she had been sent, marries her at that town, and is crowned king of Hungary on the 10th of June, Whitsunday, being only twenty years old. The ban of Croatia was this same year arrested by his order, and expiated his crimes by tortures. Mary died at Buda, 1392. Her body was buried at Peter-Waradin.

True it is, that the queen-mother of Hungary took great delight in the idea of Lewis of France being king of Hungary, and considered her daughter as married to him. She wished not for any other but him for her son-in-law; and with this intent she had sent the bishop of Vassereul, with many knights and squires, to conduct him to his queen.

It happened, that while these ambassadors were on their road to France, the emperor of Germany, who styled himself king of the Romans, had a brother younger than himself, called Henry de Blancquefort*. The king of the Romans had been informed of the state of Hungary, of the treaties which had been entered into with the count Louis de Valois, and that the before named ambassador was gone to conduct him to Hungary. The king of the Romans loved his brother's interest more than his cousin's, had long considered this business, and had already arranged it in his mind to bring it cautiously and secretly about according to his own plan; for, had the queen of Hungary had the slightest intimation of his intent, she would have guarded effectually against it: but it was clear she had not.

It was known to the council in Germany, that the queen of Hungary and her daughter were gone to a castle near the borders of Germany, to amuse themselves: upon which, the marquis de Blancquefort set off with a large body of men at arms, ten thousand at least, to lay siege to this castle and enclose the ladies within it. The queen, on perceiving her situation, was thunderstruck, and sent to know from the marquis why he thus kept her confined, and what he wanted. The marquis sent for answer, "it was done solely because she intended marrying her daughter to the brother of the king of France, who was a stranger, and from whom she could never have any comfort;" adding, that "it would be better and more advantageous for the kingdom of Hungary, if he, who was her neighbour, should marry her, than another, who came from such a distant country as Louis de Valois." The queen answered, that she had never before heard one word of his pretensions, and for that reason had consented to her daughter's union with the brother of the king of France: besides, the king of Hungary, during his lifetime, had ordered her so to do." To this the marquis replied, that "he paid little attention to what she said; that he had the consent and good-will of the greater part of the Hungarian nation, and that he would, by fair means or otherwise, have her, now she was in his power." The lady was much cast down at these words, but, notwithstanding, held out as well as she could; and, though she sent to her subjects to come to her assistance, none obeyed, nor did they make the least movement against the marquis, which plainly showed the Hungarians preferred the Germans to the French.

When the queen found she was not to expect any assistance from her subjects, she began to listen to reason; for the marquis threatened her, that if she suffered the castle to be taken by storm he would confine her in a tower, where she should have only bread and water, as long as she lived. These menaces frightened her, for the place was weak, and she had come thither without enough of men or provision. She therefore entered into a treaty with the marquis; and in this situation she gave him her daughter, who was directly married, and he instantly went to bed to her.

Thus did sir Henry of Bohemia, marquis de Blancquefort, gain the inheritance of Hungary, of which he was king rather through force than love, with regard to the consent of the queen-dowager; but she was obliged to abide by this bargain, or worse might have happened. News of this was soon published, and it was sent to the bishop and knights of Hungary who were on their return from France; for the count de Valois, having completed his arrangements, had proceeded as far on his journey as Troyes. He was much enraged when this event was told him; but he could not any way remedy it. The Hungarians departed very angry, as indeed they had reason; and the young count de Valois returned to his brother and uncles at Paris, who, having never depended much on this marriage, said, "the count de Valois was fortunate in having his wife taken from him, for Hungary was a distant country, and out of reach of the French, from whence they could never have had any

* This should be *Sigismond* marquis of Brandenburg; he was a son of the emperor Charles IV. and brother of the emperor Wenceslaus, and had been betrothed to Mary in his infancy. The whole story concerning the count de Valois is very apocryphal; no other historian mentions it.—Ed.

assistance." These considerations made them indifferent about it, and induced them to think of another connection for him. This was the duke of Milan's daughter, heiress of Lombardy, which territory is more valuable than all Hungary, and nearer at hand to the French.

We will leave these marriages, and speak of the duke of Bourbon, who, having taken Taillebourg, was in Poitou besieging Verteuil; and return to the admiral of France in Scotland, and say how he went on.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES VERTEUIL IN POITOU, AND RETURNS TO THE KING OF FRANCE AT PARIS.

During the time the king was before Damme, the duke of Bourbon, with a handsome body of men at arms, made his excursion into Poitou and Limousin, where he took many English castles and forts, such as Archeac, Garnate, Montlieu eight leagues from Bordeaux, and Taillebourg on the Charente; he then laid siege to Verteuil, a strong castle in Poitou, on the borders of Limousin and Saintonge. Andrew Prior an Englishman, and Bertrand de Montrinet, a Gascon, were governors of Verteuil, and had with them numbers of stout companions. There were skirmishes, therefore, almost daily at the barriers, and many gallant deeds of arms done, in which several were slain or wounded. The duke declared he would not move from thence until he was master of the castle, for to this effect had he given his promise the last time he had conversed with the duke of Berry.

It happened that while Bertrand de Montrinet, one of the governors, was planning a ditch to be made within the castle to add to its strength, and showing his people how to bank it, a stone, shot from a dondaine* by the besiegers, wounded him mortally, and caused his instant death. This Bertrand had escaped from sixteen very dangerous sieges. His companions lamented much his death; but, as that was now irretrievable, Andrew remained sole governor. Fifteen days afterwards, negotiations were opened, and a treaty concluded, that the garrison should surrender the castle, with all its provisions, on being conducted in safety to Bouteville, of which place Durandon de la Perede was governor. Thus did the French gain the castle of Verteuil, which they afterwards repaired and reinforced with stores, artillery and men at arms. They then marched to an adjoining town called Cares, and, when they departed thence, came to Limoges, where the duke of Bourbon remained full eight days. He was advised to return to Paris, which he did, and found the king with his nephew the count de Valois, who received him with great joy.

We will now return to the affairs in Scotland, and speak of the admiral of France.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—THE SCOTTISH ARMY WITH THAT OF THE ADMIRAL OF FRANCE ENTER NORTHUMBERLAND,—BUT THE ENGLISH, BEING ON THEIR MARCH TO MEET THEM, THEY RETREAT WITHIN THE BORDERS.

You have before heard how the admiral of France, with a large body of men at arms, had landed at the port of Edinburgh, and that they found it a very different country from what they had expected from the accounts of the barons of Scotland. The king's council and other barons had told those knights who had been in Scotland last year, particularly sir Geoffry de Charny and sir Amyard de Marse, that if the séneschal, the constable or the admiral of France would cross the sea to Scotland with a thousand good lances and five hundred cross-bows, with armour for a thousand Scotsmen and proper equipments for the leaders, with their assistance the rest of Scotland would make such a fatal irruption into England, it would never recover the blow. With this expectation had the French crossed the sea, but had not found these promises realised. In the first place, they met with savage people, bad friends and a poor country; and the knights and squires knew not where to send

* "Dondaine,"—a large machine to throw stones from.

their varlets to forage, for they dared not do so except in very large parties for fear of the wicked people of the country, who lay in wait for them, attacked and killed them.

At last, king Robert of Scotland arrived, with red bleared eyes, of the colour of sandal-wood, which clearly showed he was no valiant man, but one who would rather remain at home than march to the field: he had, however, nine sons who loved arms. On the king's arrival at Edinburgh, the barons of France waited on him to pay him their respects, as they well knew how to do: the earls of Douglas, Moray, Mar, Sutherland, and several more,



King Robert of Scotland and his Nine Sons who loved arms. Designed from Contemporary Illuminations.

were at this interview. The admiral requested the king to fulfil the terms on which they had come to Scotland; for that on his part he was resolved to enter England. Those barons of Scotland who were eager to advance themselves were much rejoiced at hearing this, and replied, that if it pleased God, they would make such an inroad as should be both profitable and honourable.

The king issued his summons for a very large armament: on the day fixed for their assembling at Edinburgh, there were thirty thousand men on horseback, who as they arrived took up their quarters after the manner of the country, but they had not every thing comfortable. Sir John de Vienne was very impatient to make an excursion and to afford his men opportunities of performing gallant deeds of arms in England: he no sooner saw the arrival of the Scottish men at arms than he said it was time to march, for they had remained idle too long. The departure was then proclaimed, and they took their march towards Roxburgh. The king was not with the army, but remained at Edinburgh: however, all his children accompanied it. The thousand* complete sets of armour brought from France were delivered to the Scottish knights who were badly armed, and those who had them were much delighted. They began their march towards Northumberland, which

* In other editions the number is stated as *two hundred*, which appears more probable.—Ed.

they continued until they came to the Abbey of Melrose, where they quartered themselves on each side the river Tweed: on the morrow, they advanced to Lambir Law, and then came before Roxburgh.

The governor of the castle of Roxburgh for the lord Mountague, to whom it belonged as well as all the circumjacent lands, was a knight called sir Edward Clifford. The admiral of France, with his whole army, as well as the Scots, halted before it, and, having reconnoitred it, thought they should gain nothing by the attack, as the castle was large, fair, and well provided with artillery. They therefore continued their march down the river, towards Berwick and the sea, until they came to two square towers, tolerably strong; in which were two knights, father and son, of the name of Strande. A good farm of fine fields of grass, with a country-house, was hard by, which was instantly burnt and the towers attacked. Several feats of arms were performed, and many of the Scots wounded by arrows and stones; but the towers were at length taken by storm, and the knights within them, who had valiantly defended themselves as long as they had been able.

After the conquest of these two towers, the Scots and French came before a very strong castle in another part of the country, which is called Werley*; it belonged to sir John Mountague. Sir John Lussebourne was the governor for him, and had in it his wife, children, and all his family; for he had been informed that the Scots and French were advancing that way. He had, in consequence, fully provided the place with men at arms and artillery, to the utmost of his power, in expectation of the attack. The army soon came and encamped before Werley, situated on a handsome river which runs into the Tweed below it. There was one grand assault on this castle, where the French behaved much more valiantly than the Scots: for they crossed the ditches, though with much difficulty; and, having fixed their ladders, many gallant deeds were done, for the French ascended to the battlements, and there fought hand to hand and dagger to dagger with the garrison. Sir John Lussebourne showed himself a good knight and powerful in arms, by engaging the French knights as they mounted the ladders. At this attack a German knight, called sir Alberis Gastelain, was slain, which was a pity; many others were killed and wounded. The enemy, however, were so numerous, and the attack so often renewed, that the castle was taken, and the knight, his wife, and children, who were within it. The French who first entered made upwards of forty prisoners: the castle was then burnt and destroyed, for they saw they could not keep nor guard it, being so far advanced in England.

After the capture of this castle, and of sir John Lussebourne, the admiral and barons of France and Scotland marched towards Amith †, the estate of the lord Percy, and quartered themselves all around it. They destroyed several villages, and marched as far as Boul ‡, a handsome and strong castle on the sea-coast, belonging to the earl of Northumberland: they did not attack it, for they knew they should lose their labour, but continued their march to half-way between Berwick and Newcastle-on-Tyne, where they learnt that the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, the lord Neville, with the barons of the counties of Northumberland, York, and Durham, were hastening with a large force to meet them§. The admiral and barons of France were much delighted at this intelligence, for they were desirous of an engagement; but the Scots were of a contrary opinion, and advised a retreat towards Scotland, on account of their stores, and to have their own country in their rear and wait for the enemy on their own borders. Sir John de Vienne wished not to act in contradiction to their wishes, and followed what they had advised; they did not therefore advance further into Northumberland, but made for Berwick, of which place sir Thomas Redman was governor, and had with him a great number of men at arms. The French and Scots came before it, but made no attack, and continued their road to Roxburgh, on their return to their own country.

News was spread all over England, how the French and Scots had entered Northumberland, and were burning and destroying it. You must, however, know, that before this, the arrival

* "Werly." Q. if not Wark.

† "Amith." Q. Alnwick.

‡ "Boul." Q. if not Cornhill.

§ Mr. Redpath, in his Border History, gives a very short account indeed of this expedition, and of these places: he adds,—"It is said, they took and destroyed the castles of Wark, Cornhill, and Ford."

of the admiral and the French in Scotland was known. All the lords were therefore prepared, and the king had issued his summons: as they assembled, they took the road to Scotland, threatening much the Scots. The English at this time had made greater preparations than ever for their expedition to Scotland, as well by land as by sea; for they had freighted six score vessels, laden with stores and provision, which followed their march along the coast. The king took the field, accompanied by his uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, his brothers sir Thomas and sir John Holland. There were also the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, the young earl of Pembroke, the young lord de Spencer, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Devonshire, and so many barons and knights, that they amounted to full forty thousand lances, without counting those of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Lucy, the lord Neville, and other barons of the marches, who were in pursuit of the French and Scots, to the number of two thousand lances and fifteen hundred archers. The king, and the lords who attended him, had full fifty thousand archers, without including the varlets. He hastened so much the march of his army after the duke of Lancaster, that he arrived in the country about York; for he had had intelligence on the road that there was to be an engagement between his men and the Scots in Northumberland; and for this reason he had made as much haste as possible. The king lodged at St. John de Beverly, beyond the city of York, in the county of Durham, where news was brought him that the Scots had returned to their own country. The army therefore quartered themselves in the county of Northumberland. I will relate an accident that happened in the English army, which caused a mortal hatred between different lords.

CHAPTER CLXX.—SIR JOHN HOLLAND KILLS LORD RALPH STAFFORD.—THE EARL OF STAFFORD DEMANDS JUSTICE FROM THE KING.

The king of England was quartered in the country round Beverley, in the diocese of York, with numbers of earls, barons, and knights of his realm; for every one tried to be lodged as near him as possible, more especially his two uncles. Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and sir John Holland, earl of Huntington, his brothers, were also there with a handsome company of men at arms.

With the king was a knight from Bohemia, who had come to pay a visit to the queen; and, out of affection to her, the king and barons showed him every attention. This knight was gay and handsome in the German style, and his name was sir Meles. It happened one afternoon that two squires attached to sir John Holland quarrelled in the fields of a village near Beverley, for the lodgings of sir Meles, and followed him, to his great displeasure, with much abuse. At this moment two archers belonging to lord Ralph Stafford came thither, who took up the quarrel of sir Meles because he was a stranger: they blamed the squires for their language, and added: "You have used this knight very ill by thus quarrelling with him, for you know he is attached to the queen and from her country: you would have done better to have assisted him than to act thus." "Indeed!" replied one of the squires to the archer who had first spoken, "thou villanous knave, thou wantest to intermeddle: what is it to thee if I laugh at his follies?" "What is it to me!" answered the archer; "it concerns me enough, for he is the companion of my master; and I will never remain quiet to see or hear him abused." "If I thought, knave," said the squire, "thou wouldst aid him against me, I would thrust my sword through thy body." As he uttered these words, he made an attempt to strike him: the archer drew back, and having his bow ready bent, with a good arrow, let fly, and shot him through the body and heart, so that he fell down dead. The other squire, when he saw his companion fall, ran away. Sir Meles had before returned to his lodgings, and the two archers returned to their lord and related to him what had happened. Lord Ralph, when he had heard the whole, said, "You have behaved very ill." "By my troth," replied the archer, "I could not have acted otherwise, if I had not wished to have been killed myself, and I had much rather he should die than that I should." "Well," said lord Ralph, "go and get out of sight, that thou mayest not be found: I will negotiate thy pardon with sir John

Holland, either through my lord and father, or by some other means." The archer replied, "he would cheerfully obey him."

News was carried to sir John Holland, that one of sir Ralph Stafford's archers had murdered his favourite squire; and that it had happened through the fault of the foreign knight, sir Meles. Sir John, on hearing it, was like a madman, and said he would neither eat nor drink until he had revenged it. He instantly mounted his horse, ordering his men to do the same, though it was now very late, and, having gained the fields, he inquired for the lodgings of sir Meles: he was told that he was lodged at the rear-guard with the earl of Devonshire and the earl of Stafford, and with their people. Sir John Holland took that road, riding up and down to find sir Meles. As he was thus riding along a very narrow lane, he met the lord Ralph Stafford; but, being night, they could not distinguish each other. He called out, "Who comes here?" He was answered, "I am Stafford:" "And I am Holland." Then sir John added, "Stafford, I was inquiring after you. Thy servants have murdered my squire, whom I loved so much." On saying this, he drew his sword and struck lord Ralph such a blow as felled him dead, which was a great pity. Sir John continued his road, but knew not then that he had killed him, though he was well aware he had strucken him down. The servants of the lord Ralph were exceedingly wroth, as was natural, on seeing their master dead: they began to cry out, "Holland, you have murdered the son of the earl of Stafford: heavy will this news be to the father when he shall know it."

Some of the attendants of sir John Holland, hearing these words, said to their master, "My lord, you have slain the lord Ralph Stafford." "Be it so," replied sir John. "I had rather have put him to death than one of less rank; for by this I have the better revenged the loss of my squire." Sir John hastened to Beverley, to take advantage of the sanctuary of St. John's church, whither he went, and did not quit the sanctuary; for he well knew he should have much trouble in the army from the affection it bore lord Ralph, and he was uncertain what his brother the king of England would say to it. To avoid, therefore, all these perils, he shut himself up in the sanctuary.

News was carried to the earl of Stafford, that his son had been unfortunately killed. The earl asked who had done it. They told him, "Sir John Holland, the king's brother," and related why, and wherefore. You may suppose, that the father, having only one beloved son, who was a young, handsome, and accomplished knight, was beyond measure enraged. He sent for all his friends, to have their advice how he ought to act to revenge this loss. The wisest and most temperate did all they could to calm him, adding, that on the morrow the fact should be laid before the king, and he should be required to see law and justice put in force.

Thus passed the night. In the morning, the lord Ralph Stafford was buried in the church of a village near the spot where he fell: he was attended by all the barons, knights, and squires related to him that were in the army. After the funeral, the earl of Stafford, with full sixty of his own relations, and others connected with his son, mounted their horses, and went to the king, who had already received information of this unfortunate event. They found the king attended by his uncles and many knights. When the earl approached, he cast himself on his knees, and thus spoke with tears and anguish of heart: "Thou art king of all England, and hast solemnly sworn to maintain the realm in its rights, and to do justice. Thou art well acquainted how thy brother, without the slightest reason, has murdered my son and heir. I therefore come and demand justice: otherwise thou wilt not have a worse enemy than me. I must likewise inform thee, my son's death affects me so bitterly, that if I were not fearful of breaking up this expedition by the trouble and confusion I should make in the army, and the defections it would cause, by my honour, it should be revenged in so severe a manner that it should be talked of in England a hundred years to come. For the present, however, and during this expedition to Scotland, I shall not think of it; for I like not the Scots be rejoiced at the misery of the earl of Stafford *." The king replied, "Be assured, I myself will do justice, and punish the crime more severely than the barons would venture to do; and never for any brother will I act otherwise." The earl of Stafford and his relations answered, "Sir,

* The earl of Stafford, in the 9th Ric. II., made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably on the loss of his son, and died the ensuing year, on his return, at Rhodes.

you have well spoken, and we thank you." Thus were the relations of lord Ralph Stafford appeased. He performed the expedition to Scotland, as I shall relate to you; and, during that whole time, the earl of Stafford seemed to have forgotten the death of his son, in which conduct all the barons thought he showed great wisdom.

CHAPTER CLXXI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND DESTROYS THE ABBEY OF MELROSE IN SCOTLAND.—THE BARONS OF FRANCE AND SCOTLAND INVADE CUMBERLAND.

The army of the king of England, which consisted of seven thousand men at arms and sixty thousand archers, kept advancing: none had remained behind, for it had been confidently reported through England that sir John de Vienne would give them battle. Indeed, such were his intentions, and he had in a manner told this to the barons of Scotland, when he said, "My lords, make your army as considerable as you can; for, if the English come as far as Scotland, I will offer them combat." The Scots replied, "God assist us!" but they afterwards changed their mind.

The king and his army advanced beyond Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and through Northumberland to Berwick, of which sir Matthew Redman was governor. He received him with all due respect; but the king did not stay there long: he continued his march, and the whole army crossed the river Tweed, which comes from Roxburgh and the mountains in Northumberland, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Melrose. This monastery, in all the preceding wars of England and Scotland, had been spared, but it was now burnt and destroyed; for it had been determined by the English to ruin everything in Scotland before they returned home, because the Scots had allied themselves with the French.

The admiral of France, on learning that the king of England and his army had crossed the Tyne and Tweed, and were now at Lambir Law, said to the Scottish barons, "Why do we remain here, and not reconnoitre our enemies to fight them? You told us, before we came into this country, that if you had a thousand, or thereabouts, of good men at arms from France, you would be sufficiently strong to combat the English. I will warrant you have now a thousand, if not more, and five hundred cross-bows; and I must tell you, that the knights and squires who have accompanied me are determined men at arms, the flower of knighthood, who will not fly, but abide the event, such as God may please to order it." The barons of Scotland, who well knew the strength of the English army, and had not any desire of meeting it, answered, "Faith, my lord, we are convinced that you and your companions are men of valour, and to be depended on; but we understand that all England is on its march to Scotland, and the English were never in such force as at present. We will conduct you to a place from whence you may view and consider them: and if, after this, you should advise a battle, we will not refuse it, for what you have repeated as having been said by us is true." "By God, then," said the admiral, "I will have a battle."

Not long afterwards, the earl of Douglas and the other Scots barons carried the admiral of France to a high mountain, at the bottom of which was a pass through which the English would be forced to march with their baggage. From this mountain, where the admiral was stationed, with many of the French knights, they clearly saw the English army, and estimated it, as nearly as they could, at six thousand men at arms, sixty thousand archers and stout varlets. They allowed they were not in sufficient force to meet them in battle, for the Scots were not more than one thousand lances, with about thirty thousand others badly armed. The admiral said to the earls of Douglas and Moray,—"You were in the right in not wishing to fight the English; but let us consider what must be done, for they are numerous enough to overrun your whole country and ruin it. Since we are not able to combat them, I request you will lead us by unfrequented roads into England, and let us carry the war into their own country, as they have done here, if such an enterprise may be practicable." The barons told him, it was very practicable.

Sir John de Vienne and the Scots barons resolved in council, to quit that part of the country and suffer the English to act as they pleased in it, and to make an inroad on Cumberland, near Carlisle, where they should find a plentiful country, and amply revenge

themselves. This resolution was adopted. They marched their men in an opposite direction to the English, through forests and over mountains, and laid waste the whole country on their line, burning towns, villages and houses. The inhabitants of Scotland carried their provisions to their retreats in the forests, where they knew the English would never seek for them. The Scots barons marched hastily through their own country; and the king, not being well enough in health to accompany them, retired into the highlands, where he remained during the war, and left his subjects to act as well as they could. The French and Scots passed the mountains which divide Cumberland from Scotland, and entered England, when they began to burn the country and villages, and to commit great devastations on the lands of Mowbray, belonging to the earl of Nottingham, on those of the earl of Stafford, as well as on the lands of the baron of Grisop* and of the lord Musgrave, and then continued their march to Carlisle.

CHAPTER CLXXII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND DESTROYS EDINBURGH, AND GREAT PART OF SCOTLAND.—THE FRENCH AND SCOTS DO THE SAME ON THE BORDERS AND IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

WHILE the admiral of France and those with him, such as the count de Grand Pré, the lord de Sainte Croix, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir William de Breune, sir James de Boenne, the lords de Peigny, de Hees, de Marnel, sir Valeran de Rayneval, the baron d'Ivry, the baron de Fontaines, the lord de Croy, sir Braque de Bracquemont, the lord de Lendury, amounting to a thousand lances at least, of barons and knights of France, with the lords of Scotland and their army, were thus overrunning the northern parts of England, burning and destroying the towns, houses and country; the king of England, with his uncles, barons and knights, had entered Scotland, wasting the country as they advanced. The English had quartered themselves at Edinburgh, where the king remained for five days. On their departure, everything was completely burnt to the ground except the castle, which was very strong and well guarded.

During the residence of king Richard at Edinburgh, the English overran the whole country in the neighbourhood, and did great mischief; but they found none of the inhabitants, for they had retreated into forts and thick forests, whither they had driven all their cattle. In the king's army there were upwards of one hundred thousand men, and as many horses: of course, great quantities of provision were wanted; but, as they found none in Scotland, many stores followed them from England by sea and land. When the king and his lords left Edinburgh they went to Dunfermline, a tolerably handsome town, where is a large and fair abbey of black monks, in which the kings of Scotland have been accustomed to be buried. The king was lodged in the abbey, but after his departure the army seized it, and burnt both that and the town. They marched towards Stirling and crossed the river Tay†, which runs by Perth. They made a grand attack on the castle of Stirling, but did not conquer it, and had a number of their men killed and wounded: they then marched away, burning the town and the lands of the lord de Versy.

The intention of the duke of Lancaster and of his brothers, as well as of several knights and squires, was to lay waste all Scotland, and then pursue the French and Scots (for they had had information of their march to Carlisle), and by this means inclose them between England and Scotland, so that they should have such advantage over them, not one would return, but all should be slain, or made prisoners. In the mean time, their army overran the country at their pleasure, for none ventured to oppose them, the kingdom being void of defence, as the men at arms had all followed the admiral of France. The English burnt the town of Perth, which is on the banks of the Tay, and has a good harbour, from whence vessels may sail to all parts of the world. They afterwards burnt Dundee, and the English

* "Grisop."—Q. Greystocke.

† There is a mistake in geography here, for the Tay does not run near the road to Stirling. I should suppose he must mean the Forth.

spared neither monasteries nor churches, but put all to fire and flame. The light troops of the English, and the van-guard, advanced as far as the city of Bredane*, which is situated on the sea, at the entrance into the highlands, but they did no harm to it, though the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed, supposing they should be attacked, and that the king of England was coming.

Just in the same manner as the English conducted themselves in Scotland, did the French and Scots in Cumberland, and on the borders of England, where they burnt and destroyed large tracts of country. They entered Westmoreland, passing through the lands of Greystock, and of the baron Clifford, and burnt on their march several large villages where no men at arms had before been. They met with no opposition, as the country was drained, for all men at arms were with the king in his expedition. They came at length before Carlisle, which is well inclosed with walls, towers, gates and ditches: king Arthur formerly resided here more than elsewhere, on account of the fine woods which surround it, and for the grand adventures of arms which had happened near it†.

There were in the city of Carlisle, sir Lewis Clifford, brother to sir William Neville, sir Thomas Musgrave and his son, David Hollgrave, the earl of Angus, and several others from that neighbourhood; for Carlisle is the capital of that part of the country, and it was fortunate to have such men to defend it. When the admiral of France and his army arrived, he made a very severe attack with ordnance, which lasted some time, but there were within those capable of making a good defence, so that many handsome feats of arms were performed before Carlisle.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.—THE EARL OF SUFFOLK PREVENTS THE KING OF ENGLAND FROM PURSUING THE FRENCH AND SCOTS WHO HAD INVADED ENGLAND.—THE ENGLISH ARMY RETURN HOME THE SAME WAY THEY HAD ENTERED SCOTLAND.—THE FRENCH AND SCOTS RETURN IN A SIMILAR MANNER.

The king's uncles and the other lords supposed the admiral of France and the Scots would continue their march, and that they would do as much mischief as they could on the borders and in Cumberland. They therefore thought they could not do better, when their stores were all arrived, than to follow their line of march until they should overtake and fight them; for, as they could not any way escape, they must be attacked to a disadvantage. Of this opinion was the duke of Lancaster, his brothers, several of the nobles of the realm, and the greater part of the army. Their stores were now all arrived by sea or land, and the king had, in the presence of his uncles, ordered this plan to be adopted. But in one night, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who at that time was the heart and sole council of the king, and in whom he placed his whole confidence, undid the whole business. I know not what his intentions were for so doing; but I heard afterwards, he should say to the king,—"Ah, ah, my lord, what are you thinking of? You intend then to follow the plan your uncles have devised. Know, that if you do so, you will never return, for the duke of Lancaster wishes for nothing more earnestly than your death, that he may be king. How could he dare advise your entering such a country in the winter? I would recommend you not to cross the Cumberland mountains, where are thirty passes so narrow, that if once you be inclosed within them, you will run into the greatest danger from the Scots. Never engage in such a perilous expedition, whatever they may say to you; and if the duke of Lancaster be so desirous to go thither, let him, with that division of the army under his command: for never, with my consent, shall you undertake it. You have done enough for one time: neither your father, nor your grandfather Edward, have been so far in Scotland as you have now been. This, I say, should satisfy you. Take care of your own person, you are young and promising; and there are those who profess much, but who little love you."

These words made so strong an impression on the king, he could never get them out of his head, as I shall hereafter relate. On the morrow morning, when the lords of England were

* "Bredane."—Q. Aberdeen.

† Froissart mistakes this place, probably, for Carléon.

preparing for their march towards Carlisle, in search of the French, and to fight with them, as had been resolved in council the preceding night, the duke of Lancaster waited on the king, ignorant of what had passed between his nephew and lord Suffolk. When the king saw him, being peevish and choleric from the preceding conversation, he said, harshly,—"Uncle, uncle of Lancaster, you shall not yet succeed in your plans. Do you think that, for your fine speeches, we will madly ruin ourselves? I will no longer put my faith in you nor in your councils, for I see in them more loss than profit, both in regard to your own honour and to that of our people: therefore, if you be desirous of undertaking this march, which you have advised, do so, but I will not, for I shall return to England, and all those who love me will follow me." "And I will follow you," replied the duke of Lancaster: "for there is not a man in your company who loves you so well as I do, and my brothers also. Should any other person, excepting yourself, dare say the contrary, or that I wish otherwise than well to you and to your people, I will throw him my glove." No answer was made by any one. The king was silent on the subject. He only spoke to those who served him, on different matters, and then gave orders for returning to England by the way they had come. The duke left the king quite melancholy, and went to make other preparations; for he had concluded they were to pursue the French and Scots who had advanced beyond the borders; but, as this was altered, they took the direct road to England.

Thus did the earl of Suffolk, who governed the king, break up this expedition. Some lords said, the king had been badly advised, not to pursue the Scots, as they had all their stores with them, and it was still in their way home. Others, afraid of the difficulties, said that, considering all things, as well the quantity of provision necessary for so large an army, as the hardships they would be exposed to in the winter season, when crossing the Cumberland mountains, they might lose more than they could gain. Thus were affairs managed. The English army returned, with the king and barons, by the way they had entered Scotland, but not before they had destroyed the greater part of that country.

News was brought to the admiral of France that the English were retreating homeward. They called a council to determine how to act, when it was resolved that, as their provision began to fail, they would return to Scotland, for they were now in a poor country, having ruined all round Carlisle, and the lands of lord Clifford, lord Mowbray and the bishop of Carlisle; but the city of Carlisle they could not conquer. The French said among themselves, they had burnt in the bishopricks of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland. The French and Scots marched back the way they had come. When arrived in the lowlands, they found the whole country ruined; but the people of the country made light of it, saying, that with six or eight stakes they would soon have new houses, and find cattle enow for provision: for the Scots had driven them for security to the forests. You must, however, know, that whatever the French wanted to buy, they were made to pay very dear for; and it was fortunate the French and Scots did not quarrel with each other seriously, as there were frequent riots on account of provision. The Scots said, the French had done them more mischief than the English: and when asked, "In what manner?" they replied, "by riding through their corn, oats and barley, on their march, which they trod under foot, not condescending to follow the roads, for which damages they would have a recompense before they left Scotland: and they should neither find vessel nor mariner who would dare to put to sea without their permission." Many knights and squires complained of the timber they had cut down, and of the waste they had committed to lodge themselves.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—THE SCOTS TREAT THE ADMIRAL OF FRANCE AND HIS MEN VERY HARSHLY.—THEY RETURN TO FRANCE.

When the admiral, with his barons, knights and squires, were returned to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, they suffered much from famine, as they could scarcely procure provision for their money. They had but little wine, beer, barley, bread, or oats: their horses, therefore, perished from hunger, or were ruined through fatigue; and, when they wished to

dispose of them, they could not find a purchaser who would give them a groat either for their horses or housings. These lords remonstrated with their commander on the manner in which they were treated, a circumstance well known to himself. They said, "they could not longer endure such difficulties, for Scotland was not a country to encamp in during the winter; and that, if they were to remain the ensuing summer, they should soon die of poverty. If they were to spread themselves over the country, to better their condition, they were doubtful if the Scots, who had so villanously treated their foragers, would not murder them in their beds, when they should be divided."

The admiral, having fully weighed what they said, saw clearly they were justified in thus remonstrating; notwithstanding, he had intentions of wintering there, and of sending an account of his situation to the king of France and duke of Burgundy, who, as the admiral imagined, would hasten to him reinforcements of stores, provision and money, with which, in the course of the summer, he would be enabled to carry on an advantageous war against the English. But having considered how ill intentioned the Scots were, and the danger his men were in, as well as himself, he gave permission for all who chose to depart. But how to depart was the difficulty, for the barons could not obtain any vessels for themselves and men. The Scots were willing that a few poor knights who had no great command should leave the country, that they might the easier govern the rest. They told the barons of France "that their dependants, when they pleased, might depart, but that they themselves should not quit the country until they had made satisfaction for the sums that had been expended for the use of their army."

This declaration was very disagreeable to sir John Vienne and the other French barons. The earls of Douglas and Moray, who pretended to be exasperated at the harsh conduct of their countrymen, remonstrated with them, that they did not act becoming men at arms, nor as friends to the kingdom of France, by this behaviour to its knights: and that henceforward no Scots knight would dare to set his foot in France. These two earls, who were friendly enough to the French barons, pointed out the probable effect their conduct would have on their vassals; but some replied, "Do dissemble with them, for you have lost as much as we." They therefore told the admiral, they could not do any thing for him: and, if they were so anxious about quitting Scotland, they must consent to make good their damages. The admiral seeing nothing better could be done, and unwilling to lose all, for he found himself very uncomfortable, surrounded by the sea, and the Scots of a savage disposition, acceded to their proposals, and had proclaimed through the realm, that all those whom his people had injured, and who could show just cause for amends being made them, should bring them their demands to the admiral of France, when they would be fully paid. This proclamation softened the minds of the people; and the admiral took every debt on himself, declaring he would never leave the country until everything were completely paid and satisfied.

Upon this many knights and squires obtained a passage to France, and returned through Flanders, or wherever they could land, famished, and without arms or horses, cursing Scotland, and the hour they had set foot there. They said they had never suffered so much in any expedition, and wished the king of France would make a truce with the English for two or three years, and then march to Scotland and utterly destroy it: for never had they seen such wicked people, nor such ignorant hypocrites and traitors. The admiral wrote to the king of France and duke of Burgundy, by those who first returned, a full state of his situation, and how the Scots had acted towards him: that if they wished to have him back, they must send him the full amount he had engaged to pay the Scots, and for which he had bounden himself to the knights and squires of Scotland: for the Scots had declared, that they had at this time made war for the king of France and not for themselves; and that the damages which the French had committed must be satisfied before they would be allowed to return, which he had promised and sworn to perform to the barons of Scotland.

It was incumbent on the king of France, the duke of Burgundy and their councils, to redeem the admiral, for they had sent him thither. They had the money instantly raised, and deposited in the town of Bruges, so that the whole demand of the Scots was paid to their satisfaction. The admiral left Scotland when he had thus amicably settled matters, for

otherwise he could not have done it; and, taking leave of the king, who was in the highlands and of the earls of Douglas and Moray, was attended by them to the sea-shore. He embarked at Edinburgh, and, having a favourable wind, landed at Sluys in Flanders. Some of his knights and squires did not follow the same road, as they were desirous of seeing other countries beside Scotland, and went into different parts; but the greater number returned to France, and were so poor they knew not how to remount themselves: especially those from Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorrain, who seized the labouring horses wherever they found them in the fields.

The young king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, feasted the admiral splendidly on his return, as was but just. They made many inquiries respecting the situation of the king and barons of Scotland. He told them "the Scots would naturally incline to the English, for they were jealous of foreigners; and added, that as God may help him, he would rather be count of Savoy or of Artois, or some such country, than king of Scotland: that he had seen the whole force of that country assembled together, as the Scots had assured him, but there were never more than five hundred knights and squires together, and about thirty thousand other men, who would be unable to withstand the English archers, or a thousand men at arms." The admiral was asked, "if he had seen the English army." He replied, he had; "for when I saw the manner in which the Scots fled from the English, I requested they would lead me to a place whence I might see and consider them. They did so, and I saw them pass through a defile, to the amount of sixty thousand archers, and six or seven thousand men at arms. The Scots said, 'that this was the whole strength of England, for none had remained behind.'" The company paused a little, and said, "Sixty thousand archers and six or seven thousand men at arms is a great force." "They may be as many as that," said the constable of France*; "but I would rather combat the whole of them in their own country than one-half on this side the water, for this was the doctrine my master taught me in my youth." "By my faith, constable," replied sir John de Vienne, "if you had been there with a good command of men at arms and Genoese, as I proposed, and as it was agreed on when I undertook this expedition, we would have engaged them when in Scotland, or destroyed them from want of provision."

In this manner did the constable and admiral converse, which excited a great desire in the duke of Burgundy to make a powerful invasion of England. We will now for a while leave them, and return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—THE STATE OF FLANDERS.—TWO HONEST BURGESSES OF GHENT NEGOTIATE SECRETLY A PEACE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WITH THE ASSENT OF FRANCIS ATREMEN.

In truth, the duke of Burgundy had a strong desire to undertake a grand expedition against England in the ensuing summer of 1386, and did all he could to urge the king of France to consent to it. On the other hand, the constable of France, who in his youth had been educated in England, and was a knight of gallant enterprise and much beloved in France, advised it strongly, as did sir Guy de la Trimouille and the admiral of France. The duke of Berry was at this time in Poitou, and in the upper parts of Limousin, ignorant of these councils and this intended expedition. The duke of Burgundy was the greatest personage in France, next the king: he had many designs, and knew that, as long as the war continued in Flanders, the invasion of England could not take place: he was therefore much softened, and more inclined to enter into a treaty with the town of Ghent; for they had allied themselves with the king of England, who had sent thither a knight, called the lord Bourchier, to advise and govern them. The citizens of Ghent were also desirous of peace; for they had suffered so much from the war that the richest and principal persons of the town were no longer masters of their property: it was at the command of a few wicked soldiers, who governed them at their pleasure: the wisest foresaw that this could not last long without their being entirely ruined. When they were talking over their affairs among

* Oliver de Clisson.

themselves, some wondered they had been thus long kept together in unity; but others knew that unity to have been the effect of force, and more through fear than love, for Peter du Bois would not desist from his wickedness, and none dared before him to speak of peace or of treating: the moment he heard of any one thus talking, he was instantly arrested, however respectable he might be, and put to death.

This war, which Ghent had carried on against its lord the earl Lewis of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, had lasted near seven years; and it would be melancholy to relate all the various unfortunate events which it had caused. Turks, Saracens and Pagans would have been sorrowful on hearing them, for all commerce by sea was ruined. The sea-coasts from east to west, and all the north, suffered from it; for in truth the riches and merchandise of seventeen kingdoms were sent to Sluys, and the whole was unshipped at Damme or Bruges. Now consider, that if these distant countries suffered, still more bitterly must those nearer have felt it. No means of peace could be imagined. It was first thought on by the grace of God and divine inspiration, and by the prayers of devout people to the Lord, who, at their request, opened his ears, and took pity on the poor people of Flanders.

I will detail how a peace was made between them and the duke of Burgundy, as minutely as I have before related the cause of the war, which originated in the hatreds of Gilbert Mathew, John Lyon, and their accomplices, and I shall beg you will have the goodness to attend to me. At the time I am now speaking of, the lord Bourchier governed the city of Ghent for the king of England, and Peter du Bois assisted him in maintaining his authority, and retaining the affections of the wicked. There were several prudent men that were disgusted with such dissensions, and who had suffered much from them: they dared not open themselves to each other but in secret, for if Peter du Bois heard that any person was desirous of peace, he was put to death without mercy, in like manner as he and Philip von Artaveld had slain sir Symon Bete and sir Gilbert Gente, and latterly, in order to frighten the town of Ghent, they had destroyed many of the inhabitants.

When Francis Atremen had been driven from the town of Damme by the king of France, who, having totally burnt and destroyed the Quatre Mestiers, was returned to France, as it has been before related, the principal persons of Ghent supposed the king would, the ensuing summer, return before that town with a very powerful army. Peter du Bois and those of his party were unwilling to believe it, adding, they should be very glad to see the king come thither, for they had formed such strong alliances with the king of England as to be certain of assistance. At this time, there were in Ghent two valiant men, of good life and conversation, of moderate birth and fortune, neither of the highest nor of the richest, who were very much vexed at this war against its natural lord the duke of Burgundy, but were afraid openly to declare their sentiments, from the examples which had been made by Peter du Bois. One of them was a mariner; the other the most considerable butcher in the market, called James d'Ardembourg. By these two men was the business first brought about. In addition to them, I must include a worthy knight of Flanders, named sir John d'Elle, a prudent intelligent man, who interested himself much in this affair; but, if it had not been through the means of the two aforementioned persons, he would not have interfered in it so happily; nor, as it may easily be believed, could all the knights of Flanders have succeeded.

This sir John d'Elle was much beloved by many in the town of Ghent, and he went in and out at his pleasure without being suspected by any one. At the beginning he was afraid of talking either about war or peace; nor would he ever have done so, if it had not been previously mentioned by Roger de Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, and I will tell you how it happened. These two were much displeased at the continued troubles in Flanders, insomuch that they conversed together on the subject, when Roger said to James, "Whoever could interfere between this our native town of Ghent, which is so much oppressed, and the duke of Burgundy our natural lord, would do a deed of great charity, and acquire by it grace from God and praise from men; for the differences and confusion which are so unbecoming would by this means be put an end to."

"You speak truly, Roger," replied James; "but it will be a difficult and dangerous thing to do, on account of Peter du Bois: no one dares talk of peace from fear of him, for if he knew of it, those who had meddled in the business would instantly be put to death."

"What!" said Roger, "shall things then remain always as they are? There must be an end to it." "Tell me how," answered James, "and I will cheerfully listen to you." Roger replied, "You are the principal butcher in the market, the richest and most respected: you can talk secretly and boldly with your most confidential friends and brethren in trade; and when you shall find they understand you, by degrees you can draw them more forward. I, on the other hand, who am a mariner, and well beloved by all such sort of people, whose courage I know, and who hate the war, for they have lost much by it, will remonstrate with some of them on the subject, and they will induce others to incline the same way: when we shall have gained over these two trades, which are numerous and powerful, the other trades, and honest people who wish for peace, will join us." "Very well," said James; "I will sound my people: do you the same by yours."

Each of them performed his promise; and they discoursed so prudently with their friends on the subject that, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, James d'Ardembourg found all his brother butchers well inclined to his way of thinking. Roger, on the other hand, with his eloquence, brought the mariners, who were anxious to regain the pilotage they had been so long deprived of, to the same opinion. When these two honest men were conversing on the business, and had shown how desirous they had found their people to obtain peace, they said, "We want a proper person to represent our situation to the duke of Burgundy," and instantly thought of sir John d'Elle, on whom they determined to call, as he was then in the town. This they did, and loyally told him their whole secret, saying, "Sir John, we have so effectually worked on our brethren of the trade, they are all eager for peace; but on condition that my lord of Burgundy will engage to pardon every one, and keep to us our ancient privileges, for which we can show sealed charters." Sir John replied, "You say well, and I will cheerfully negotiate the matter between you."

The knight waited on the duke of Burgundy, who at the time was in France with the king, and related to him all he had heard. He demonstrated so well the advantages of the business, that the duke willingly listened to his proposals. In truth, he was desirous of peace with Ghent, on account of the intended expedition which he wished the king to make against England. His own council advised it, as did sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Vienne, and also the constable of France and the lord de Coucy. He therefore told the knight he would assent to the terms proposed, and that he might return with his answer to those who had sent him. The duke inquired if Francis Atremen had been present when this matter was brought forward: he said, "No, my lord: he is governor of the castle of Gaure; and I know not if those who have sent me would like he should be made acquainted with the business." "Tell them," answered the duke, "to speak to him boldly on the subject: he will not do anything in opposition, for I understand he most earnestly wishes to make his peace with me." The knight returned to Ghent with this good news, with which they were well pleased. He then went to the castle of Gaure to Francis Atremen, when he opened the whole matter to him, but under secrecy. Francis, having paused a little, replied gaily, —"Since my lord of Burgundy is willing to pardon everything, and to secure to the town of Ghent its privileges, I will no longer be a rebel, but endeavour by all means to obtain my peace."

The knight left Francis Atremen in Gaure, and returned to the duke of Burgundy in France with the account how matters stood. The duke heard him with pleasure, and wrote very amicable letters to those of Ghent, sealed with his seal, and on this issue of the treaty the knight went back to Flanders and to Ghent, but he did not carry thither his letters: he, however, gave such assurances to Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg that he had them to produce, as to lead them to consider the affair as good as concluded. Now, consider what great peril these men and the knight were in; for, if the lord Bourchier or Peter du Bois had known of it, their lives would have paid the forfeit.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—THE TWO CITIZENS FIX ON A DAY TO ASSEMBLE THEIR FRIENDS, TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PLAN.—ALL GHENT ARE UNANIMOUS FOR PEACE, NOTWITHSTANDING THE ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT IT BY THE GOVERNOR FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AND PETER DU BOIS.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, by whom the whole business was managed, said to sir John d'Elle:—"Come hither on Thursday morning exactly at nine o'clock, and bring my lord of Burgundy's letters with you; we will show them, if we succeed in our intentions, to the commonalty of Ghent, and have them publicly read; by which means they will put greater confidence in them, for, at the time we mention, we shall be masters of the town, or dead men." Sir John replied, he would do as they had said; when their council broke up, and sir John left the town to consider how he was to act. These two citizens were very active to complete their plans, and constantly busy with their principal supporters, the deans of guilds. By their assiduity, they had gained over the greater number of the populace; and it was ordered, at eight o'clock on Thursday, they should quit their houses, the banner of Flanders displayed before them, and shout, "Flanders for the Lion! the lord of the country grants peace to the good town of Ghent, and pardon to all evil-minded persons."

This business could not be carried on so secretly but that Peter du Bois knew of it: the moment he had the information, he went to the lord Bourchier, who was governor-in-chief for the king of England, and said to him,—"My lord, Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg intend assembling the inhabitants to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, in the market-place, with the banner of Flanders in their hands, and are to shout out through the streets, 'Flanders for the Lion! the lord of the country grants peace and pardon to the good town of Ghent for all misdemeanours.' What are we now to do? The king of England will no longer be obeyed in this town, if we be not beforehand with them, and drive them out of our territories." "How shall we do this?" replied the lord Bourchier. Peter said, "We must assemble all our people to-morrow morning in the town-house, when, after we have armed them, we will march through the town, crying out also, 'Flanders for the Lion! the king of England for the country, and lord of the town of Ghent.' When we have got to the market-place, those who are our friends will join us, and then we will kill all traitors and rebels." "Be it so," answered lord Bourchier: "you have well imagined it, and it shall be done."

God was wondrous kind to these two honest citizens; for they had intelligence given them of the arrangement just mentioned. On hearing it, they were not dismayed, but in the evening visited their friends the deacons, and said to them, "We had fixed to be in the market-place to-morrow at eight, but we now must change it to seven o'clock." This they did to break the measures of Peter du Bois, who was on the watch with forty others, and all agreed to change the hour. On Thursday morning, the lord Bourchier, with sixty of his men, went to the town-house. Peter du Bois came thither with his forty, when they all armed and put themselves in good array.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg assembled their friends at the place they had fixed on, when the greater part of those who had been deans of guilds joined them. They then displayed the banner of the earl, began their march through the town, shouting the cry before mentioned. Those that heard it, and saw the deacons of their trades and the banner of the earl, mixed with their companions and followed the banner as fast as possible. They arrived at the market-place on the point of seven o'clock, where having halted, and placed the banner of the earl before them, they were continually joined by crowds of people, who drew up among them.

News was carried to lord Bourchier and Peter du Bois, who were in the town-house mustering their men, that Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg had taken possession of the market-place. On hearing this, they marched out with the banner of England displayed; and, as they advanced, they shouted their cry. In this manner they arrived in the market-

place, and drew up opposite to the others, waiting for more to join them; but very few did so, for they went to those who had the earl's banner, insomuch that Roger and James had eighty from every hundred men who came thither. The market-place was full of men at arms, who kept silent, eyeing each other. Peter du Bois was thunderstruck when he perceived that the deans of guilds, with their men, had united with Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, and began to fear for his life; for he saw that those who had been used to follow him now avoided him. He therefore quietly got out of the crowd, and went to hide himself for fear of being killed.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg finding, from appearances, that almost all the inhabitants had put themselves under their banner, were much rejoiced, and with reason, for they then well knew things were in a good train, and that the people would keep peace with their lord. They advanced, with a large detachment of their men, leaving the main body behind, with the banner of Flanders carried before them, towards the lord Bourchier and the English, who did not think their lives very secure. Roger halted opposite to lord Bourchier, and said, "What have you done with Peter du Bois? We wish to know your intentions, and whether you are friends or enemies?" The knight replied, that he imagined Peter du Bois was there; but, when he found he was gone, said, "I know not what is become of him: I thought he had been with me: for my part, I shall be steady to the king of England, who is my right natural lord, and who has sent me hither at your own entreaties, if you will be pleased to remember it." "That is true," they answered; "for if the good town of Ghent had not sent for you, we would have put you to death; but in honour to the king of England, who has ordered you hither at our request, neither you nor your men shall run the smallest risk. We will save you from all danger, and conduct you, or have you conducted, as far as the town of Calais. Retire now, therefore, peaceably to your houses, without stirring thence for anything you may see or hear, as we are determined to have for our lord the duke of Burgundy, and no longer to carry on the war." The knight was much pleased with this speech, and said, "My fair sirs and good friends, since it may not be otherwise, God assist you! and I thank you for the offers you make me."

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—SIR JOHN D'ELLE BRINGS LETTERS PATENT OF PEACE AND PARDON TO THE MEN OF GHENT, FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THIS PEACE IS CONFIRMED AT TOURNAY BY OTHER LETTERS PATENT ON EACH SIDE.

The lord Bourchier and his men quietly left the market-place, and those of Ghent who had been with him, slily slipt away to hide themselves, or mixed with the others, under their banner. Shortly afterwards, sir John d'Elle entered the town and rode to the market-place, bringing with him letters patent, couched in fair language, and properly sealed, from the duke of Burgundy to the town of Ghent, which were publicly read and shown to all, and gave universal satisfaction. Francis Atremen was now sent for from the castle of Gaure, who instantly came, and agreed to the whole of the treaty, saying, "It was well done."

Sir John d'Elle now returned to the duke of Burgundy, who was with his duchess at Arras: he related to him all that had passed at Ghent; that Peter du Bois had lost all power there, and would probably have been killed had he been found; that Francis Atremen had behaved gallantly and loyally in respect to the peace. The duke was much pleased with all this, and signed a truce to last until the first day of January; and ordered a day to be fixed on, in the meantime, for conferences to be holden at Tournay, to confirm the peace. With these papers properly sealed and signed, the knight returned to Ghent: which gave such joy to every one, as plainly showed peace was the unanimous wish.

The lord Bourchier, the English, and Peter du Bois, still remained in Ghent, but nothing was done against them. Peter du Bois continued in peace, because he had sworn he would never more interfere in any war with the good people of Ghent against their lord the duke of Burgundy. He was, however, much assisted in this peril by Francis Atremen, who had spoken handsomely for him to the inhabitants: and for this reason Peter remained unmolested: besides, they knew that Peter had only held similar opinions to their own, and

that he was a good and loyal captain. During the truce which had been made between the duke of Burgundy and the town of Ghent, they elected those who were to attend the conference at Tournay. Francis Atremen was chosen as principal, because he was well mannered, of good dispositions, and acquainted with the lords he was to treat with: Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg were elected with him. They arrived at Tournay during the octave of St. Andrew, escorted by fifty horse, and lodged altogether at the Salmon Inn, in the street of St. Brice.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy, with madame de Nevers, their daughter, came thither on the fifth day of December, and entered Tournay by the gate of Lille. The Ghent men instantly rode out to meet them, on handsome horses: they did not dismount, but, bareheaded, saluted the duke and the ladies. The duke passed hastily through the town, to meet the duchess of Brabant, who came that same day, and entered it by the Mechlin gate: she was lodged at the bishop's palace. The conferences now began, relative to the treaty which the duke had granted to Ghent. Sir John d'Elle attended them, as he had, with much difficulty, brought this business to an end between the two parties. At last, at the entreaties of the duchess of Burgundy and madame de Nevers, the duke pardoned everything; and peace was proclaimed, after it had been drawn out and sealed by both parties, in manner following.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY, EARL OF FLANDERS, IN RIGHT OF HIS WIFE, WITH THE TOWN OF GHENT AND ITS ALLIES.

Philip of France, duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salins, count of Rethel, and lord of Mechlin, with Margaret, duchess and countess of the countries aforesaid, to all whom these presents shall come, greeting: be it known, that our well-beloved subjects, the sheriffs, deacons, council, and commonalty, of our good town of Ghent, having humbly supplicated our lord, the king, and us, to have mercy upon them, and that our said lord, together with us, having had compassion on them, by other letters than these present, and for the reasons contained in them, have pardoned and forgiven all misdemeanours and offences committed by them, our subjects of Ghent; and have fully confirmed all the said customs, privileges, and franchises, provided they place themselves wholly under the obedience of our said lord and us. Which grace and pardon the aforesaid subjects of Ghent and their allies have very humbly received from our said lord and us, by their letters and ambassadors, which they have sent to our said lord and us, being at Tournay, and have renounced all wars and disputes, being returned most heartily to their obedience, to the said lord and us, promising henceforward to be good friends and loyal subjects to our said lord the king, as to their sovereign lord, and to us as their natural lord, in right of Margaret, our wife, being their natural lady and heiress. For which cause our said lord and ourselves, have received our said subjects of Ghent and their allies into our favour, and have granted them letters of remission for all offences, singly and absolutely, with the restitution of all their franchises and privileges, as will be more fully apparent in these our letters. After which grace and remission, our said subjects of our good town of Ghent, having made several supplications which we have received, and have had maturely considered by our council, and they, according with the common good of the country, in order to put a final end to all dissensions, from our love and favour to our good subjects, have ordered as follows, in regard to these said supplications:

First, with regard to their request, that we would confirm the privileges of Courtray, Oudenarde, Grammont, Meule, Dendremonde, Russelmonde, Alost, Ath, Arclo, Breuilles, Deynse, and the jurisdictions of these towns in the low countries. We order the inhabitants of these said towns to wait on us with their said privileges; and, after examination of them by our council, we will so act, that our subjects of Ghent, and the other good towns, shall be satisfied therewith: and should any of the said privileges be lost or accidentally destroyed, after strict inquiry made on the subject, we will provide accordingly as it has been before mentioned.

Item,—as to their requests concerning commerce, we consent that it have free course through our country of Flanders, on paying the usual duties.

Item,—should any of their friends or allies be hereafter arrested in any foreign country, on account of the late disturbances, we will have them sent home in safety. We likewise consent, that if any of them be thus arrested, we will assist and defend them to the utmost of our power, as good lords should do to loyal subjects.

Item,—we are willing that all prisoners of their party, supposing them to have agreed for their ransom, shall have their liberty, on paying the stipulated sum and other reasonable expenses; provided, however, that if any of the said prisoners, their relations or friends, hold any fortresses against us, such be first given up: and on like terms shall those attached to us, and confined by our subjects of Ghent or their allies, be set at liberty.



Ghent.—The Old Maison de Ville. From an Original Drawing.

Item,—out of our abundant goodness we have ordered, and by these presents do order, that all those who may have been banished from our good towns of Bruges, Ypres, or other places, on account of these dissensions, as well as those who may have been banished by law and justice from our good town of Ghent, or who may have voluntarily absented themselves, be restored, so that they may return to the said towns and reside; provided those who have held for the party of Ghent be in like manner restored to their different towns or country, and when they re-enter the towns to which they are restored, they make oath before our officers in the town of Ghent, and swear to keep the peace in such towns, and not commit any damage either in a public or private manner on any of the inhabitants. In the like manner will those swear who shall re-enter Ghent.

Item,—all those who may return to our town of Ghent, with their allies and other inhabitants, will be obedient to our said lord and to us, and will promptly put themselves under our obedience. With regard to those who may now be absent, they shall be restored, in time hereafter to be specified, to their fiefs, houses, lands, and inheritances, in whatever

place they may be, notwithstanding any mischiefs they may have done during, and on account of these disturbances, in as full a manner as they enjoyed them previous to that period.

Item,—should any of the inhabitants of the said town of Ghent, or their allies, be in Brabant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Cambresis, or in the bishopric of Liege, and should they, within two months after the publication of this peace, put themselves under the obedience of our said lord and us, and furthermore take such oaths as shall be hereafter declared before us, or before those whom we may appoint to receive them, they shall fully enjoy all the before-mentioned pardons and graces. And those who may be in England, Frizeland, or Germany, should they, within four months as aforesaid, put themselves under our obedience, shall enjoy the like privileges. If such as may be beyond sea at Rome, or at St. Jago de Compostella, should, within one year from the publication of the peace, without fraud, take the oaths aforesaid, they shall partake of the same privileges, and in like manner all those banished by judgment of law, or such persons as may have voluntarily absented themselves on account of the dissensions, shall be restored to their fiefs, houses, lands, and inheritances according to their several claims.

Item,—with regard to moveable property, which may have been taken on both sides, no restitutions be made, but each party remain acquitted to each other; unless, indeed, restitutions be made, to discharge the consciences of those who may have taken such things.

Item,—those now in possession of the houses which are to be restored, as well on one side as on the other, shall not carry away any fixture whatever; and such houses shall be restored with all their appurtenances and rents which may then be due; and henceforward all rents and profits shall be collected peaceably by those to whom they legally belong.

Item,—it having been reported to us, that some of our subjects of Ghent or their allies, have done homage for fiefs which they hold, to other lords than to those to whom they legally appertain, and by such means have forfeited their fiefs, notwithstanding which, we will, out of our grace, that such fiefs remain to them, on performing homage to us, for what had been ours, and of our vassals holding from us; and we acknowledge, out of our especial favour, any leases or recognisances as legal between the present parties.

Item,—our said subjects of Ghent, the sheriffs, deacons, council, commonalty, and their allies, by our orders, and their own freewill, having renounced all alliances, oaths, obligations, acts and homages, which they, or any of them, may have done to the king of England, to his commissioners, deputies, or officers, or to others who may not be in the good pleasure of our said lord or of us, do now make oath that from henceforward they will be good and loyal subjects to our said lord, and to his successors, the kings of France, as well as to us; and will perform such services to us and to our successors, as good and loyal subjects are bounden to do to their lord or lady, to defend their persons, honour, inheritances, and rights, and prevent all who may endeavour to invade them, by giving direct information to our officers, saving always their own rights and privileges.

Item,—that our subjects of our good town of Ghent may remain always in peace, and under the obedience of our said lord the king and us, as well as of our heirs, the earls of Flanders our successors, and that disturbances which may in future arise be prevented, we will that all these aforesaid articles be strictly maintained without any infringement. And we forbid our subjects, however ill they may have acted towards us in the late dissensions, to venture in any way, either directly or indirectly, by word or deed, to offer any injury, by reproaches or insults, to the aforesaid men of Ghent.

Item,—if any one act contrary to these our orders, and injure those of Ghent, under pretence of taking our part, for what may have passed during the late disturbances, such offence shall be brought before the lord, and the courts to which it may belong; and such criminal act shall be punished by corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, as shall in like manner the offences of their accomplices, abettors, and those who may attempt to conceal them, after having been convicted of infringing the peace, as well by the justice of our officers or of other lords, as by the laws of the country to whose jurisdiction it may more immediately appertain: a reasonable satisfaction shall be made to the injured party, from the criminal's effects, and the surplus be paid to us, or to whatever lord has the right to it, saving the privileges of the towns.

Item,—should any of the citizens of our said town of Ghent be banished from the said town for fraction of the peace; and supposing that prior to this peace, by the privileges of the town, their effects could not be confiscated; nevertheless, for the better preserving this peace, they shall, for such cause, be confiscated, and from such effects shall reparation be made to the party injured, as has been before stated, and the residue revert to their legal heirs, just as if such persons were deceased, saving in all other respects the privileges of our good town of Ghent: and if such wicked persons cannot be arrested, so as to suffer corporal punishment, their effects shall be confiscated as aforesaid.

Item,—if any abusive language shall be uttered, and come to the ears of any of our civil officers, against this our order, we will that the person uttering such be punished by arbitrary fine, so as to serve for an example to others, by the legal judges of such places before whom he or they shall have been brought, saving the franchises and privileges of those places.

Item,—if any churchman be guilty of any acts against the said peace, let him be transferred to his ordinary, to be punished as an infringer of the peace, according as the case may require.

Item,—this same peace shall be publicly proclaimed and published in the said town of Ghent, and in all our other towns in Flanders.

Item,—should any doubts or obscurity appear on the face of the said articles of peace, we declare, and will order our council to declare, that such doubts and obscurities, should any such arise, shall be interpreted and explained in such manner as shall give satisfaction to the complainants.

And we, the deans and commonalty of the town of Ghent, do by these presents accept for ourselves and for our allies these acts of clemency, pardon and grace done to us, by king Charles, our lord paramount, and by the aforesaid duke and duchess, earl and countess of Flanders, our lawful and natural lords: and we thank them, from the bottom of our hearts, for these said graces and pardons. We also swear obedience, as good and loyal subjects should do, to them, and will guard, to the utmost of our power, their persons and honour.

In testimony of which, we the duke and duchess aforesaid have had our seals put to these letters;—and we the sheriffs, deacons, and commonalty of the town of Ghent have also affixed the seal of the town.

In addition to which, we the duke and duchess aforesaid have entreated and do entreat our very dear and well-beloved aunt the duchess of Luxembourg and Brabant, and our very dear and well-beloved brother duke Albert of Bavaria. And we also, the sheriffs, deacons, and commonalty of Ghent, entreat the very powerful and puissant princess the lady duchess of Luxembourg and Brabant, and the high and puissant prince duke Albert aforesaid. And also we the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and we the sheriffs, council, and commonalty of Ghent, entreat the barons and nobles of the country of Flanders, hereafter named, from the good towns of Bruges, Ypres, the Franconate, Mechlin, and Antwerp, for the security of the peace, and assurance of the truth of the above-mentioned articles, to affix their own seals, and the seals of the different towns, to these presents.

And we Jane, by the grace of God duchess of Luxembourg, Brabant, and Limbourg; and we duke Albert of Bavaria, bailiff, regent, and heir to the countries of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and lordship of Frizeland: we William, eldest son to the earl of Namur and lord of Sluys; Hugh lord d'Antoing and warden of Ghent, John lord de Guistelles and de Harues, Henry de Bruges, lord de Dixmude and de Havre, John lord de Gonuseberge and de la Jentoise, Arnold de Jouste lord d'Estournay, Philip lord d'Axalle, Louis de la Hasle bastard of Flanders, Girard de Rasenhen lord de Baserode, Walter lord de Halun, Philip de Hamur lord d'Eque, John Villain, lord de St. Jean d'Outre, warden of Ypres, Lewis lord de Lambres knight: and we the burgomasters, with the sheriffs of the towns of Bruges and Ypres: we Philip de Redehen and de Montferrant sheriffs: Montfranc de Montamar knight, sheriff of the Franconate, in the name of that territory, which has no common seal: and we, the council of the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp,—have at the aforesaid request, for the good of the peace, and for the greater security and truth of all the fore-mentioned articles, and every one of them, caused to be affixed our seals and the seals of the aforesaid towns to these presents.—Executed at Tournay the 18th day of December, in the year of grace 1385.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—PETER DU BOIS, AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE, RETIRES TO ENGLAND WITH THE LORD BOURCHIER, GOVERNOR OF GHENT.

When all these ordinances and treaties of peace had been engrossed and sealed, they were published before the parties: the duke of Burgundy had one part, and the deputies from Ghent the other. Francis Atremen and the deputation with him most humbly took leave of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and of the duchess of Brabant, thanking them repeatedly, and offering their services to them for ever. The good lady of Brabant returned their thanks, and kindly entreated them firmly to maintain the peace, and induce others to do the same, and desired them never to rebel against their lord and lady, for they had seen with how much difficulty peace had now been brought about. They thanked her heartily, and the conference broke up, and each retired to his home.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy went to Lille, where they staid some time, and the deputation returned to Ghent. When Peter du Bois saw peace so firmly established that there was not a possibility of any future disturbance or rebellion, he was greatly cast down: he doubted whether to remain in Ghent, considering that now everything had been pardoned under the seal of the duke, so that none were afraid, or whether to accompany the lord Bourchier and the English to England. Having paid due attention to all circumstances, he did not think he could venture to trust himself in Ghent. True it is, that Francis Atremen, when he mentioned his intentions of quitting Ghent, said, "Peter, everything is pardoned; and you know, by the treaties made and sealed with my lord of Burgundy, that no one can suffer for what has passed." "Francis," replied Peter, "real pardons do not always lie in letters patent: one may pardon by word of mouth, and give letters to the same effect, but hatred may still lie in the heart. I am but a man of low birth, and little consequence in the town of Ghent, and yet have done all in my power to maintain its rights and privileges. Do you think, that in two or three years hence, the people will remember it? There are persons of high birth in the town: Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who were enemies to my master John Lyon, will return, and will never view me but with evil eyes; as will also the relations of sir Gilbert Gente and sir Symon Bete, who were slain by me: never can I trust myself safely in this town. And will you venture to remain among such traitors, who have broken their faith with the king of England? I swear, that you yourself will in the end suffer." "I know not what may happen," answered Francis; "but I have such faith in the treaty, and in the promises of my lord and lady of Burgundy, that I shall certainly stay here*."

Peter du Bois made a supplication to the sheriffs, deacons, council, and governors of Ghent, saying, "My fair gentlemen, I have served the good town of Ghent to the very utmost of my power: many times have I hazarded my life for it: and for all these services the only reward I ask is, that you would have me and mine, my wife and children, escorted in safety with the lord Bourchier, whom you have ordered to England." Those present unanimously complied with his wish; and I must say, that Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, by whom the peace had been made, were more glad than sorry at his departure; as were likewise the principal persons in Ghent, who wished peace and love to all. Peter du Bois made his preparations, and left Ghent in company with lord Bourchier and the English, carrying with him his whole fortune; for, in truth, he was well provided with gold, silver, and jewels. Sir John d'Elle escorted them, under a passport from the duke of Burgundy, as far as the town of Calais, and then returned to Ghent. The lord Bourchier and Peter du Bois made as much haste as possible to England, where he was presented to the king and his uncles, to whom he related everything which had happened in the affairs of Ghent, and the means by which peace had been concluded with the duke of Burgundy. The king, the duke of Lancaster, and his brothers entertained him handsomely, and were well pleased that he had come to them. The king retained him in his service, and instantly

* Atremen was afterwards assassinated.—Ed.

gave him one hundred marcs yearly revenue, assigned on the wool-staple of London. Thus did Peter du Bois remain in England, and the good town of Ghent in peace. Roger Cremin was appointed deacon of the pilots of Ghent, which is a most profitable office when commerce is uninterrupted; and James d'Ardembourg was made deacon of the small crafts, which is likewise an office of great trust in the town of Ghent.

Although the present edition is divided into two volumes only, such being the most convenient arrangement of the work in its present form, yet the importance of retaining the original divisions of the Author has not been lost sight of, and they have accordingly been preserved. Froissart produced each of his volumes at some considerable interval from the preceding. "When," says M. de St. Palaye in his life of our author, "our historian finished one of the parts of his History, he brought it down to the time when he was writing; and towards the end he related the events as they were passing: from whence it happens, as it seems to me, that there is much confusion, often omissions and mistakes, which he has been obliged to correct or alter in the following parts." This is exemplified in the third volume, which was not begun till 1390, two years after the completion of the second; in it he returns to events which had happened since 1382, and gives a fuller account of them from the more correct information he had subsequently obtained. It would cause still greater confusion if the separate accounts were combined in an undistinguished train of chapters, and the cause of such repetitions was thus left without explanation. The third volume, which was finished in the year 1392, was written by the order and at the expense of the celebrated Gaston Phœbus Count de Blois, at whose court Sir John Froissart was then resident.—Ed.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

THIRD VOLUME

OF

THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

CHAPTER I.—FROISSART GIVES HIS REASONS FOR VISITING THE COUNT DE FOIX.

I HAVE been a considerable time without speaking of the affairs of distant countries. Those nearer home were at the moment so fresh in my memory, and so much more agreeable, that I have delayed mentioning others. Such valiant men, however, as were desirous of advancing themselves, whether in Castille, Portugal, Gascony, Rouergue, Quercy, Limousin, or in Bigorre, did not remain idle, but employed themselves underhand against each other, in the wish to perform deeds of arms that might surprise and conquer towns, castles, or fortresses. And for this reason, I, sir John Froissart, having undertaken to indite and chronicle this history, at the request and pleasure of the high and renowned prince, Guy de Châtillon, count of Blois, lord of Avesnes, Beauvois, Estonnehonne, de la Geude, my good and sovereign master and lord, considered in myself that grand deeds of arms would not fall out for a long space of time in the marches of Picardy and the country of Flanders, since there was peace in those parts; and it was very tiresome to me to be idle, for I well know, that when the time shall come, when I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be in much fashion, and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit. And moreover, since I had, God be thanked, sense and memory, and a good collection of all past things, with a clear understanding to conceive all the facts of which I should be informed, touching my principal matters, and since I was of an age and constitution of body well fit to encounter difficulties, I determined not to delay pursuing my subject. And in order to know the truth of distant transactions, without sending upon the inquiry any other in place of myself, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted prince Gaston Phœbus count de Foix and de Béarn; for I well knew, that if I were so fortunate as to be admitted into his household, and to remain there in quiet, I could not choose a situation more proper to learn the truth of every event, as numbers of foreign knights and squires assembled there from all countries, attracted by his high birth and gentility. It fell out just as I had imagined.

I told this my intention to my very renowned lord the count de Blois, and also the journey I wished to undertake, who gave me letters of recommendation to the count de Foix. I began my journey, inquiring on all sides for news, and, through the grace of God, continued it, without peril or hurt, until I arrived at the count's residence, at Orthès in Béarn, on St. Catherine's day in the year of grace 1388. The count de Foix, as soon as he saw me, gave me a hearty welcome, adding, with a smile and in good French, that he was well acquainted with me, though he had never seen me before, but he had frequently heard me spoken of. He retained me in his household, and, by means of the letters which I had brought, gave me full liberty to act as I pleased as long as I should wish to remain with him. I there learnt the greater part of those events which had happened in the kingdoms of Castille, Portugal, Navarre, Arragon, even in England, in the Bourbonnois, and everything concerning the whole of Gascony: he himself, when I put any question to him, answered

it most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on would in times to come be more sought after than any other; "because," added he, "my fair sir, more gallant deeds of arms have been performed within these last fifty years, and more wonderful things have happened, than for three hundred years before."



FROISSART AT THE COURT OF THE COUNT DE FOIX. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

I was thus received by the count de Foix in his hotel, and entertained according to my pleasure. My wish was to inquire after news relative to my history, and I had at my option, barons, knights, and squires, who gave me information, as well as the gallant count de Foix himself. I will therefore illustrate, in good language, all I there learnt, to add to my materials, and to give examples to those worthies who wish to advance themselves in renown. If I have heretofore dwelt on gallant deeds, attacks and captures, of castles, towns, and forts, on hard-fought battles and skirmishes, many more will now ensue; all of which, by God's grace, I will truly narrate.

CHAPTER II.—A SHORT REPETITION OF WHAT IS CONTAINED IN SOME OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS, FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN KING JOHN OF CASTILLE AND THE BASTARD OF PORTUGAL, BROTHER TO THE LATE KING DON FERNANDO.

YOU have before seen in this history*, that Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of the late king of England, had departed from Portugal, and embarked with his army at Lisbon, notwithstanding he had betrothed his son John to the lady Beatrice, daughter of don Fernando king of Portugal. The earl was discontented with Fernando, because he had

* Vol. I. p. 209.

remained for fifteen days encamped with his army before king John of Castille, without any engagement, and had entered into a treaty with the Castillians against his opinion. This had greatly displeased him; and, when the treaty was negotiating, he thus spoke: "Sir king, take good heed what you do; for we are not come into this country to eat, drink, and to rob, but to make war on this son of a bastard who calls himself king of Castille and count of Transtamare, to conquer our lawful inheritance, which this John de Transtamare holds and possesses. You well know, that by marriage with the heiresses of the kingdom of Castille, daughters of don Pedro, who was your cousin-german, my brother and myself have the claims of right; and you have offered to assist in the recovery of this kingdom (for every good lord ought to lean to the lawful right, and not to its opposite) by your knight who here stands, and whom you sent to England to say, that if we would bring into this country two thousand lances and from two to three thousand archers, with the aid you would give us, you had great hopes that we might regain our inheritance. I am therefore come hither, not indeed with as many in number as you wrote for; but those I have are well inclined, and bold enough to abide the event of a battle, if joined by your army, against the force which the count de Transtamare has at this moment: and we shall be much dissatisfied with your conduct if a battle do not take place." Such were the words spoken by the earl of Cambridge to the king of Portugal, before his departure, who distinctly heard them; but, nevertheless, he dared not offer battle to the Castillians, although they were within sight of each other. There were none of his council who did not say,—"Sir, the army of the king of Castille is at this moment too powerful; and if, by accident, you lose the day, you will lose your crown, without any chance of recovering it: you had better, therefore, endure much, than do any thing wherein is such great peril and risk." The earl of Cambridge, finding he could not gain any thing, returned to Lisbon, ordered his vessels to be made ready, and took leave of the king of Portugal. When he embarked, he would not leave his son John with the king and the damsel that was to be his wife, but sailed for England, leaving none behind. Such was the end of the Portuguese armament at this season.

The earl of Cambridge, on his arrival in England, represented to his brother, the duke of Lancaster, how the king of Portugal had acted, and the state of that country. The duke became very thoughtful, for he saw that the conquest of Castille was very distant and doubtful: besides, his nephew, king Richard, had in his council those who were unfriendly to him, more especially the earl of Oxford, who had the sole management of the king. This lord did every thing in his power to make a breach between the king and his uncles. He said to him,—"Sir, if you wish to support your two uncles, my lords of Lancaster and of Cambridge, in their war with Spain, it will cost you the whole revenue of England, and they will not at last gain any thing. It will be more prudent to keep at home men and money, than that they should be scattered abroad without any profit to yourself: you had better guard and defend your own inheritance, which is invaded on all sides from France and Scotland, than employ your men elsewhere." The young king was well inclined to follow this advice of the earl, for he loved him with his whole heart, they having been brought up together. The earl of Oxford was connected with several English knights, and never acted without the advice of sir Simon Burley, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury and sir Michael de la Pole: sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were also named among his advisers. From these differences between the king and his uncles, and the nobles with the commonalty, many serious ills befel England, as I shall hereafter relate in the course of this history.

Not long after the departure of the earl of Cambridge from Portugal king Fernando fell ill. His disorder, after oppressing him with languor for a year, caused his death. He had no other children but the queen of Spain. The king of Castille received information that the realm of Portugal was now fallen to him, as the rightful successor to the deceased king. Many councils were holden on this occasion; but, when they spoke to him on the subject, he replied, "The Portuguese are an obstinate race: I shall never gain them but by conquest."

The Portuguese, finding themselves without a king took council together, and resolved to send a deputation to a bastard-brother of king Fernando, a valiant and wise man called

Denis*; but he was a monk, and master of the order of Avis. They declared, they had much rather be under the government of this valiant man, than of the king of Castille; for, in the eyes of God, he who acted well was no bastard. The grandmaster was exceedingly rejoiced on hearing the universal good will the four principal cities in Portugal bore him; and that the affection of Lisbon and the others was so strong, they were desirous of crowning him their king. He secretly wrote to his friends, and went to Lisbon, which is the principal town in Portugal. The townsmen received him joyfully, and demanded, should they crown him king, would he be good and loyal, and preserve the country in its privileges? He answered, that he would, and be the best king they ever had. Upon this, the citizens of Lisbon wrote to those of Coimbra, Oporto and Ourique, which are the keys of the realm, that for their mutual advantage, they were desirous to crown king the grand-master Denis, who was wise and valiant, of good conduct, and brother to king Fernando: for that the kingdom of Portugal could not longer remain without a head, as well for fear of the Castillians, as of the infidels at Granada and Bugia, who bordered on the country. These four principal towns, and the land proprietors of Portugal, excepting a few great barons and knights, were inclined to favour his election; but some barons said, it was not right a bastard should be crowned king, if he were not of the best dispositions. The towns replied, that he was so qualified, and that it was a case of necessity, for they had no other choice; that he was a man of sense and of courage in arms; that there was a precedent in Henry of Transtamare, who had been crowned king of all Castille, by the choice of the country, for its common advantages, even during the lifetime of don Pedro.

The election, whether the nobles would or not, took place: and Denis was crowned king in the cathedral church of Coimbra, with the unanimous consent of the commonalty of Portugal. He swore to administer justice honestly, to maintain the people in all the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed from former times, and which they were entitled to have preserved to them. This gave great satisfaction to all. When news of this was carried to the king of Castille, he was wroth for two reasons: one, because his queen was the legal heiress of Portugal; the other, that the people had crowned a king of Portugal by election. He therefore made this a pretext for war, and demanded from the town of Lisbon two hundred thousand florins, which king Fernando had promised him when he espoused his daughter. He sent as ambassadors to Portugal the count de Tierme and de Rebede, and the bishop of Burgos, with a grand suite of attendants. When arrived at Santarem, the last town of Castille towards Lisbon, they sent a herald to the king and citizens of Lisbon, to demand passports for the security of their coming and returning. These were instantly granted. The council of the town were assembled to hear explained the cause of their embassy: at the end of their harangue they said,—"You Lisboners should properly understand this matter, and not be surprised if our king, in his anger, demands so large a sum from you, which you are bound to pay him, since you have thought proper to give the noble crown of Portugal to a clerk, a monk, and a bastard. This act is not to be suffered: for, by rightful election, it belongs to our king, as the natural and true heir: besides, you have acted contrary to the opinion of the nobility of the kingdom: therefore, he now declares by us, that you have been guilty of a high misdemeanour, and if you do not hasten to make every reparation, he is resolved to make war upon you." Don Ferdinand Gallopes de Villasons, a noble citizen and of great weight in Lisbon, thus answered: "My lords, you greatly reproach us for our election, but your own is in the same predicament, for you have crowned in Castille a bastard, the son of a Jewess. The fact is universally known. With regard to the justice of your election, there is none; for your king has no right to the crown of Castille: it belongs to the daughters of don Pedro, Constance and Isabella, who are married to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, to their children, and to their

* Froissart mistakes one brother for another. Peter the Severe had three children by Inès de Castro: Denis, the eldest, was confined at this time in the prisons of Spain. John, the person meant in the text, was the son of Peter by Theresa Laurezzo, and surnamed the Father of his Country. He was grand master of the order of Avis; and, after the death of his brother Ferdinand, was chosen king, to the prejudice of Beatrice, only child of Ferdinand. Pope Urban, by dispensation, freed him from his religious vows in 1387. He married Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by Blanche of Castille, by whom he had several children.—Moreri—*Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

husbands for them. You may, therefore, depart when you please, and tell him that sent you, that our election is good, and shall be upholden; for that we will not have any other king as long as the present one shall choose to be so. With regard to the sum of money you demand from us, we say that we are no way obliged to pay it: you must therefore call upon those who bound themselves to the payment, and who had all the advantage of it." The king of Portugal was not present at this assembly, though he well knew what answer his people were to make. The ambassadors from the king of Castille, perceiving they should gain nothing more from the Portuguese, took leave, as was becoming them, set out and returned to Seville, where they had left the king and his council. Having related all that you have just heard to the king, he summoned a council to deliberate on what was to be done. It was determined to send defiances to the king of Portugal and his partisans, and that the king of Castille had just reasons for declaring war against them. After these defiances had been sent to Portugal, the king of Castille issued a special summons for raising an army, declaring he would lay siege to Lisbon, and not depart thence until he had gained it, for the insolent replies that had been made to his ambassadors, so that they should pay dearly if they were obliged to sue for mercy. The king of Castille advanced to Santarem with his whole force, that being the place of rendezvous. About this period, a knight of Castille, of the name of Navaret, was expelled that court; and, if the king in his anger had caught him, he would have had him beheaded. The knight, however, had timely notice, for he had friends on the watch, and, quitting the kingdom of Castille, came to Lisbon to the king of Portugal, who was much pleased at his arrival, retained him in his service, and made him captain of his knights. He afterwards did much harm to the Castillians.

The king of Castille marched from Santarem with his whole army, to Lisbon, which he besieged, inclosing within it the king. This siege lasted upwards of a year. The count de Longueville was constable of the army, and sir Reginald de Limousin marshal of it. This sir Reginald was a Limousin knight, whom sir Bertrand du Guesclin had carried into Castille during the wars of king Henry; he had conducted himself so faithfully that the king had given him a fair estate and a handsome lady to his wife, by whom he had two sons, Reginald and Henry: he was much esteemed throughout Castille for his prowess. With the king of Castille, at this siege, were Daghenes Mandat, sir Digho Perçement, don Peter Roçerment and don Marich de Versaux*, Portuguese, who had turned to the Castillians. The grand master of Calatrava, with his brother, a young knight called don Dighemeres,† Peter Goussart de Seville, John Radigo de Hoyex, and the grand master of St. Jago. The army before Lisbon amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men: many were the skirmishes and gallant deeds of arms performed on each side.

The Castillians knew well the king of Portugal would not be supported by the nobles, for the commonalty had elected him against their will; for which reason there were great dissensions between them‡; and the king's intentions were to conquer Lisbon and the whole country before he returned, for no assistance, except from England, could come to them. This only he feared; but, having considered that the English were at a great distance, and that the king of England and his uncles were not on good terms with each other, he carried on the siege with security. The army was so plentifully supplied with every sort of provision, there was not a town or market in all Castille where was more abundance§. The king of Portugal remained with his people in Lisbon, much at his ease, for they could not be deprived of the advantage of the sea. His council advised him to send able ambassadors to England, to the king and duke of Lancaster, to renew the alliance which had subsisted between the king of England and his brother Ferdinand; to charge the ambassadors to ask his daughter Philippa from the duke of Lancaster, who would willingly give her to him for his queen; to offer, under the strongest terms, a perpetual alliance between the two countries, and to declare he would exert himself so effectually, if the duke would come thither with two or three thousand combatants, and as many archers, that he should recover

* These names are probably very much disfigured, but I am unable to rectify them. [Diego Mendoza, Diego Perez Sarmiento, Don Peter Ruiz Sarmiento, Manriquez D'Aversaula.]—Ed.

† Don Diego Merlo.—Ed.

‡ *i. e.* The nobles and commonalty.

§ The plague broke out in the army, and obliged them to abandon the siege.—Ed.

the kingdom of Castille, which was his lawful inheritance. Two knights of his household, sir John Rodriguez and sir John Testedor, with a clerk of laws called Marche de la Figgiere, archdeacon of Lisbon, were nominated to go as ambassadors to England. Having provided themselves with all things necessary, they embarked with a favourable wind, and left the harbour of Lisbon, steering for the coasts of England.

On the other hand, the king of Castille, during his siege of Lisbon, was advised to write to France and to Gascony for assistance of knights and squires, as the Spaniards naturally imagined the king of Portugal would apply to England for succours to raise the siege: he was not willing, therefore, to be unprepared, nor that his army should not be in sufficient strength to resist the united force of the Portuguese and English. The king, in consequence of this advice, sent letters and messengers to many knights who were anxious to display their courage, more particularly to those of Béarn and the county of Foix; for in these countries were many good knights, who wished for opportunities of showing their love of arms, but could not find them, as the count de Foix at this period was at peace with the count d'Armagnac. These looked-for allies of the kings of Spain and Portugal were not so soon ready, nor near at hand. Hostilities still continued to be carried on in Auvergne, the Toulousain, Rouergue, and in the country of Bigorre. We will now leave the affairs of Portugal, and speak of others.

CHAPTER III.—THE COUNT DE FOIX, AT THE ENTREATY OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES, REMITS THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC SIXTY THOUSAND FRANCS OUT OF HIS RANSOM OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND.—THE ENGLISH GARRISON AT LOURDE* GOVERNS THE ADJOINING COUNTRY.

Between the county of Foix and Béarn lies the county of Bigorre, which belongs to France, and is bounded on one side by the Toulousain, and the other by Comminges, and Béarn. In this country of Bigorre is situated the strong castle of Lourde, which has always been regarded as English since the country was given up to the king of England and the prince, as part of the ransom for king John of France, according to the treaty of peace made at Bretigny near Chartres, and afterwards ratified at Calais, as it has already been mentioned in the former part of this history. When the prince of Wales left England to take possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, (which the king his father had given him to hold as a fief and inheritance under him, in which were two archbishopricks and twenty-two bishopricks), accompanied by the princess of Wales, they resided at Bordeaux about a year. They were entreated by John count d'Armagnac to come to the handsome city of Tarbes, in the county of Bigorre, to see and visit that part of the country, which the prince had never yet done. The count d'Armagnac imagined that the count de Foix would pay his respects to the prince and princess during the time they were in Bigorre; and, as he was indebted to him two hundred and fifty thousand francs for his ransom, he thought he would try to prevail on them to request the count de Foix to release him from a part, if not the whole of it. The count d'Armagnac managed so well that the prince and princess of Wales came with their court, which, at that time, was very numerous and splendid, into Bigorre, and fixed their residence at Tarbes. Tarbes is a handsome town, situated in a champaign country, among rich vineyards: there is a town, a city, and a castle, all separated from each other, and inclosed with gates, walls, and towers: the beautiful river Lisse, which rises in the mountains of Béarn and Catalonia, and is as clear as rock-water, runs through and divides the town. Five leagues from thence is situated the town of Morlans, in the county of Foix, at the entrance into Béarn and under a mountain. Six leagues distant from Tarbes is the town of Pau, which belongs also to the count de Foix. During the time the prince and princess were at Tarbes, the count was in his town of Pau, erecting a handsome castle adjoining to the outskirts of the town, and on the river Gave†.

* "Lourde,"—capital of the valley of Lavidan, in Gascony, diocese of Tarbes, near Bagnères.

† "Gave," in the patois of the country signifies a river, and that at Pau is thus called, "Le Gave de Pau."—Ed.

As soon as he was informed of the arrival of the prince and princess at Tarbes, he made his preparations and visited them in great state, accompanied by upwards of six hundred horse and sixty knights. They were much pleased at his visit, and entertained him handsomely, as he was well deserving of it, and the princess paid him the most engaging attentions. The count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth were present, and the prince was entreated to request the count de Foix to release the count from all, or part of what he was indebted to him for his ransom. The prince being a prudent as well as a valiant man, having considered a while, said, he would not do so, and added: "Count d'Armagnac, you were made prisoner by fair deeds of arms, and in open battle: you put our cousin the count de Foix, his person and his men, to the hazard of the fight; and, if fortune has been favourable to him and adverse to you, he ought not to fare the worse for it. Neither my lord and father nor myself would have thanked you if you had entreated us to give back what we had honourably and fortunately won at the battle of Poitiers, for which we return thanks to the Lord God." The count d'Armagnac, on hearing this, was quite thunderstruck: and, notwithstanding he had failed in his expectations, he made a similar request to the princess, who cheerfully entreated the count de Foix to grant her a boon. "Madam," replied the count, "I am but a small gentleman, and an insignificant bachelor; therefore, I cannot make large gifts; but, if the boon you request do not exceed sixty thousand francs, I grant it." The princess was anxious to gain the whole; but the count, being a wary man, paid much attention to all his personal affairs: besides, he suspected this boon regarded the ransom of the count d'Armagnac: he therefore continued, "Madam, for a poor knight like me, who am building towns and castles, the gift I offer you ought to suffice." When the princess found she could not gain more, she said, "Count de Foix, I request and entreat you would forgive the count d'Armagnac." "Madam," answered the count, "I ought to comply with your request. I have said, that if the boon you solicited did not exceed sixty thousand francs, I would grant it; the count d'Armagnac owes me two hundred and fifty thousand, and at your entreaty I give you sixty thousand of them." Thus ended the matter; and the count d'Armagnac, by the princess's entreaty, gained sixty thousand francs. The count de Foix, shortly afterwards, returned to his own country.

I, sir John Froissart, make mention of all these things, because when I visited Foix and Béarn, I travelled through Bigorre, and made enquiry after all that had passed, and what I had not heard before. I there learnt that the prince of Wales, during his residence at Tarbes, had a great desire to see the castle of Lourde, three leagues distant, among the mountains. When he had fully examined that castle and country, he was much pleased, as well with the strength of the place, as its situation on the frontiers of several countries; for those of Lourde can overrun the kingdom of Arragon to a great extent, and as far as Barcelona in Catalonia. The prince called to him a knight of his household, named sir Peter Arnaut, of the country of Béarn, who had loyally served him, and in whom he had great confidence: he was an expert man at arms and cousin to the count de Foix. "Sir Peter," said the prince, "I nominate and appoint you governor and captain of Lourde, and regent of the country of Bigorre: now guard well this castle, so as to give a good account of it to my lord and father, and to myself." "My lord," replied the knight, "that I will cheerfully do;" and he instantly did homage and pledged his faith, when the prince put him in possession of it.

Now, you must know, that when the war was renewed between the kings of France and England, as has been before related *, the count Guy de St. Pol, and sir Hugh de Chastillon, master of the cross-bows in France, besieged and took the town of Abbeville, and the whole country of Ponthieu: about the same time, two great barons of Bigorre, whose names were sir Marnaut Barbasan and the lord d'Anchin, turned to the French interest, and seized the town and castle of Tarbes, for they were weakly guarded. The castle of Lourde was under the command of sir Peter Arnaut, of Béarn, who would not surrender on any terms, but carried on a sharp contest against France. He sent to Upper Gascony and Béarn for some knight adventurers to assist him in the war; and many able men came to him. He had six captains, each of whom had fifty lances or more under his command: his brother, John de Béarn, a gallant squire, Peter d'Anchin de Bigorre, brother-german to the lord d'Anchin, who

* In 1369.—Ed.

would never turn to the French, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, Ernauton de Montagu, de Sainte Basile, and le bourg de Carnela. These captains made many excursions into Bigorre, the Toulousain, the Carcassonois, and on the Albigeois; for the moment they left Lourde they were on enemy's ground, which they overran to a great extent, sometimes thirty leagues from their castle. In their march they touched nothing, but on their return all things were seized, and sometimes they brought with them so many prisoners, and such quantities of cattle, they knew not how to dispose of, nor lodge them. They laid under contribution the whole country except the territory of the count de Foix; but there they dared not take a fowl without paying for it, nor hurt any man belonging to the count, or even any who had his passport; for it would have enraged him so much that they must have been ruined.

These companions in Lourde had the satisfaction of overrunning the whole country wherever they pleased. Tarbes, which is situated, as I have said, hard by, was kept in great fear, and was obliged to enter into a composition with them. Between Tarbes and their castle is a large village, with a handsome abbey, called Guyors, to which they did much mischief, but they also compounded with them. On the other side of the river Lisse is a goodly inclosed town called Bagneres, the inhabitants of which had a hard time of it; for they were much harassed by those of Malvoisin, which is situated on a mountain, the river Lisse running at the foot of it, in its course towards Tournay, an enclosed town. This town of Tournay was the common pass for those of Lourde and Malvoisin, to which they did no harm, because they had a free passage, and the townspeople had good bargains of their pillage: they were, therefore, forced to dissemble with them, if they were desirous of living, for they did not receive aid or succour from any one. The governor of Malvoisin was a Gascon, called Raymonet de l'Espée, an able man at arms. Those of Lourde and Malvoisin put under contribution the merchants of Arragon and Catalonia equally with those of France.

CHAPTER IV.—SIR JOHN FROISSART, IN HIS JOURNEY TOWARDS BEARN, IS ACCOMPANIED BY A KNIGHT ATTACHED TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, WHO RELATES TO HIM HOW THE GARRISON OF LOURDE TOOK ORTINGAS AND LE PALLIER, ON THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR IN GUYENNE, AFTER THE RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF BRETIGNY.

At the time I undertook my journey to visit the count de Foix, reflecting on the diversity of countries I had never seen, I set out from Carcassone, leaving the road to Toulouse on the right hand, and came to Monteroral, then to Tonges, then to Belle, then to the first town in the county of Foix; from thence to Maisieres, to the castle of Sauredun, then to the handsome city of Pamiers*, which belongs to the count de Foix, where I halted, to wait for company that were going to Béarn, where the count resided. I remained in the city of Pamiers three days: it is a very delightful place, seated among fine vineyards, and surrounded by a clear and broad river, called the Liege. Accidentally, a knight attached to the count de Foix, called sir Espaign du Lyon, came thither, on his return from Avignon: he was a prudent and valiant knight, handsome in person, and about fifty years of age. I introduced myself to his company, as he had a great desire to know what was doing in France. We were six days on the road travelling to Orthez. As we journeyed, the knight, after saying his orisons, conversed the greater part of the day with me, asking for news; and when I put any questions to him, he very willingly answered them. On our departure from Pamiers we crossed the mountain of Cesse, which is difficult of ascent, and passed near the town and castle of Ortingas, which belongs to the king of France, but did not enter it. We went to dine at a castle of the count de Foix, half a league further, called Carlat, seated on a high mountain. After dinner, the knight said: "Let us ride gently, we have but two leagues of this country (which are equal to three of France) to our lodging." "Willingly," answered I. "Now," said the knight, "we have this day passed the castle

* "Pamiers,"—three leagues from Foix, eighteen from Toulouse.

of Ortingas, the garrison of which did great mischief to all this part of the country. Peter d'Anchin had possession of it: he took it by surprise, and has gained sixty thousand francs from France." "How did he get so much?" said I. "I will tell you," replied the knight. "On the feast of our lady, the middle of August, a fair is holden, where all the country assemble, and there is much merchandise brought thither during that time. Peter d'Anchin and his companions of the garrison of Lourde, had long wanted to gain this town and castle, but could not devise the means. They had, however, in the beginning of May, sent two of their men, of very simple outward appearance, to seek for service in the town: they soon found masters, who were so well satisfied with them, that they went in and out of the town whenever they pleased, without any one having the smallest suspicion of them.

"When mid-August arrived, the town was filled with foreign merchants from Foix, Béarn, and France: and, you know, when merchants meet, after any considerable absence, they are accustomed to drink plentifully together to renew their acquaintance, so that the houses of the masters of these two servants were quite filled, where they drank largely, and their landlords with them. At midnight Peter d'Anchin and his company advanced towards Ortingas, and hid themselves and horses in the wood through which we passed. He sent six varlets with two ladders to the town, who, having crossed the ditches where they had been told was the shallowest place, fixed their ladders against the walls: the two pretended servants, who were in waiting, assisted them (whilst their masters were seated at table) to mount the walls. They were no sooner up, than one of the servants conducted their companions towards the gate where only two men guarded the keys: he then said to them, 'Do you remain here, and not stir until you shall hear me whistle; then sally forth and slay the guards. I am well acquainted with the keys, having more than seven times guarded the gate with my master.'

"As he had planned so did they execute, and hid themselves well. He then advanced to the gate, and, having listened, found the watch drinking: he called to them by their names, for he was well acquainted with them, and said, 'Open the door: I bring you the best wine you ever tasted, which my master sends you that you may watch the better.' Those who knew the varlet imagined he was speaking truth, and opened the door of the guard-room: upon this, he whistled, and his companions sallied forth and pushed between the door, so that they could not shut it again. The guards were thus caught cunningly, and so quietly slain that no one knew anything of it. They then took the keys and went to the gate, which they opened, and let down the draw-bridge so gently it was not heard. This done, they sounded a horn with one blast only, which those in ambuscade hearing, they mounted their horses and came full gallop over the bridge into the town, where they took all its inhabitants either at table or in their beds. Thus was Ortingas taken by Peter d'Anchin of Bigorre and his companions in Lourde."

I then asked the knight, "But how did they gain the castle?" "I will tell you," said sir Espaign du Lyon. "At the time the town was taken, by ill-luck the governor was absent, supping with some merchants from Carcassone, so that he was made prisoner, and on the morrow Peter d'Anchin had him brought before the castle, wherein were his wife and children, whom he frightened by declaring he would order the governor's head to be struck off, if they did not enter into a treaty to deliver up the castle. It was concluded, that if his lady would surrender, the governor should be given up to her, with permission to march unmolested away with everything that belonged to them. The lady, who found herself in such a critical situation, through love to him who could not now defend her, in order to recover her husband and to avoid greater dangers, surrendered the castle, when the governor, his wife and children, set out with all that belonged to them, and went to Pamiers. By this means, Peter d'Anchin captured the town and castle of Ortingas; and, when they entered the place, he and his companions gained thirty thousand francs, as well in merchandise which they found there as in good French prisoners. All those who were from the county of Foix or Béarn received their liberty, with their goods untouched.

"Peter d'Anchin held Ortingas for full five years; and he and his garrison made frequent excursions as far as the gates of Carcassone, which is sixteen long leagues distant, greatly ruining the country, as well by the ransoms of towns which compounded, as by the pillage

they made. During the time Peter d'Anchin garrisoned Ortingas, some of his companions made a sally, being desirous of gain, and came to a castle a good league off, called le Paillier, of which Raymond du Paillier, a French knight, was the lord. They this time accomplished their enterprise, having before attempted it in vain; and, by means of a scalado, they took the castle, the knight and his lady in bed. They kept possession of it, allowing the lady and the children to depart, but detained the knight four months in his own castle, until he had paid four thousand francs for his ransom. In short, after they had sufficiently harassed the country, they sold these two castles, Ortingas and le Paillier, for eight thousand francs, and then retired to Lourde, their principal garrison. Such feats of arms and adventures were these companions daily practising.

"It happened likewise at this time, that a very able man at arms, one of the garrison of Lourde, a Gascon, called le Mengeant de Sainte Basile, set out from Lourde with twenty-nine others, and rode towards the Toulousain and the Albigeois, seeking adventures. His wishes were to surprise the castle of Penne in the Albigeois, which he was nearly doing, but failed. When he found he was disappointed, he rode up to the gate, where he skirmished, and several gallant deeds were done. At this same hour, the castellan of Toulouse, sir Hugh de Froide-ville, had also made an excursion with sixty lances, and by accident arrived at Penne whilst this skirmish was going forward. He and his men instantly dismounted, and advanced to the barriers. Le Mengeant would have made off; but, as that was impossible, he fought valiantly hand to hand with the knight: he behaved gallantly, and wounded his adversary in two or three places, but at last was made prisoner; for he was not the strongest; and of his men few escaped being killed or taken. Le Mengeant was carried to Toulouse; and the séneschal had great difficulty to save him from the populace, who wanted to put him to death when they saw him in the hands of their own officer, so much was he hated at Toulouse.

"Fortunately for him, the duke of Berry chanced to come to that city, and he had such good friends that the duke gave him his liberty in consideration of a thousand francs being paid the seneschal for his ransom. Le Mengeant, on gaining his liberty, returned to Lourde, where he ceased not from his usual enterprises. One time he set out with others, without arms, disguised as an abbot attended by four monks; for he and his companions had shaven the crowns of their heads, and no one would have imagined who saw them but that they were real monks, for they had every appearance in dress and look. In this manner he came to Montpelier, and alighted at the hotel of the Angel, saying he was an abbot from Upper Gascony going to Paris on business. He made acquaintance with a rich man of Montpelier, called sir Beranger, who was likewise bound for Paris on his affairs. On the abbot telling him he would carry him thither free from all expense, he was delighted that the journey would cost him nothing, and set out with le Mengeant attended only by a servant. They had not left Montpelier three leagues when le Mengeant made him his prisoner, and conducted him through crooked and bye-roads to his garrison of Lourde, whence he afterwards ransomed him for five thousand francs." "Holy Mary!" cried I, "this le Mengeant must have been a clever fellow." "Aye, that he was indeed," replied he; "and he died in his armour at a place we shall pass in three days, called Larre in Bigorre, below a town called Archinach." "I will remind you of it," said I, "when we shall arrive at the spot."

CHAPTER V.—SIR JOHN FROISSART AND THE KNIGHT OF FOIX ARRIVE AT CASSERES, WHERE THE KNIGHT RELATES TO HIM THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN BY THE ARMAGNACS, AND ALSO THE RE-CAPTURE OF IT BY THE COUNT DE FOIX; AND, AS THEY JOURNEY, THEY CONVERSE ON DIFFERENT FEATS OF ARMS BETWEEN THE ARMAGNACS AND FOIXIENS.

THUS rode we on to Montesquieu, a good inclosed town belonging to the count de Foix, which the Armagnacs and Labrissiens * took by surprise, but held it only three days; in the morning we left Montesquieu, and rode towards Palaminich, another inclosed town, situated on the Garonne, and belonging to the count de Foix. When we were close to it, and thought of entering it by the bridge over the Garonne, we found it impossible; for the preceding day it had rained so heavily in the mountains of Catalonia and Arragon, that a river, called the Saluz, which rises among them, and falls into the Garonne with great rapidity, was so much swelled as to carry away one of the arches of the bridge, which was of wood. We were therefore forced to return to Montesquieu to dinner, and remain there the whole day.

On the morrow, the knight was advised to cross the Garonne, opposite the town of Casseres, in a boat; we therefore rode thither, and by our exertions the horses passed, and we ourselves afterwards with some difficulty and danger; for the boat was so small that only two horses and their men could cross at a time with those who managed the boat. When we had crossed, we made for Casseres, where we staid the whole day. While our servants were preparing the supper, sir Espaign du Lyon said, "Sir John, let us go and see the town." "Come then," replied I. We walked through the town to a gate which opens towards Palaminich, and, having passed it, went near the ditches. The knight, pointing to the walls, said, "Do you observe that part of the walls?" "Yes, sir: why do you ask?" "I will tell you: because it is newer than the rest." "That is true," answered I. "I will relate to you how this happened ten years ago. You have heard of the wars between the count d'Armagnac and the count de Foix, which took place in the country of Béarn, that appertains to the count de Foix: the count d'Armagnac overran it, though at present he is quiet on account of the truces made between them. I must say, the Armagnacs and Labrissiens gained nothing, but had often great losses. On the night of the feast of St. Nicholas, in the winter of the year 1362, the count de Foix made prisoners, near to Montmarsen, the count d'Armagnac and his nephew the lord d'Albreth, and many nobles with them, whom he carried to Orthez, and confined them in the tower of the castle; by which capture he received ten times told one hundred thousand francs.

"It happened afterwards that the count d'Armagnac, father of the present, called sir John d'Armagnac, set on foot an armament, with which he came and took Casseres by scalado: they were full two hundred men at arms, who seemed resolved to keep the place by force. News was brought to the count de Foix, at Pau, that the Armagnacs and Labrissiens had taken his town of Casseres. He, who was a prudent and valiant knight, and prepared for all events, called to him two bastard brothers whom he had among his knights, sir Arnault Guillaume and sir Peter de Béarn, and ordered them to march instantly to Casseres, telling them he would send men from all parts, and in three days would be there in person. "Be careful, therefore," added he, "that none get out of the town without being fought with, as you will have strength enough; and on your arrival at Casseres, make the country people bring you plenty of large pieces of wood, which you will fix strongly round the gates, and completely bar them up; for I am resolved that those now in the town shall be so shut up in it, that they never pass through the gates: I will make them take another road."

"The two knights obeyed his orders, and marched to Palaminich, accompanied and followed by all the men at arms in Béarn. They encamped before the town of Casseres; but those within paid no attention to them, nor observed that they were so completely shut

* "Labrissiens,"—those attached to the family of Labreth, which we call Albreth.—D. S.

in, they could not pass through the gates. On the third day the count de Foix came with five hundred men at arms, and on his arrival had the town encompassed with fortifications of wood, as well as by his army, that no sally might be made from it in the night. In this state, without making any attack, he blockaded them until their provisions began to fail; for though they had wine in plenty, they had nothing to eat, and could not escape by fording the river, which was then too deep. They therefore thought it better to surrender themselves as prisoners, than shamefully perish with hunger. The count de Foix listened to their offers. He had them informed, that as they could not pass through any of the town-gates, he would make a hole in the wall through which the garrison, one by one, must pass, without arms, in their common dress. They were forced to accept of these terms, otherwise the business was at an end: and, if the count de Foix had not been thus appeased, all within were dead men. He had a hole made in the wall, which was not too large, through which they came out one by one. The count was there, with his forces drawn up in battle-array; and as they came out of the town they were brought before him, and sent to different castles and towns as prisoners. He took there his cousin, sir John d'Armagnac, sir Bertrand d'Albreth, sir Manaut de Barbasan, sir Raymond de Benach, sir Benedict de la Corneille, and about twenty of the most respectable, whom he carried with him to Orthez, and received from them, before they gained their liberty, one hundred thousand francs, twice told. For this, my fair sir, was this wall broken down, as a passage for those of Armagnac and Albreth: afterwards it was rebuilt and repaired." When he had finished his history we returned to our lodgings, and found the supper ready.

On the morrow we mounted our horses, and riding up the side of the Garonne, passed through Palaminich, and entered the lands of the counts de Comminges and d'Armagnac. On the opposite side, fronting us, was the Garonne, and the territories of the count de Foix. As we rode on, the knight pointed out to me a town, which appeared tolerably strong, called Marteras le Toussac, which belongs to the count de Comminges; and on the other side of the river, two castles of the count de Foix, seated on a mountain, called Montaural and Monclare. As we were riding among these towns and castles, in a beautiful meadow by the side of the Garonne, the knight said,—"Sir John, I have witnessed here many excellent skirmishes and combats between the Armagnacs and the Foixiens; for there was neither town nor castle that was not well garrisoned with men at arms, who engaged with and pursued each other. Do you see yonder those ruins? they are the remains of a fort which the Armagnacs raised against these two castles, and which they filled with men at arms, who did much damage to the lands of the count de Foix, on the other side of the river; but I will tell you how they paid for it. The count de Foix one night sent his brother, sir Peter de Béarn, with two hundred lances and four hundred peasants, laden with faggots, and as much wood as they could cut from the hedges, which they piled around this fort and set on fire, so that the fort was burnt with all in it, for none received quarter; and since that time no one has dared to rebuild it."

With such conversation did we daily travel, travelling towards the source of the river Garonne, on each side of which were handsome castles and forts. All on the left hand belonged to the count de Foix, and on the other to the count d'Armagnac. We passed Montpesac, a fine strong castle, seated on the top of a rock, below which is the road and the town. On the outside of it, at the distance of a cross-bow, there is a pass called la Garde, with a tower between the rock and the river, and an iron gate: six men could defend this pass against all the world, for only two persons abreast can advance between the rock and river. Upon seeing this, I said to the knight, "Sir, this is a strong pass, and a difficult country." "It is, indeed," answered the knight; "but, strong as it is, the count de Foix and his men once forced it, and advanced to Palaminich, Montesquieu, and even to Pamiers. The pass was very strong, but the English archers greatly assisted him in this conquest. Come and ride by my side, and I will tell you all about it." I then rode by the side of sir Espaing du Lyon, who thus continued his narration:

"The count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth invaded the country of Foix, with upwards of five hundred men, and advanced into those parts near Pamiers. It was in the beginning of August, when the corn was harvesting and the grapes ripe: in that year there

was great abundance of both. Sir John d'Armagnac and his people were encamped before the town and castle of Sauredun, a short league distant from Pamiers. They made an attack on it, and sent word to Pamiers, that if they did not pay a composition for their corn and wines, they would burn and destroy all. Those of Pamiers were afraid of waiting the event, as their lord was at too great a distance, being then in Béarn, so that they thought it more prudent to pay the ransom, which was settled at five thousand francs; but they demanded a delay of fifteen days, which was granted to them. The count de Foix heard of all this, and, by great haste and sending to all parts for aid, he got into Pamiers through this difficult pass. Assistance came to him from several quarters, so that he found himself at the head of twelve hundred lances: he would have given battle, without fail, to sir John d'Armagnac, if he had waited for it; but they retreated into the country of Comminges, leaving behind the money from Pamiers, as they had no time to stay for it. The count de Foix, however, did not hold them quit, but claimed the ransom, as he said he had deserved it; for he had come to their assistance, and to drive his enemies out of the country. He paid with it his men at arms, and remained there until the good people had harvested their corn, finished their vintage, and put all their effects in safety." "By my faith," said I to the knight, "I have heard you with pleasure." Thus discoursing, we passed near a castle called la Bretite, and then another castle called Bacelles, all in the county of Comminges.

As I rode on, I saw on the other side of the river a very handsome and large castle, with a town of goodly appearance. I asked the knight the name of this castle. He told me it was called Montesplain*, and belonged to a cousin of the count de Foix, who bears the cows in his arms, named sir Roger d'Espaign. He is a great baron and land proprietor in this country and in the Toulousain, and at this moment is séneschal of Carcassone. Upon which I asked, "What relation was this sir Roger d'Espaign to sir Charles d'Espaign, constable of France?" "He is not of that family," replied the knight; "for sir Lewis and sir Charles d'Espaign, of whom you are speaking, came originally from Spain, and were of Spanish extraction; but by their mothers are of French also, and cousins-german to king Alfonso of Spain. I served in my youth under sir Lewis d'Espaign, in the wars of Brittany: for he was always of the side of St. Charles de Blois against the count de Montfort."

Here ended our conversation on this subject. We came that day to St. Gouffers, a good town belonging to the count de Foix, and on the morrow to dinner at Moncuil, a strong town also, which belongs to the king of France and is held by sir Roger d'Espaign. After dinner, we mounted and took the road towards Lourde and Malvoisin, and rode over heaths that extend fifteen leagues: they are called Lane-bourg, and are well calculated for those who are evil-inclined. Amid the heaths of Lane-bourg is situated the castle de la Mesere, belonging to the count de Foix, a good league above the town of Tournay and below Malvoisin, which castle the knight showed me, saying,—"See, yonder is Malvoisin: have you not inserted in your history (of which you have been speaking to me) how the duke of Anjou, when he was in this country, advanced to Lourde, besieged and conquered it, as well as the castle of Trigalet on the river before us, and which belongs to the lord de la Barde?"

I considered a little, and replied; "I believe I have not mentioned it, nor have I ever been informed of such an event. I therefore pray you relate the business, to which I shall attentively listen; but tell me, lest I forget it, what is become of the river Garonne? for I can no longer see it. "You say truly," answered the knight: "it loses itself between these two mountains. It rises from a spring three leagues off, on the road to Catalonia, below a castle called St. Béart, the last castle of France on the frontiers of Arragon. The governor of it and the surrounding country at this time is a squire named Ernauton, who is called the Bastard of Spain, and cousin-german to sir Roger d'Espaign. The moment you see him you will say, he is formed for a downright man at arms. This bastard of Spain has done more mischief to the garrison of Lourde than all the knights and squires of this country together; and I must say, the count de Foix loves him well, for he is his brother in arms. I will not say more of him, for, at the ensuing Christmas, you will see him yourself at the hotel of the count; but I will tell you what the duke of Anjou did when he was in this country."

* "Montesplain." Montespan, in the diocese of Comminges.

CHAPTER VI.—FROISSART CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY WITH THE KNIGHT OF FOIX, WHO RELATES TO HIM SEVERAL PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE SIEGES OF BREST AND DERVAL, AND HOW THE DUKE OF ANJOU RECOVERED MALVOISIN AND TRIGALET FROM THE ENGLISH.

We then rode gently, and he began his narration as follows: "At the first renewal of the war, the French conquered back again from the English all their possessions in Aquitaine, and sir Oliver de Clisson, having turned to the French interest, conducted the duke of Anjou, as you know, into Brittany to the estates of sir Robert Knolles and to the siege of Derval; all which, I dare say, you have in your history, as well as the treaty made by sir Hugh Broc, cousin to sir Robert, to surrender the castle, for which he had given hostages, imagining the duke of Anjou to be in such strength that the siege could not be raised; and you probably relate how sir Robert Knolles, having entered the castle of Derval, refused to abide by this treaty." "Truly, sir, I have heard all you have just related." "And have you noticed the skirmish which took place before the castle, when sir Oliver de Clisson was wounded?" "I cannot say," replied I, "that I have any remembrance of it. Tell me, then, what passed at this skirmish and at the siege; perhaps you may know more particulars than I do; and you can return afterwards to the history of Lourde and Malvoisin."

"That is true," said the knight: "I must tell you, however, that sir Garsis du Châtel, a very valiant knight of this country and a good Frenchman, had gone to seek the duke, to conduct him before Malvoisin, when the duke had issued his summons to march to Derval: he made sir Garsis marshal of his army for his valour. It is a truth, as I was informed afterwards, that when sir Garsis found sir Robert determined not to keep the treaty, and the castle of Derval not likely to surrender, he came to the duke and asked, 'My lord, what shall we do with these hostages? It is no fault nor crime in them if the castle be not surrendered; and it will be a great sin if you put them to death, for they are gentlemen undeserving such punishment.' The duke replied, 'Is it right, then, that they should have their liberty?' 'Yes, by my faith,' said the knight, who had much compassion for them. 'Go,' replied the duke, 'and do with them what you please.' At these words, as sir Garsis told me, he went to deliver them, but in his road met sir Oliver de Clisson, who asked him whence he came, and whither he was going. 'I come from my lord of Anjou, and am going to set at liberty the hostages.' 'To set them at liberty?' said sir Oliver: 'stop a little, and come with me to the duke.' On his return, he found the duke very pensive. Sir Oliver saluted him, and then said, 'My lord, what are your intentions? shall not these hostages be put to death? By my faith shall they, in spite of sir Robert Knolles and sir Hugh Broc, who have belied their faith: and I would have you know, if they do not suffer death, I will not, for a year to come, put on a helmet to serve you; they will come off too cheaply, if they be thus acquitted. This siege has cost you sixty thousand francs, and you wish to pardon your enemies who keep no faith with you.' At these words, the duke of Anjou grew wroth, and said, 'Sir Oliver, do with them as you list.' 'I will, then, that they die; for there is cause for it, since they keep not their faith.' He then left the duke and went to the square before the castle; but sir Garsis never dared to say one word in their favour, for it would have been lost labour, since sir Oliver was determined upon it. He called to him Jocelin, who was the headsman, and ordered him to behead two knights and two squires, which caused such grief that upwards of two hundred of the army wept.

"Sir Robert Knolles instantly opened a postern-gate of the castle, and had, in revenge, all his prisoners beheaded, without sparing one. The great gate was then opened, and the drawbridge let down, when the garrison made a sally beyond the barriers to skirmish with the French, which, according to sir Garsis, was a severe business: the first arrow wounded sir Oliver de Clisson, who retired to his quarters. Among the wounded were two squires from Béarn, who behaved themselves well: their names were Bertrand de Barege and Ernauton du Pin. On the morrow they decamped. The duke marched with his men at arms from Derval to Toulouse, and from thence to this country, with intent to destroy Lourde, for the Toulousains made great complaints of it. What happened there I will teli

you. The duke lost no time in marching his army to the castle of Malvoisin, which we see before us, and laying siege to it. He had in his army full eight thousand combatants, without reckoning the Genoese and the commonalty from the principal towns in that country.

" A Gascon squire and able man at arms, named Raymonet de l'Epée, was at that time governor of Malvoisin. There were daily skirmishes at the barriers, where many gallant feats were done by those who wished to advance themselves. The duke and his army were encamped in these handsome meadows between the town of Tournay and the castle, on the banks of the Lisse. During this siege, sir Garsis du Châtel, who was marshal of the army, marched with five hundred men at arms, two hundred archers and cross-bows, and full two thousand common men, to lay siege to the castle of Trigalet, which we have left behind us. A squire of Gascony had the command of it, for his cousin the lord de la Barde, and was called le Bastot de Mauléon: he had about forty companions with him, who were lords of Lane-bourg; for no one could march through these parts except a pilgrim to the shrine of St. Jago, without being made a prisoner, and, if not ransomed, put to death. There was another strong place, near to le Mesen, of which thieves and robbers from all countries made a garrison, called le Nemilleux: it is very strong, but always in dispute between the count d'Armagnac and the count de Foix; and for this reason the nobles paid not any attention to it when the duke of Anjou came into the country.

" Sir Garsis, on arriving at Trigalet, had it surrounded on all sides but that towards the river, which they could not approach, and a sharp attack commenced, in which many of each party were wounded. Sir Garsis was five days there, and on every one of them were skirmishes; insomuch that the garrison had expended all their ammunition, and had nothing left to shoot with, which was soon perceived by the French. Upon this, sir Garsis, out of true gallantry, sent a passport to the governor to come and speak with him. When he saw him, he said, ' Bastot, I well know your situation; that your garrison have no ammunition, nor anything but lances to defend themselves with when attacked. Now, if you be taken by storm, it will be impossible for me to save yours or your companions' lives, from the fury of the common people, for which I should be very sorry, as you are my cousin. I therefore advise you to surrender the place, and even entreat you so to do: you cannot be blamed by any one for it, and seeking fortune elsewhere, for you have held out long enough.'

" ' My lord,' replied the squire, ' anywhere but here I would freely do what you advise, for in truth I am your cousin: in this instance, I cannot act from myself, for those who are with me have an equal command, though they affect to consider me as their captain. I will return, and tell them what you have said: if they agree to surrender, I shall consent; if they be resolved to hold out, whatever may be my fate, I must, with them, abide the event.' ' This is well said,' answered sir Garsis: ' you may depart whenever you please, since I know your intention.'

" The Bastot de Mauléon returned to the castle, and assembled all his companions in the court-yard, to whom he related what sir Garsis had said, and then demanded their opinions, and what they would do. They debated for a long time: some said they were strong enough to wait the event: others wished to withdraw, saying it was full time for it, as they had no longer any ammunition, and the duke of Anjou was severe, and the whole country of Toulouse and Carcassonne enraged against them for the mischiefs they had done. Everything having been considered, they agreed to surrender the castle, but on condition they should be escorted, themselves and baggage, to château Cullie *, which their friends were in possession of, on the Toulousain frontier. Upon this, Bastot de Mauléon returned to sir Garsis, who granted their demand; for he saw the castle was not easy to win by storm, and it would probably have cost him many lives. They made their preparations to depart, packing up everything they could. Of pillage they had enough, and carried away the best part of it, leaving the rest behind them. Sir Garsis had them safely escorted as far as château Cullie. By this means did the French gain the castle of Trigalet, which sir Garsis gave to the commonalty of the country who had accompanied him, to do with it what they chose. They determined to destroy and raze it, in the manner you have seen, which was so completely done, that no one since has ever thought of rebuilding it.

* A castle in Auvergne.

"Sir Garsis would have marched from thence to castle Nautilleux *, which is situated on the moors near the castle of Lamen †, to free it from those companions who had possession of it; but on the road they told him—'My lord, you have no need to advance further, for you will not find any one in castle Nautilleux: those who were there are fled, some one way, some another, we know not whither.' Sir Garsis, on hearing this, halted in the plain to consider what was best to be done. The séneschal de Nobesen happened to be present, who said, 'Sir, this castle is within my jurisdiction, and should be held from the count de Foix: give it me, I beg of you, and I will have it so well guarded at my costs, that no person who wishes ill to the country shall ever enter it.' 'My lord,' added those from Toulouse who were by, 'he speaks well: the séneschal is a valiant and prudent man, and it is better he should have it than another.' 'I consent to it,' said sir Garsis. Thus was the castle of Nantilleux given to the séneschal de Nobesen, who rode thither, and, having found it empty, had repaired what had been destroyed. He appointed governor a squire of the country named Fortifie de St. Pol, and then returned to the siege of Malvoisin where the duke was. Sir Garsis and his men had already related to the duke their successful exploits. The castle of Malvoisin held out about six weeks; there were, daily, skirmishes between the two armies at the barriers, and the place would have made a longer resistance, for the castle was so strong it could have held a long siege; but, the well that supplied the castle with water being without the walls, they cut off the communication: the weather was very hot, and the cisterns within quite dry, for it had not rained one drop for six weeks; and the besiegers were at their ease on the banks of this clear and fine river, which they made use of for themselves and horses.

"The garrison of Malvoisin were alarmed at their situation, for they could not hold out longer: they had a sufficiency of wine, but not one drop of sweet water. They determined to open a treaty; and Raymonet de l'Epée requested a passport to wait on the duke, which having easily obtained, he said, 'My lord, if you will act courteously to me and my companions, I will surrender the castle of Malvoisin.' 'What courtesy is it you ask?' replied the duke of Anjou: 'get about your business, each of you to your own countries, without entering any fort that holds out against us; for if you do so, and I get hold of you, I will deliver you up to Jocelin, who will shave you without a razor.' 'My lord,' answered Raymonet, 'if we thus depart, we must carry away what belongs to us, and what we have gained by arms and with great risks.' The duke paused a while, and then said, 'I consent that you take with you whatever you can carry before you in trunks and on sumpter-horses, but not otherwise; and, if you have any prisoners, they must be given up to us.' 'I agree,' said Raymonet. Such was the treaty, as you hear me relate it; and all who were in the castle departed, after surrendering it to the duke of Anjou and carrying all they could with them. They returned to their own country, or elsewhere, in search of adventures: but Raymonet l'Epée turned to the French: he served the duke of Anjou a long time, passed into Italy with him, and was killed in a skirmish before the city of Naples.

"Thus, my fair sir, did the duke of Anjou at that time conduct himself, and win the castle of Malvoisin, which gave him great joy. He made governor of it a knight of Bigorre, called sir Ciquart de Luperiere, and afterwards gave it to the count de Foix, who still holds it, and will do so as long as he lives; for it is well guarded by a knight of Bigorre, a relation of his, called sir Raymond de Lane. The duke of Anjou having gained possession of Malvoisin, and freed the country, and all Lane-bourg, of the English and other pillagers, laid siege to the town and castle of Lourde. The count de Foix, seeing him so near his territories, began to be very doubtful what his intentions might be. He therefore issued his summons to his knights and squires, and sent them into different garrisons. He placed his brother, sir Arnaut William, with two hundred lances, in Morlens; his other brother, sir Peter de Béarn, with the same number of lances, in Pau; sir Peter de Cabesten, with the like number, in the city of l'Estrade; sir Mouvant de Novalles in the town of Hertillet, with one hundred lances; sir Crual Geberel in Montgerbiel with the like number; sir Fouquat d'Orterey in the town of Sauveterre ‡ with the same; and I, Espaing du Lyon, was sent to Mont-de-marsen with two

* "Nautilleux."—† "Lamen."—Denys Sauvage adds a marginal note: "Judge whether these two places may not be what he before calls Nemilleux and Mesen." Froissart calls it Natilleux and Nantilleux.

‡ Situated on the Gave of Oleron, seven leagues from Pau.

hundred lances. There was not a castle in all Béarn that was not well provided with men at arms: he himself remained to guard his florins in the castle of Orthez."

"Sir," said I to the knight, "has he a great quantity of them?" "By my faith," replied he, "the count de Foix has at this moment a hundred thousand thirty times told; and there is not a year but he gives away sixty thousand; for a more liberal lord, in making presents, does not exist." Upon this I asked, "To whom does he make these gifts?" He answered, "To strangers, to knights and squires who travel through his country, to heralds, minstrels, to all who converse with him: none leave him without a present, for he would be angered should any one refuse it." "Ha, ha, holy Mary!" cried I, "to what purpose does he keep so large a sum? where does it come from? Are his revenues so great to supply him with it? I should like to know this, if you please." "Yes, you shall know it," answered the knight, "but you have asked two questions: if you wish them answered, I must begin with the first. You ask, for what purpose he keeps so large a sum of money: I must tell you, that the count de Foix is doubtful of war between him and the count d'Armagnac, and of the manœuvres of his neighbours the kings of France and of England, neither of whom he would willingly anger; and hitherto he has not taken any part in their wars, for he has never borne arms on either side, and is on good terms with both. I tell you, (and you yourself will agree with me when you have made acquaintance with him, and have conversed together, and seen the establishments of his household,) that he is the most prudent prince living, and one whom neither the king of France nor king of England would willingly make an enemy. With regard to his other neighbours, the kings of Arragon and Navarre, he thinks but little of them, for he could instantly raise more men at arms (so many friends has he made by his gifts, and such power has his money,) than these kings could ever do. I have heard him say, that when the king of Cyprus was in Béarn and explained to him the intended expedition to the holy sepulchre, he was so anxious to make that valuable conquest, that if the kings of France and England had gone thither, he would have been the most considerable lord after them, and have led the largest army. He has not yet given up this idea, and it is for this reason also he has amassed such wealth. The prince of Wales, likewise, when he reigned in Aquitaine, and resided at Bordeaux, induced him to collect large sums; for the prince menaced him in regard to his country of Béarn, and said he would force him to hold it from him: but the count de Foix declared he would not, for Béarn was free land, and owed no homage to any lord whatever. The prince, who was then very powerful and much feared, said he would make him humble himself; for the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth, who hated the count de Foix for the victories he had gained over them, poisoned the prince's mind. The expedition of the prince into Spain prevented hostilities; and sir John Chandos, who was the principal adviser and much beloved by the prince, strenuously opposed this intended war. The count de Foix and sir John Chandos loved each other for their gallant deeds.

"The count, however, was suspicious of the prince, whom he knew to be powerful and warlike, and began to amass large sums to aid and defend himself should he be attacked. He imposed heavy taxes on the country and on all the towns, which now exist, and will do so as long as he lives: each hearth pays two francs per annum, one with the other; and in this he has found and finds a mine of wealth, for it is marvellous how cheerfully his subjects pay it. With this, there is not any Englishman, Frenchman, nor pillager, who rob his people of a single farthing: his whole country is protected and justice well administered, for in matters of justice he is the most severe and upright lord that exists." With these words we found ourselves in the town of Tournay, where our lodgings were prepared: the knight, therefore, ceased speaking; and I made no further enquiries, for I had well remarked where he had left off, and could again remind him of it, as we had yet to travel together. We were comfortably lodged at the hotel of the Star. When supper was served, the governor of Malvoisin, sir Raymond de Lane, came to see us, and supped with us: he brought with him four flagons of excellent wine, as good as any I drank on the road. These two knights conversed long together, and it was late when sir Raymond departed and returned to his castle of Malvoisin.

CHAPTER VII.—FROISSART CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY: IN TRAVELLING FROM TOURNAY TO TARBES, THE KNIGHT RELATES TO HIM HOW THE GARRISON OF LOURDE HAD A SHARP RENCOUNTER WITH THE FRENCH FROM THE ADJACENT GARRISONS,—WITH SEVERAL PARTICULARS TOUCHING THE SIEGE OF LOURDE, AND THE DEATH OF THE GOVERNOR, WHO WOULD NOT SURRENDER IT TO HIS RELATION THE COUNT DE FOIX.

In the morning, we mounted our horses, set out from Tournay, passed the river Lisse at a ford; and, riding towards the city of Tarbes, entered Bigorre, leaving on our left the road to Lourde, Bagnères, and the castle of Montgaillard. We made for a village called in the country Terra Cimitat, and skirted a wood, which we afterwards entered, on the lands of the lord de Barbasan; when the knight said, "Sir John, this is the pass of Larre: look about you." I did so, and thought it a very strange country, and should have imagined myself in great danger if I had not had the company of the knight.

I recollected what he had said some days before respecting the country of Larre and Mengeant de Lourde, and, reminding him of them, said, "My lord, you promised that when we came to the country of Larre, you would tell me more of Mengeant de Lourde, and the manner of his death." "It is true," replied the knight: come and ride by my side, and I will tell it you." I then pushed forward to hear him the better, when he began as follows:

"During the time Peter d'Anchin held the castle and garrison of Ortingas, as I have before related, those of Lourde made frequent excursions at a distance from their fort, when they had not always the advantage. You see those two castles of Barbasan and Marteras, which had always considerable garrisons: the towns of Bagnères, Tournay, Montgaillard, Salenges, Benach, Gorre, and Tarbes, were also full of French troops. When they heard that those of Lourde had made any excursion towards Toulouse or Carcassonne, they collected themselves and formed an ambuscade, to slay them and carry off what pillage they should have collected: sometimes several on each side were killed, at others those of Lourde passed unmolested. It happened once, that Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, le Mengeant de Sainte Corneille, with six score lances, good men at arms, set out from Lourde, and advanced round the mountains between the two rivers Lisse and Lesse, as far as Toulouse. On their return, they found in the meadows great quantities of cattle, pigs, and sheep, which they seized, as well as some substantial men from the flat countries, and drove them all before them.

"It was told to the governor of Tarbes, a squire of Gascony, called Ernauton Biffete, how those of Lourde were overrunning and harassing the country, and he sent information of this to the lord de Benach and to Enguerros de Lane, son of sir Raymond, and also to the lord de Barbasan, adding, he was determined to attack them. These knights and squires of Bigorre, having agreed to join him, assembled their men in the town of Tournay, through which the garrison of Lourde generally returned. The bourg d'Espaign had come thither from his garrison of St. Béart, and they were in the whole two hundred lances. They had sent spies into the country to see what appearance their enemies made on their return. On the other hand, those from Lourde had likewise spies on the watch, to observe if there were any men at arms out to intercept them: both parties were so active, that each knew the force of the other. When those of Lourde heard that the French garrisons were waiting for them at Tournay, they began to be alarmed, and called a council to determine how to conduct their pillage in safety. It was resolved to divide themselves into two parties: one, consisting of servants and pillagers, was to drive the booty, and take bye roads to Lane-bourg, crossing the bridge of Tournay, and the river Lesse between Tournay and Malvoisin: the other division was to march in order of battle on the high grounds, and to make an appearance as if they meant to return by the pass of Larre below Marteras, but to fall back between Barbasan and Montgaillard, in order that the baggage might cross the river in safety. They were to meet all together at Montgaillard, from whence they would soon be at Lourde. This plan they executed: and the bastard de Carnillac, Guillonet de Harnes, Perot Boursier, John Calemin de Basselle, and le Rouge Ecuyer, collected forty lances, with all the servants and pillagers, and said to them,—'You will conduct our plunder and prisoners by the road to Lane-bourg, and then descend between Tournay and Malvoisin, where you will cross the river at the

bridge: follow then the bye road between Cimitat and Montgaillard: we will go the other road by Marteras and Barbasan, so as to meet all together at Montgaillard.' On this they departed; and there remained with the principal division Ernauton de Resten, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, le Mengeant de Sainte Corneille, and full eighty companions, all men at arms: there were not ten varlets among them. They tightened their armour, fixed their helmets, and, grasping their lances, marched in close order as if they were instantly to engage: they indeed expected nothing else, for they knew their enemies were in the field.

"The French, in like manner as those of Lourde, had called a council respecting their mode of acting. Sir Monant de Barbasan and Ernauton Biscete * said: 'Since we know the men of Lourde are bringing home great plunder and many prisoners, we shall be much vexed if they escape us: let us, therefore, form two ambuscades, for we are enow for both.' Upon this it was ordered, that le bourg d'Espaign, sir Raymond de Benach, and Enguerros de Lane, with one hundred spears, should guard the passage at Tournay, for the cattle and prisoners must necessarily cross the river; and the lord de Barbasan and Ernauton Biscete, with the other hundred lances, should reconnoitre, if perchance they could come up with them. They separated from each other, and the lord de Benach, and le bourg d'Espaign, placed themselves in ambuscade at the bridge between Tournay and Malvoisin. The other division rode to the spot where we now are, which is called the Larre, and there the two parties met. They instantly dismounted, and leaving their horses to pasture, with pointed lances advanced, for a combat was unavoidable, shouting their cries, 'St. George for Lourde!' 'Our lady for Bigorre!'

"They charged each other, thrusting their spears with all their strength, and, to add greater force, urged them forward with their breasts. The combat was very equal; and for some time none were struck down, as I heard from those present. When they had sufficiently used their spears, they threw them down, and with battle-axes began to deal out terrible blows on both sides. This action lasted for three hours, and it was marvellous to see how well they fought and defended themselves. When any were so worsted or out of breath, that they could not longer support the fight, they seated themselves near a large ditch full of water in the middle of the plain, when having taken off their helmets, they refreshed themselves: this done, they replaced their helmets and returned to the combat. I do not believe there ever was so well fought or so severe a battle, as this of Marteras in Bigorre, since the famous combat of thirty English against thirty French knights in Brittany †.

"They fought hand to hand, and Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, an excellent man at arms, was on the point of being killed by a squire of the country called Guillonet de Salenges, who had pushed him so hard that he was quite out of breath, when I will tell you what happened: Ernauton de Sainte Colombe had a servant who was a spectator of the battle, neither attacking nor attacked by any one; but, seeing his master thus distressed, he ran to him, and, wresting the battle-axe from his hands, said, 'Ernauton, go and sit down: recover yourself: you cannot longer continue the battle.' With this battle-axe he advanced upon the squire, and gave him such a blow on the helmet as made him stagger and almost fall down. Guillonet, smarting from the blow, was very wroth, and made for the servant to strike him with his axe on the head; but the varlet avoided it, and grappling with the squire, who was much fatigued, turned him round, and flung him to the ground under him, when he said, 'I will put you to death, if you do not surrender yourself to my master.' 'And who is thy master?' 'Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, with whom you have been so long engaged.' The squire, finding he had not the advantage, being under the servant, who had his dagger ready to strike, surrendered on condition to deliver himself prisoner within fifteen days, at the castle of Lourde, whether rescued or not. Of such service was this servant to his master; and, I must say, sir John, that there was a superabundance of feats of arms that day performed, and many companions were sworn to surrender themselves at Tarbes and at Lourde. Ernauton Biscete and le Mengeant de Sainte Basile fought hand to hand, without sparing themselves,

* "Biscete,"—before Biffete.

† This celebrated combat took place between thirty English under the command of Bembro (who seems inconsiderately to have engaged in it) and thirty French under Beaumanoir, at the oak half way between Ploërmel and Josselin, in the year 1351.—See *note in the first volume, page* 191.

and performed many gallant deeds, while all the others were fully employed: however, they fought so vigorously that they exhausted their strength, and both were slain on the spot. Thus fell Ernauton Biscete and le Mengeant de Sainte Basile.

" Upon this, the combat ceased by mutual consent, for they were so worn down that they could not longer wield their axes: some disarmed themselves, to recruit their strength, and left there their arms. Those of Lourde carried with them the dead body of le Mengeant, as the French did that of Ernauton to Tarbes; and, in order that the memory of this battle should be preserved, they erected a cross of stone on the place where these two knights had fought and died. See, there it is: I point to it." On this, we turned to the right, and made for the cross, when each said an Ave Maria and a Pater-noster for the souls of the deceased. " By my faith," said I to the knight, " I have listened to you with pleasure; and in truth it was a very severe affair for so small a number; but what became of those who conducted the pillage?" " I will tell you," replied he. " At the bridge of Tournay, below Malvoisin, where they intended to cross, they found the bourg d'Espaign in ambuscade, who, on their arrival, sallied out upon them, being in sufficient force. Those of Lourde could not retreat, and were obliged to abide the event. I must truly say, that the combat was as severe and as long, if not longer than that at Marteras. The bourg d'Espaign performed wonders: he wielded a battle-axe, and never hit a man with it but he struckhim to the ground. He was well formed for this, being of a large size, strongly made, and not too much loaded with flesh. He took with his own hand the two captains, the bourg de Cornillac* and Perot Palatin de Béarn. A squire of Navarre was there slain, called Ferdinand de Miranda, an expert man at arms. Some who were present say the bourg d'Espaign killed him, others that he was stifled through the heat of his armour. In short, the pillage was rescued, and all who conducted it slain or made prisoners; for not three escaped excepting varlets, who ran away and crossed the river Lesse by swimming. Thus ended this business, and the garrison of Lourde never had such a loss as it suffered that day. The prisoners were courteously ransomed, or mutually exchanged; for those who had been engaged in this combat had made several prisoners on each side, so that it behoved them to treat each other handsomely."

" Holy Mary!" said I to the knight, " this bourg d'Espaign, is he so strong a man as you tell me?" " Yes, that he is, by my troth," said he, " and you will not find his equal in all Gascony for vigour of body: it is for this the count de Foix esteems him as his brother in arms. Three years ago, I saw him play a ridiculous trick, which I will relate to you. On Christmas-day, when the count de Foix was celebrating the feast with numbers of knights and squires, as is customary, the weather was piercing cold, and the count had dined, with many lords, in the hall. After dinner he rose and went into a gallery, which has a large staircase of twenty-four steps: in this gallery is a chimney where there is a fire kept when the count inhabits it, otherwise not; and the fire is never great, for he does not like it: it is not for want of blocks of wood, for Béarn is covered with wood in plenty to warm him if he had chosen it, but he has accustomed himself to a small fire. When in the gallery he thought the fire too small, for it was freezing and the weather very sharp, and said to the knights around him, ' Here is but a small fire for this weather.' Ernauton d'Espaign instantly ran down stairs; for from the windows of the gallery, which looked into the court, he had seen a number of asses laden with billets of wood for the use of the house, and seizing the largest of these asses, with his load, threw him over his shoulders, and carried him up stairs, pushing through the crowd of knights and squires who were around the chimney, and flung ass and load, with his feet upwards, on the dogs of the hearth, to the delight of the count, and the astonishment of all, at the strength of the squire, who had carried, with such ease, so great a load up so many steps."

This feat of strength did I hear; and all the histories of sir Espaign du Lyon gave me such satisfaction and delight, I thought the road was much too short. While this was relating, we crossed the pass of Larre, and leaving the castle of Marteras, where the battle was fought, passed very near the castle of Barbasan, which is handsome and strong, a league distant from Tarbes. We saw it before us, and had a good road, easy to be travelled, following the course of the river Leschez, which rises in the mountains. We rode at our

* Before Carnillat.

leisure, not to fatigue our horses; and he pointed out to me, on the other side of the river, the castle and town of Montgaillard, and the road which goes straight to Lourde. It then came into my mind to ask the knight about the duke of Anjou, when the castle of Malvoisin had surrendered to him, and how he had acted on his march to Lourde. He very cheerfully told me as follows:

"When the duke of Anjou marched his army from before Malvoisin, he crossed the river Leschez by the bridge of Tournay, and lodged at Bagnères, (where there is a handsome river which runs by Tarbes: for that of Tournay takes a different course, and falls into the Garonne, below Montmillion) in his way to lay siege to Lourde. Sir Peter Arnaut de Béarn, with his brother John, Peter d'Anchin, Ernauton de Restin, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, and le Mengeant, who was then alive, Ferdinand de Miranda, Oliver Barbe, le bourg de Cornillac, le bourg Camus, and the other companions within Lourde, had good information of his arrival, and had much strengthened the place, in all respects, against his coming. Lourde held out, in spite of all the attacks they could make on it, for sixteen days consecutively. Many gallant deeds were done, and much mischief to the town by the machines which the duke brought to bear against it, so that at length it was conquered; but the garrison suffered nothing, nor lost man, woman, nor child, for they had all retreated to the castle, as they knew well the town could not always hold out, being only fortified with palisadoes.

"When the French had won the town of Lourde they were much pleased, and, having fixed their quarters in it, they surrounded the castle, which was impregnable but by a long siege. The duke was there upwards of six weeks, and lost more than he gained; for the besiegers could not hurt those within the castle, as it is situated on a perpendicular rock, and can only be approached by ladders, or by one pass. There were at the barriers several handsome skirmishes and deeds of arms, when many squires of France were killed and wounded from having advanced too near. The duke of Anjou, seeing he could not gain the castle of Lourde by force, opened a negociation with the governor, offering him large sums of money if he would surrender his garrison. The knight was a man of honour, and excused himself by saying, 'the garrison was not his; and that he could neither sell, give, nor alienate the inheritance of the king of England, unless he were a traitor, which he scorned to be, and would remain loyal to his natural lord. When the fort was intrusted to him, it was on condition that he swore solemnly on his faith, in the hands of the prince of Wales, to guard and defend the castle of Lourde until death, against every man whatever, unless he were sent to him from the king of England.' No other answer could be had from him, in reply to all the offers and promises they made; so that, when the duke and his council saw they could not gain anything, they broke up the siege of the castle of Lourde; but, on their decamping, they burnt the town to the ground.

"The duke retreated with his army along the frontiers of Béarn towards Montmarsen: he had heard that the count de Foix had reinforced all his garrisons with men at arms. This did not displease him so much as that the Béarn men should hold out Lourde against him; but he could never obtain anything satisfactory on this head. The count de Foix, as I have mentioned before, was very suspicious of the intentions of the duke, who did him no harm, though the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth wished him to act otherwise; but he was not so inclined. While he was encamped between Montmarsen and the high lands of Albreth, he sent sir Peter de Beuil to Orthès, where on his arrival he was handsomely received by the count de Foix and lodged in the castle. He entertained him splendidly, and presented him with fine horses and mules, and to his people gave other gifts: he sent by him to the duke of Anjou four beautiful horses and two Spanish greyhounds, so handsome and good there were none like them. Some secret negociations passed between the count and sir Peter de Beuil, of which we knew nothing for a long time; but, from circumstances which shortly happened, we suspected what I will now tell you, and by that time we shall arrive at Tarbes.

"Soon after the duke of Anjou had ended his expedition and was returned to Toulouse, the count de Foix sent letters by a trusty messenger to his cousin sir Peter Arnaut de Béarn at Lourde, for him to come to Orthès. The knight on receiving these letters and noticing

the bearer, who was a man of high rank, became very thoughtful and doubtful whether to go or not: however, on full consideration, he said he would go, for he was unwilling to offend the count de Foix. When on the point of departure, he called his brother, John de Béarn, and said to him, in presence of the garrison: 'My lord, the count de Foix has sent for me; on what account I know not, but since he is desirous I should come to him, I will go. I suspect very much that I shall be required to surrender this castle; for the duke of Anjou has marched along the frontiers of his country without entering it, and the count de Foix has long wished for the castle of Malvoisin, in order to be master of Lane-bourg and the frontiers of Bigorre and Comminges. I am ignorant if any treaties have been made between him and the duke of Anjou; but I declare, that as long as I live, I will never surrender the castle of Lourde but to my natural lord the king of England. I therefore order you, brother John, should I appoint you to the command of it, that you swear to me, upon your faith and gentility, you will hold it in the same manner as I do, and that you will never fail in so doing for life or death.' John took the oath as his brother required, who then set out for Orthès, where on his arrival he dismounted at the hotel of the Moon.

"When he thought it was decent time to wait on the count, he went to him at the castle, who received him most amicably, made him sit at his table, and showed him every mark of attention. Dinner being over, the count said, 'Peter, I have many things to talk with you upon: therefore, you must not go away without my leave.' The knight answered, 'My lord, I will cheerfully stay until I have your permission to depart.' The third day the count addressed him, in the presence of the viscount de Gousserant, his brother, the lord d'Anchin in Bigorre, and several knights and squires, and so loud that all heard him: 'Peter, I have sent for you, to acquaint you, that my lord of Anjou is very angry with me on account of the garrison of Lourde which you command. Through the good offices of some friends I have in his army, my territories have narrowly escaped being overrun; and it is his opinion, and others in his company who hate me, that I support you, because you are of Béarn. Now I do not wish to incur the anger of so powerful a prince as the duke of Anjou: I therefore command you, under pain of my displeasure, and by the faith and homage you owe me, to give up the castle of Lourde to me.'

"The knight was thunderstruck on hearing this speech, and thought awhile what answer to make: for he perceived the count had spoken in a determined manner. Having fully considered, he said, 'My lord, in truth I owe you faith and homage, for I am a poor knight of your blood and country; but, as for the castle of Lourde, I will never surrender it to you. You have sent for me, and you may therefore do with me as you please. I hold the castle of Lourde from the king of England, who has placed me there; and to no other person but to him will I ever surrender it.' The count de Foix, on hearing this answer, was exceedingly wroth, and said, as he drew his dagger, 'Ho, ho! dost thou then say no? By this head, thou hast not said it for nothing.' And, as he uttered these words, he struck him foully with the dagger, so that he wounded him severely in five places, and none of the barons or knights dared to interfere. The knight replied, 'Ha, ha, my lord, this is not gentle treatment: you have sent for me hither, and are murdering me.' Having received these five strokes from the dagger, the count ordered him to be cast into the dungeon, which was done; and there he died, for he was ill cured of his wounds."

"Ha, holy Mary," said I to the knight, "was not this a great act of cruelty?" "Whatever it was," replied he, "so it happened, and ill betide him who angers the count, for then he pardons none. He kept his cousin-german the viscount de Châteaubon, even though he is his heir, eight months prisoner in the tower of the castle of Orthès, and then ransomed him for forty thousand francs." "What, sir," said I, "has not the count de Foix any children?" "Eh, in God's name, not in lawful marriage; but he has two young knights, bastards, sir Jenuain and sir Gracien, whom you will see, and whom he loves as well as himself." "And was he never married?" "Yes, and is so still, but madame de Foix does not live with him." "Where does she reside?" "She lives in Navarre, for the king of Navarre is her brother: she was daughter of king Louis of Navarre*." "The count de

* Ines or Agnes, wife of Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix, was daughter of Joan of Navarre and Philip VI. king of France.—Ed.

Foix, had he never any children by her?" "Yes; a very fine son, who was the delight of his father and of the country: through him the country of Béarn, which is in dispute, would have been settled, for his wife was sister to the count d'Armagnac." "And pray, sir, may I ask what became of this son?" "Yes," replied he; "but the story is too long at present, for we are, as you see, arrived at the town."

At these words I left the knight quiet; and we soon after entered Tarbes, where we were very comfortable at the hotel of the Star. We remained there the whole of that day, for it was a commodious place, to refresh ourselves and horses, having good hay, good oats, and a handsome river.

CHAPTER VIII.—DURING THE JOURNEY FROM TARBES TO MORLENS, THE KNIGHT OF FOIX RELATES TO FROISSART THE QUARREL AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BERRY AND THE COUNT DE FOIX,—AND ALSO THE CAUSE OF THE WAR BETWEEN HIM AND THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC.

On the morrow, after mass, having mounted our horses and left Tarbes, we came to Jorre, a town which has always gallantly defended itself against the garrison of Lourde. We passed by it, and entered Béarn, when the knight stopped in the plain, and said, "We are now in Béarn." There were two roads that crossed each other, and we knew not which to take, whether that to Morlens or to Pau: at last, we followed that to Morlens.

In riding over the heaths of Béarn, which are tolerably level, I asked, in order to renew our conversation, "Is the town of Pau near us?" "Yes," said he, "I will show you the steeple; but it is much farther off than it appears, and the roads are very bad to travel on account of the deep clays*, and it would be folly for any one to attempt going through them that is not well acquainted with the country. Below are seated the town and castle of Lourde." "And who is governor of it now?" "John de Béarn, brother to sir Peter de Béarn that was murdered, and he styles himself sénéschal of Bigorre for the king of England." "Indeed!" said I, "and does this John ever visit the count de Foix?" "Never since the death of his brother; but his other companions, such as Peter d'Anchin, Ernauton de Restin, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, and others, go thither, whenever they have occasion." "Has the count de Foix made any amends for the murder of the knight? or has he ever again been in such passions?" "Yes, very often," replied the knight; "but as for amends, he has never made any, except indeed by secret penances, masses, and prayers: he has with him the son of John de Béarn, a young and courteous squire, whom he greatly loves."

"Holy Mary!" exclaimed I, "since the duke of Anjou was so desirous to gain Lourde, he ought to be well pleased with the count de Foix, who could murder a knight and his cousin, to accomplish the duke's wishes." "By my faith, he was so; for soon after the event of his nephew coming to the crown of France, he sent sir Roger d'Espaign and a president of the parliament of Paris, with fair letters patent engrossed and sealed, of the king's declaration that he gave him the county of Bigorre during his life, but that it was necessary he should become liege man and hold it of the crown of France. The count de Foix was very thankful to the king for this mark of his affection, and for the gift of Bigorre, which was unsolicited on his part; but, for anything sir Roger d'Espaign could say or do, he would never accept it. He only retained the castle of Malvoisin, because it was free land, and the castle and its dependencies held of none but God, and formerly had been part of his patrimony. The king of France, to please the duke of Anjou, gave it to the count de Foix; but the count swore he would only hold it on condition never to admit into it any one ill inclined to France; and in truth he had it well guarded. The garrison of Malvoisin would have been as much afraid of the English as any other French or Gascon garrison, but they dared not invade the territories of Foix."

I was much pleased with this history of sir Espaign du Lyon, which I have well remembered; for as soon as we dismounted at our inns, I wrote all down, whether it was late or

* Les graves.—Places situated on the banks of rivers, and covered with moving sands.—Ed.

early, that posterity might have the advantage of it, for there is nothing like writing for the preservation of events.

We rode this morning to Morlens; but, before we arrived, I again began the conversation by saying, "My lord, I have forgotten to ask you, when you were telling me the history of Foix and Armagnac, how the count de Foix was able to dissemble with the duke of Berry, who had married a daughter and sister to the counts d'Armagnac? and if the duke of Berry made war on him, how he behaved?" "How he behaved?" said the knight; "I will tell you: in former times, the duke hated him mortally; but at this moment, by means which you will hear, when at Orthès, they are very good friends." "My lord, was there any reason for the duke's hatred?" "Father of God! no," replied the knight: "I will tell you the cause of it. When Charles king of France, father to the present king, died, the kingdom was divided into two parties respecting its government. My lord of Anjou, who was impatient to go to Italy, and indeed this he afterwards did, took possession of it, and set aside his two brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The duke of Berry had the government of those parts within the Langue d'Oc, and the duke of Burgundy of the Langue d'Ouy and all Picardy*.

"When the inhabitants of Languedoc heard that my lord of Berry was to govern them they were much alarmed, especially those of Toulouse and its dependencies; for they knew the duke to be a spendthrift, who would get money any way he could, without caring how he oppressed the people. Some Bretons still remained in the Toulousain, Carcassonnois and Rouergue, whom the duke of Anjou had left, and they pillaged the whole country: it was reported the duke of Berry supported them, in order to be master of the principal towns. The duke himself was not at the time I am speaking of in Languedoc, but attending the king in the wars in Flanders. The citizens of Toulouse, who are a powerful body, perceiving how young the king was and how much occupied with the affairs of his uncle the duke of Burgundy in Flanders, and that they were perpetually plundered by Bretons and other pillagers, so that they knew not how to prevent it, sent to the count de Foix offers of paying him a certain sum monthly, if he would undertake the government and defence of their city and the other neighbouring towns. They entreated him very earnestly comply with their request, because they knew him to be an upright man, a great lover of justice, fortunate in his affairs, and much feared by his enemies. The inhabitants of Toulouse have always borne him great affection, for he has ever been a good neighbour to them.

"He undertook the charge of their government, and swore to hold and defend the country in its right against all who were ill inclined, with the reservation of the rights of the king of France. He instantly ordered considerable detachments of men at arms on the different roads the pillagers used to take; and one day he had hanged or drowned upwards of four hundred of them at Robesten in the Toulousain, which gained him so much the love of those of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beziers, Montpelier and the other towns, that it was reported Languedoc had revolted and chosen for its lord the count de Foix. The duke of Berry, who had the government of it, was ill pleased at this intelligence, and conceived a great hatred to the count de Foix, for interfering so much in the affairs of France, and for his supporting the people of Toulouse in their revolt. He ordered men at arms into that country, but they were severely repulsed by the partisans of the count de Foix, and were forced to retreat, or they would have suffered for it. This angered the duke still more: he said the count de Foix was the proudest and most presumptuous man in the world; and he would not suffer

* "It is very probable these two denominations had been in use before the ordinance of Philip le Bel in 1304 and 1305. It is in another ordinance of Charles VI. 1394, which states the crown of France to be divided into Langue d'Oc, and Langue d'Oil. The word Langue was employed anciently for nation or province: in the order of Malta, this term is preserved at present. Guillaume de Nangis, in his chronicle, points out the environs of Paris by the name of Langue d'Oil, in the year 1343, where an epidemical disorder began to desolate the country towards the end of August. In la Salade, by Anthony de la Salle, about 1440, he speaks of an unknown knight, whom he supposes from Languedoc, 'because he and the greater part of his attendants used in their speech Oc, the language which is spoken at Saint-Jago of Compostella.'

"All these general distinctions ceased from the time of Francis I. There is not any mention after that period, in the treasury receipts, of the Langue d'Oc nor of the Langue d'Oil. The Langue d'Oc was considered as the country south of the Loire, and the Langue d'Oil, or Picarde, to the north of it."—*St. Palaye, Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxiv.

his name to be mentioned with praise in his presence; but he did not make war against him, for the count had all his towns and castles so well garrisoned, none dared to invade his territories.

"When the duke of Berry entered Languedoc, the count resigned the government, and would not any way meddle, in prejudice to the duke; but his dislike still continued as great as ever. I will now say a word of the means that established peace between them. About ten years ago*, Eleanor de Comminges (at present countess of Boulogne, a near relation to the count de Foix, and lawful heiress to the county of Comminges, notwithstanding the count d'Armagnac was in possession) came to the count de Foix at Orthès, bringing with her a young girl, three years old. The count entertained her handsomely, inquired her business, whence she came, and whither going? 'My lord,' said she, 'I am going to my uncle and aunt-in-law, the count and countess de Durgueil, in Arragon, there to remain; for I have much displeasure in living with my husband, sir John de Boulogne, son of the count de Boulogne. I expected he would have recovered for me mine inheritance of Comminges from the count d'Armagnac, who not only keeps it, but has confined my sister in prison; but my husband is too soft a knight, whose sole delight is eating and drinking, and enjoying his pleasures; and the moment his father dies, he will sell the greater part of his estates to multiply his luxuries: it is for these reasons I cannot live with him. I have also brought my daughter with me, whom I deliver up to your charge, and appoint you her guardian, to instruct and defend her; for I well know that, from our relationship, you will not disappoint me; and I have the greatest confidence in the care you will take of my daughter Joan. It was with much difficulty I could get her from her father's hands, and out of the country; but as I know the Armagnacs, your adversaries as well as mine, are capable of carrying her off, being the true heiress of Comminges, I deliver her to you; therefore do not fail me in this business, I entreat of you; for I firmly believe, that when my husband shall know I left her under your care, he will be pleased, having frequently said, that this girl would give him much trouble.'

"The count de Foix was delighted to hear his cousin, the lady Eleanor, thus talk, and thought in his own mind (for he has a very fertile imagination), that this girl was brought to him very opportunely, as by her means he could make a stable peace with his enemies, or marry her so nobly they would fear him. He answered,—'Madam and cousin, I will most cheerfully comply with your request: I am bounden to it by our relationship. With regard to your daughter, I will defend, and be as careful of her as if she were my own child. 'A thousand thanks, my lord,' said the lady. Thus did the young lady of Boulogne remain with the count at his house in Orthès, which she has never since quitted, and the lady her mother pursued her journey to Arragon. She has returned to see her two or three times, but has never asked to have her back; for the count acquits himself towards her as if she were indeed his own child. But I must tell you the means by which, if formerly he was in the ill graces of the duke de Berry, he is now on good terms. The duke at this moment is very desirous to marry her; and from what I heard at Avignon from the pope, who spoke to me on the subject, and who is cousin-german to her father, the duke will employ him to ask for him, as he is determined to make her his wife."

"By holy Mary," said I to the knight, "your history has given me much pleasure and done me service: you shall not lose a word you have said, for they shall all be chronicled with every thing I say and do, if God grant me health to return again to Valenciennes, of which place I am a native; but I am very angry at one thing." "What is that?" said the knight. "On my faith, it is, that so noble and valiant a prince as the count de Foix should not have any legal heirs by his wife." "Please God he had," replied the knight; "for if his child were now alive, he would be the happiest lord in the world, and his vassals be equally rejoiced. "What!" said I, "will his estates be without an heir?" "Oh, no: the viscount de Châteaubon, his cousin-german, is his heir." "Is he a valiant man at arms?" "God help him! no; and for that reason the count de Foix cannot bear him. He will make his two bastard-sons, who are young and handsome knights, his heirs, and intends to connect them very highly by marriage; for he has money enough, which will find them

* This took place in 1382.—Ed.

wives to uphold and assist them." "Sir," said I, "all this is very well; but I do not think it just nor decent that bastards should inherit lands." "Why not?" added he, "if proper heirs be wanting. Do not you see how the Spaniards crowned for king the bastard don Henry? and the Portuguese have done the same thing. It has frequently happened that bastards have gained possession of several kingdoms by force. Was not William the Conqueror bastard-son of a duke of Normandy! He won all England, as well as the king's daughter who then governed, and was himself king, and from him all the kings of England are descended."

"Well, sir," said I, "all this may be well, for there is nothing but what may happen. Surely those of the Armagnac party are too strong, and this country must always be at war. Tell me, my dear sir, the first origin of the wars between Foix and Armagnac, and which had the fairest cause." "That I will, by my faith," answered the knight:—"It has, however, been a wonderful war, for each thinks he has justice on his side. You must know, that formerly, I imagine about one hundred years from this time, there was a lord of Béarn called Gaston*, a most gallant man at arms: he was buried with great solemnity in the church of the Frères Mineurs, at Orthès, where you will find him and may see of what a size he was in body and limbs, for during his lifetime he had a handsome resemblance made of him, in brass. This Gaston had two daughters†; the eldest of whom he married to the count d'Armagnac of that period, and the youngest to the count de Foix, nephew to the king of Arragon. The counts de Foix still bear those arms (for they are descended from the kings of Arragon), which are paly or and gules; and this, I believe, you know. It happened that the lord of Béarn had a severe and long war with the king of Castille of that time‡, who, marching through Biscay with a numerous army, entered Béarn. Sir Gaston de Béarn, having intelligence of his march, collected people from all quarters, and had written to his two sons-in-law, the counts d'Armagnac and de Foix, to come with all quickness with their forces, to assist him in the defence and preservation of his inheritance.

"On the arrival of these letters, the count de Foix assembled his vassals as speedily as possible, and sent for assistance to all his friends. He exerted himself so effectually that he collected five hundred knights and squires and two thousand footmen armed with javelins, darts and shields: accompanied by these, he marched into Béarn to assist the lord his father, who was much delighted therewith. This army crossed the river Bane by the bridge of Orthès, and took up their quarters between Sauveterre and l'Hôpital. The king of Castille, with full twenty thousand men, was encamped not far from them. Sir Gaston de Béarn and the count de Foix, expecting the count d'Armagnac, waited for him three days: on the fourth a herald arrived from the count d'Armagnac with letters to sir Gaston, to say he could not come, and that it was not agreeable to him to arm in behalf of the country of Béarn, for at present he had not any interest in it. Sir Gaston, perceiving he was not to have any assistance from the count d'Armagnac, was much astonished, and asked the count de Foix and the barons of Béarn, how he should act: 'My lord,' replied the count de Foix, 'since we are assembled, we will offer battle to your enemies.' This advice was followed, and instantly they all armed: they might be about twelve hundred men with helmets, and six thousand on foot.

"The count de Foix, with the van division, charged the king of Castille and his army in their quarters. The battle was very severe and bloody: upwards of two thousand Castillians were slain. The count de Foix made prisoners the son and brother of the king of Castille, whom he sent to sir Gaston de Béarn, who commanded the rear division. The Castillians were completely defeated. The count de Foix pursued them as far as the gates of Saint Andero in Biscay, where the king took refuge in an abbey, and put on a monk's frock, otherwise he would have been taken: those saved themselves who could, on board of vessels. The count de Foix, on his return to sir Gaston de Béarn, was received by him with much joy, as indeed he had reason, for he had saved his honour and secured the country, which

* Gaston VII. of the house of Monçada. He began to reign in 1232, and died, April 22, 1290. He built the castle of Orthès.—Ed.

† Gaston VII. had *four* daughters, and no heir male. These four daughters were Constance, the eldest, who married the infant of Arragon; Margaret, who married Roger Bernard, count de Foix; Amata, who married the count of Armagnac; and Guillemette, married after the death of her father.—Ed.

‡ This was probably about the year 1283.—Ed.

otherwise would have been lost. This battle and defeat of the Castillians, and the capture of the son and brother of the king, induced him to accede to a peace with the lord de Béarn on such terms as he dictated.

" Sir Gaston de Béarn, on his return to Orthès, in the presence of all the knights of Béarn and Foix, took the count de Foix by the hand and said: ' Fair son, you are indeed my son, my loyal son, and have secured for ever my honour and the honour of my country. The count d'Armagnac, who married my eldest daughter, has excused himself from assisting in the defence of my inheritance, in which he was so much interested. I therefore declare that he has forfeited and shall lose whatever share he may have expected from it in behalf of my daughter. You, count de Foix, shall inherit the whole of my territory of Béarn after my decease, you and your heirs for ever. I entreat and command all my subjects to agree with me, and to seal this gift, which I present to you, my fair son of Foix.' All present answered ' My lord, we will most cheerfully do so.' Thus did the former counts de Foix become lords of Béarn: they bear the arms and the name, and have the war-cry and profit. However, the Armagnacs have not the less urged their claims to those rights they say they are entitled to; and this is the cause of the quarrel and war between Armagnac, Foix and Béarn."

" By my faith," said I to the knight, " you have perfectly well explained the matter. I never before heard any thing of it, but, since I now do, I will perpetuate it, if God grant that I return to my own country. But there is one thing more I could wish to know: what caused the death of the son of the count de Foix?" The knight became pensive, and said " It is too melancholy a subject: I therefore wish not to speak of it; but when you are at Orthès, if you ask, you will find many there who will tell you the whole history." I was obliged to content myself with this answer; so we continued our journey until we arrived at Morlens.

CHAPTER IX.—SIR JOHN FROISSART ARRIVES AT ORTHES.—AN OLD SQUIRE RELATES TO HIM THE CRUEL DEATH OF THE ONLY SON OF THE COUNT DE FOIX, AND HOW STRANGE DREAMS AFFECTED SIR PETER DE BEARN, BASTARD-BROTHER TO THE COUNT.

On the morrow we set out, and dined at Montgerbal, when having remounted, and drank a cup at Ercie, we arrived by sunset at Orthès. The knight dismounted at his own house: and I did the same at the hôtel of the Moon, kept by a squire of the count, called Ernauton du Pin, who received me with much pleasure on account of my being a Frenchman. Sir Espaign du Lyon, who had accompanied me, went to the castle, to speak with the count on his affairs: he found him in his gallery, for a little before that hour he had dined. It was a custom with the count, which he had followed from his infancy, to rise at noon* and sup at midnight.

The knight informed him of my arrival, and I was instantly sent for; for he is a lord above all others who delights to see strangers, in order to hear news. On my entering, he received me handsomely, and retained me of his household, where I staid upwards of twelve weeks well entertained, as were my horses. Our acquaintance was strengthened by my having brought with me a book which I had made at the desire of Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant. In this book, called le Meliador, are contained all the songs, ballads, roundelays and virelays, which that gentle duke had composed, and of them I had made this collection. Every night after supper I read out to him parts: during which time neither he nor any one else spoke, for he was desirous I should be well heard, and took much delight in it. When any passages were not perfectly clear, he himself discussed them with me, not in his Gascon language, but in very good French.

I shall relate to you several things respecting him and his household, for I tarried there as long as I could gain any information. Count Gaston Phœbus de Foix, of whom I am now speaking, was at that time fifty-nine years old; and I must say, that although I have seen very many knights, kings, princes and others, I have never seen any so handsome, either in the form of his limbs and shape, or in countenance, which was fair and ruddy, with grey and

* " Que il se couchoit et levoit à haute nonne;" that is to say, he took his morning-meal at that hour.—Ed.

amorous eyes, that gave delight whenever he chose to express affection. He was so perfectly formed, one could not praise him too much. He loved earnestly the things he ought to love, and hated those which it was becoming him so to hate. He was a prudent knight, full of enterprise and wisdom. He had never any men of abandoned character with him, reigned prudently, and was constant in his devotions. There were regular nocturnals from the Psalter, prayers from the rituals to the Virgin, to the Holy Ghost, and from the burial service. He had every day distributed as alms, at his gate, five florins in small coin, to all comers. He was liberal and courteous in his gifts; and well knew how to take when it was proper, and to give back where he had confidence. He mightily loved dogs above all other animals; and during the summer and winter amused himself much with hunting. He never liked any foolish works nor ridiculous extravagancies; and would know every month the amount of his expenditure. He chose from his own subjects twelve of the most able to receive and administer his finances: two of them had the management for two months, when they were changed for two others; and from them he selected one as comptroller, in whom he placed his greatest confidence, and to whom all the others rendered their accounts. This comptroller accounted by rolls or written books, which were laid before the count. He had certain coffers in his apartment, from whence he took money to give to different knights, squires or gentlemen, when they came to wait on him, for none ever left him without a gift; and these sums he continually increased, in order to be prepared for any event that might happen. He was easy of access to all, and entered very freely into discourse, though laconic in his advice and in his answers. He employed four secretaries to write and copy his letters; and these secretaries were obliged to be in readiness the moment he came out from his closet. He called them neither John, Walter, nor William, but his good-for-nothings, to whom he gave his letters after he had read them, either to copy, or to do any thing else he might command.

In such manner did the count de Foix live. When he quitted his chamber at midnight for supper, twelve servants bore each a large lighted torch before him, which were placed near his table and gave a brilliant light to the apartment. The hall was full of knights and squires; and there were plenty of tables laid out for any person who chose to sup. No one spoke to him at his table, unless he first began a conversation. He commonly ate heartily of poultry, but only the wings and thighs; for in the day-time, he neither ate nor drank much. He had great pleasure in hearing minstrels, as he himself was a proficient in the science, and made his secretaries sing songs, ballads and roundelays. He remained at table about two hours; and was pleased when fanciful dishes were served up to him, which having seen, he immediately sent them to the tables of his knights and squires.

In short, everything considered, though I had before been in several courts of kings, dukes, princes, counts, and noble ladies, I was never at one which pleased me more, nor was I ever more delighted with feats of arms, than at this of the count de Foix. There were knights and squires to be seen in every chamber, hall and court, going backwards and forwards, and conversing on arms and amours. Every thing honourable was there to be found. All intelligence from distant countries was there to be learnt; for the gallantry of the count had brought visitors from all parts of the world. It was there I was informed of the greater part of those events which had happened in Spain, Portugal, Arragon, Navarre, England, Scotland, and on the borders of Languedoc; for I saw, during my residence, knights and squires arrive from every nation. I therefore made inquiries from them, or from the count himself, who cheerfully conversed with me.

I was very anxious to know, seeing the hôtel of the count so spacious and so amply supplied, what was become of his son Gaston, and by what accident he had died, for sir Espaign du Lyon would never satisfy my curiosity. I made so many inquiries, that at last an old and intelligent squire informed me. He thus began his tale:—

"It is well known that the count and countess de Foix are not on good terms with each other, nor have they been so for a long time. This dissension arose from the king of Navarre, who is the lady's brother. The king of Navarre had offered to pledge himself for the lord d'Albreth, whom the count de Foix held in prison, in the sum of fifty thousand francs. The count de Foix, knowing the king of Navarre to be crafty and faithless, would not accept his

security, which piqued the countess, and raised her indignation against her husband: she said,—'My lord, you show but little confidence in the honour of my brother, the king of Navarre, when you will not trust him for fifty thousand francs: if you never gain more from the Armagnacs and Labrissiens than you have done, you ought to be contented: you know that you are to assign over my dower, which amounts to fifty thousand francs, into the hands of my brother: therefore you cannot run any risk for the repayment.' 'Lady, you say truly,' replied the count; 'but, if I thought the king of Navarre would stop the payment for that cause, the lord d'Albreth should never leave Orthès until he had paid me the utmost farthing. Since, however, you entreat it, it shall be done, not out of love to you, but out of affection to my son.' Upon this, and from the assurance of the king of Navarre, who acknowledged himself debtor to the count de Foix, the lord d'Albreth recovered his liberty: he turned to the French interest, and married the sister of the duke of Bourbon. He paid, at his convenience, to the king of Navarre the sum of fifty thousand francs, according to his obligation; but that king never repaid them to the count de Foix.

"The count on this said to his wife, 'Lady, you must go to your brother in Navarre, and tell him that I am very ill satisfied with him for withholding from me the sum he has received on my account.' The lady replied, she would cheerfully go thither, and set out from Orthès with her attendants. On her arrival at Pampeluna, her brother the king of Navarre received her with much joy. The lady punctually delivered her message, which when the king had heard, he replied, 'My fair sister, the money is yours, as your dower from the count de Foix; and, since I have possession of it, it shall never go out of the kingdom of Navarre.' 'Ah, my lord,' replied the lady, 'you will by this create a great hatred between the count de Foix and me; and, if you persist in this resolution, I shall never dare return, for my lord will put me to death for having deceived him.' 'I cannot say,' answered the king, who was unwilling to let such a sum go out of his hands, 'how you should act, whether to remain or return; but as I have possession of the money, and it is my right to keep it for you, it shall never leave Navarre.'

"The countess de Foix, not being able to obtain any other answer, remained in Navarre, not daring to return home. The count de Foix, perceiving the malice of the king of Navarre, began to detest his wife, though she was no way to blame, for not returning after she had delivered his message. In truth, she was afraid; for she knew her husband to be cruel when displeased with any one. Thus things remained. Gaston, the son of my lord, grew up, and became a fine young gentleman. He was married to the daughter of the count d'Armagnac, sister to the present count and to sir Bernard d'Armagnac; and by this union peace was insured between Foix and Armagnac. The youth might be about fifteen or sixteen years old: he was a very handsome figure, and the exact resemblance to his father in his whole form.

He took it into his head to make a journey into Navarre, to visit his mother and uncle; but it was an unfortunate journey for him and for this country. On his arrival in Navarre, he was splendidly entertained: and he staid some time with his mother. On taking leave, he could not prevail on her, notwithstanding his remonstrances and entreaties, to accompany him back; for, the lady having asked if the count de Foix his father had ordered him to bring her back, he replied, that when he set out, no such orders had been given, which caused her to fear trusting herself with him. She therefore remained, and the heir of Foix went to Pampeluna to take leave of his uncle. The king entertained him well, and detained him upwards of ten days: on his departure, he made him handsome presents, and did the same by his attendants. The last gift the king gave him was the cause of his death, and I will tell you how it happened. As the youth was on the point of setting out, the king took him privately into his chamber, and gave him a bag full of powder, which was of such pernicious quality as would cause the death of any one that ate of it. 'Gaston, my fair nephew,' said the king, 'will you do what I am about to tell you? You see how unjustly the count de Foix hates your mother, who being my sister, it displeases me as much as it should you. If you wish to reconcile your father to your mother, you must take a small pinch of this powder, and when you see a proper opportunity, strew it over the meat destined for your father's table; but take care no one sees you. The instant he shall have

tasted it, he will be impatient for his wife, your mother, to return to him; and they will love each other henceforward so strongly they will never again be separated. You ought to be anxious to see this accomplished. Do not tell it to any one: for, if you do, it will lose its effect.' The youth, who believed everything his uncle the king of Navarre had told him, replied, he would cheerfully do as he had said; and on this he departed from Pampeluna, on his return to Orthès. His father the count de Foix received him with pleasure, and asked what was the news in Navarre, and what presents and jewels had been given him; he replied, 'Very handsome ones,' and showed them all, except the bag which contained the powder.

"It was customary, in the hotel de Foix, for Gaston and his bastard brother Evan to sleep in the same chamber: they mutually loved each other and were dressed alike, for they were nearly of the same size and age. It fell out, that their clothes were once mixed together; and, the coat of Gaston being on the bed, Evan, who was malicious enough, noticing the powder in the bag, said to Gaston, 'What is this that you wear every day on your breast?' Gaston was not pleased at the question, and replied, 'Give me back my coat, Evan: you have nothing to do with it.' Evan flung him his coat, which Gaston put on, but was very pensive the whole day. Three days after, as if God was desirous of saving the life of the count de Foix, Gaston quarrelled with Evan at tennis, and gave him a box on the ear. The boy was vexed at this, and ran crying to the apartment of the count, who had just heard mass. The count, on seeing him in tears, asked what was the matter. 'In God's name, my lord,' replied Evan, 'Gaston has beaten me, but he deserves beating much more than I do.' 'For what reason?' said the count, who began to have some suspicions. 'On my faith,' said Evan, 'ever since his return from Navarre, he wears on his breast a bag of powder: I know not what use it can be of, nor what he intends to do with it; except that he has once or twice told me, his mother would soon return hither, and be more in your good graces than ever she was.' 'Ho,' said the count, 'hold thy tongue, and be sure thou do not mention what thou hast just told me to any man breathing.' 'My lord,' replied the youth, 'I will obey you.' The count de Foix was very thoughtful on this subject, and remained alone until dinner-time, when he rose up, and seated himself as usual at his table in the hall. His son Gaston always placed the dishes before him, and tasted the meats. As soon as he had served the first dish, and done what was usual, the count cast his eyes on him, having formed his plan, and saw the strings of the bag hanging from his pourpoint. This sight made his blood boil, and he said, 'Gaston, come hither: I want to whisper you something.' The youth advanced to the table, when the count, opening his bosom, undid his pourpoint, and with his knife cut away the bag. The young man was thunderstruck, and said not a word, but turned pale with fear, and began to tremble exceedingly, for he was conscious he had done wrong. The count opened the bag, took some of the powder, which he strewed over a slice of bread, and, calling a dog to him, gave it him to eat. The instant the dog had eaten a morsel his eyes rolled round in his head, and he died. The count on this was very wroth, and indeed had reason: rising from table, he would have struck his son with a knife; but the knights and squires rushed in between them, saying, 'For God's sake, my lord, do not be too hasty, but make further inquiries before you do any ill to your son.' The first words the count uttered were in Gascon; 'Ho, Gaston, thou traitor! for thee, and to increase thy inheritance which would have come to thee, have I made war, and incurred the hatred of the kings of France, England, Spain, Navarre, and Arragon, and have borne myself gallantly against them, and thou wishest to murder me! Thy disposition must be infamously bad: know therefore thou shalt die with this blow.' And leaping over the table with a knife in his hand, he would have slain him: but the knights and squires again interfered, and on their knees said to him with tears, 'Ah, ah! my lord, for Heaven's sake, do not kill Gaston: you have no other child. Let him be confined and inquire further into the business. Perhaps he was ignorant what was in the bag, and may therefore be blameless.' 'Well,' replied the count, 'let him be confined in the dungeon, but so safely guarded that he may be forthcoming.' The youth was therefore confined in this tower. The count had many of those who served his son arrested, but not

all; for several escaped out of the country: in particular, the bishop of Lescar*, who was much suspected, as were several others. He put to death not less than fifteen, after they had suffered the torture; and the reason he gave was, that it was impossible but they must have been acquainted with the secrets of his son, and they ought to have informed him by saying, 'My lord, Gaston wears constantly on his breast a bag of such and such a form.' This they did not do, and suffered a terrible death for it; which was a pity, for there were not in all Gascony such handsome or well-appointed squires. The household of the count de Foix was always splendidly established.

"This business went to the heart of the count, as he plainly showed; for he assembled at Orthès all the nobles and prelates of Foix and Béarn, and others the principal persons of the country. When they were met, he informed them of the cause of his calling them together, and told them how culpable he had found Gaston; insomuch that it was his intention he should be put to death, as he thought him deserving of it. They unanimously replied to this speech,—'My lord, saving your grace's favour, we will not that Gaston be put to death: he is your heir and you have none other.' When the count thus heard his subjects declare their sentiments in favour of his son, he hesitated, and thought he might sufficiently chastise him by two or three months' confinement, when he would send him on his travels for a few years until his ill conduct should be forgotten, and he feel grateful for the lenity of his punishment. He therefore dissolved the meeting; but those of Foix would not quit Orthès until the count had assured them Gaston should not be put to death, so great was their affection to him. He complied with their request, but said he would keep him some time in prison. On this promise, those who had been assembled departed, and Gaston remained a prisoner in Orthès. News of this was spread far and near, and reached pope Gregory XI. who resided at Avignon: he sent instantly the cardinal of Amiens, as his legate, to Béarn, to accommodate this affair; but he had scarcely travelled as far as Beziers, when he heard he had no need to continue his journey, for that Gaston the son of the count de Foix was dead. I will tell you the cause of his death, since I have said so much on the subject. The count de Foix had caused him to be confined in a room of the dungeon where was little light: there he remained for ten days. He scarcely ate or drank anything of the food which was regularly brought to him, but threw it aside. It is said, that after his death, all the meat was found untouched, so that it is marvellous how he could have lived so long. The count would not permit any one to remain in the chamber to advise or comfort him: he therefore never put off the clothes he had on when he entered his prison. This made him melancholy and vexed him, for he did not expect so much harshness: he therefore cursed the hour he was born, and lamented that he should come to such an end. On the day of his death, those who brought him food said, 'Gaston, here is meat for you.' He paid not any attention to it, but said, 'Put it down.' The person who served him, looking about, saw all the meat untouched that he had brought thither the last days: then, shutting the door, he went to the count and said, 'My lord, for God's sake, look to your son: he is starving himself in his prison. I do not believe he has eaten anything since his confinement; for I see all that I have carried to him lying on one side untouched.' On hearing this, the count was enraged, and, without saying a word, left his apartment and went to the prison of his son. In an evil hour, he had in his hand a knife, with which he had been paring and cleaning his nails, he held it by the blade so closely that scarcely the thickness of a groat appeared of the point, when, pushing aside the tapestry that covered the entrance of the prison, through ill luck, he hit his son on a vein of his throat, as he uttered, 'Ha, traitor, why dost not thou eat?' and instantly left the room, without saying or doing anything more. The youth was much frightened at his father's arrival, and withal exceedingly weak from fasting. The point of the knife, small as it was, cut a vein, which as soon as he felt he turned himself on one side and died. The count had barely got back again to his apartment when the attendants of his son came and said, 'My lord, Gaston is dead.' 'Dead!' cried the count. 'Yes, God help me! indeed he is, my lord.' The count would not believe it, and sent one of his knights to see. The knight, on his return, confirmed the news. The count was now bitterly affected, and cried out, 'Ha, ha, Gaston! what a sorry business

* "Lescar,"—a city in Béarn, about one league from Pau.

has this turned out for thee and me! In an evil hour didst thou go to visit thy mother in Navarre. Never shall I again enjoy the happiness I had formerly.' He then ordered his barber to be sent for, and was shaven quite bare: he clothed himself, as well as his whole household, in black. The body of the youth was borne, with tears and lamentations, to the church of the Augustin friars at Orthès, where it was buried. Thus have I related to you the death of Gaston de Foix: his father killed him indeed, but the king of Navarre was the cause of this sad event."

My heart was much affected at this recital of the squire of Béarn relative to the death of Gaston; and I was truly sorry for the count his father, whom I found a magnificent, generous, and courteous lord, and also for the country that was discontented for want of an heir. I then took leave of the squire, after having thanked him for the pleasure his narration had given me. I saw him frequently afterwards in the hôtel de Foix, when we had always some conversation. I once asked him about sir Peter de Béarn, bastard-brother to the count, who seemed to me a knight of great valour, and if he were rich or married. "Married indeed he is," replied he, "but neither his wife nor children live with him." "For what reason?" said I. "I will tell you," replied the squire.

"Sir Peter de Béarn has a custom, when asleep in the night-time, to rise, arm himself, draw his sword, and to begin fighting as if he were in actual combat. The chamberlains and valets who sleep in his chamber to watch him, on hearing him rise, go to him, and inform him what he is doing: of all which, he tells them, he is quite ignorant, and that they lie. Sometimes they leave neither arms nor sword in his chamber, when he makes such a noise and clatter as if all the devils in hell were there. They therefore think it best to replace the arms, and sometimes he forgets them, and remains quietly in his bed." I again asked, if he had a large fortune with his wife. "Yes, in God's name had he," says the squire; "but the lady keeps possession of it, and enjoys the profits, except a fourth part, which sir Peter has." "And where does his lady reside?" "She lives with her cousin the king of Castille: her father was count of Biscay and cousin-german to don Pedro, who put him to death. He wanted also to lay hands on this lady, to confine her. He seized her lands, and as long as he lived she received nothing from them. It was told her, when, by the death of her father, she became countess of Biscay,—'Lady, save yourself; for if don Pedro lay hands on you, he will put you to death, or at least imprison you, for he is much enraged that you should say he strangled his queen, sister to the duke of Bourbon and the queen of France, in her bed; and your evidence is more readily believed than any other, for you were of her bed-chamber.' For this reason, the countess Florence de Biscaye quitted the country with few attendants, as one naturally wishes to fly from death, passed through Biscay and came hither, when she told my lord her history.

"The count, who is kind and affectionate to all ladies and damsels, had compassion on her, detained her at his court, and placed her with the lady de la Karasse, a great baroness of this country, and provided her with all things suitable to her rank. Sir Peter de Béarn, his brother, was at that time a young knight, and had not then this custom of fighting in his sleep, but was much in the good graces of the count, who concluded a marriage for him with this lady, and recovered her lands from don Pedro. She has a son and daughter by sir Peter, but they are young, and with her in Castille, for she would not leave them with their father; and she has the right of enjoying the greater part of her own lands."

"Holy Mary!" said I to the squire, "how came the knight to have such fancies, that he cannot sleep quietly in bed, but must rise and skirmish about the house! this is very strange." "By my faith," answered the squire, "they have frequently asked him, but he knows nothing about it. The first time it happened, was on the night following a day when he had hunted a wonderfully large bear in the woods of Béarn. This bear had killed four of his dogs and wounded many more, so that the others were afraid of him; upon which sir Peter drew his sword of Bordeaux steel, and advanced on the bear with great rage, on account of the loss of his dogs: he combated him a long time with much bodily danger, and with great difficulty slew him, when he returned to his castle of Languedudon, in Biscay, and had the bear carried with him. Every one was astonished at the enormous size of the beast, and the courage of the knight who had attacked and slain it. When the countess of Biscay, his wife, saw the

bear, she instantly fainted, and was carried to her chamber, where she continued very disconsolate all that and the following day, and would not say what ailed her. On the third day she told her husband 'she should never recover her health until she had made a pilgrimage to St. James's shrine at Compostella. Give me leave, therefore, to go thither, and to carry my son Peter and my daughter Adrienne with me: I request it of you.' Sir Peter too easily complied: she had packed up all her jewels and plate unobserved by any one; for she had resolved never to return again.

"The lady set out on her pilgrimage, and took that opportunity of visiting her cousins the king and queen of Castille, who entertained her handsomely. She is still with them, and will neither return herself nor send her children. The same night he had hunted and killed the bear, this custom of walking in his sleep seized him. It is rumoured, the lady was afraid of something unfortunate happening, the moment she saw the bear, and this caused her fainting; for that her father once hunted this bear, and during the chace, a voice cried out, though he saw nobody, 'Thou huntest me: yet I wish thee no ill; but thou shalt die a miserable death.' The lady remembered this when she saw the bear, as well as that her father had been beheaded by don Pedro without any cause; and she maintains that something unfortunate will happen to her husband; and that what passes now is nothing to what will come to pass. I have told you the story of sir Peter de Béarn," said the squire, "in compliance with your wishes: it is a well-known fact; and what do you think of it?"

I was very pensive at the wonderful things I had heard, and replied, "I do believe everything you have said: we find in ancient authors how gods and goddesses formerly changed men into beasts, according to their pleasure, and women also into birds. This bear, therefore, might have been a knight hunting in the forest of Biscay, when he, perchance, angered some god or goddess, who changed him into a bear, to do penance, as Acteon was transformed into a stag." "Acteon!" cried the squire: "my good sir, do relate it, for I shall be very happy to listen to you." "According to ancient authors, we read that Acteon was a handsome and accomplished knight, who loved dogs and the chace above all things. He was once hunting a stag of a prodigious size: the chace lasted the whole day, when he lost his men and his hounds; but, eager in pursuing the stag, he came to a large meadow, surrounded by high trees, in which was a fountain, where the goddess of Chastity and her nymphs were bathing themselves. The knight came upon them so suddenly that they were not aware of him, and he had advanced so far he could not retreat. The nymphs, in their fright, ran to cover their mistress, whose modesty was wounded at thus being seen naked. She viewed the knight over the heads of her attendants, and said. 'Acteon, whoever has sent thee hither has no great love for thee: I will not, that when thou shalt go hence, thou brag of having seen me naked, as well as my nymphs; and for the outrage thou hast committed, thou shalt perform a penance. I change thee, therefore, into the form of the stag thou hast this day hunted.' He was instantly transformed into a stag, who naturally loves waters. "Thus it may have happened with regard to the bear whose history you have told me, and the countess may have had some knowledge or some fears which at the moment she would not discover: she therefore ought to be excused for what she has done." The squire answered, "It may perchance be so;" and thus ended our conversation.

CHAPTER X.—THE COUNT DE FOIX HOLDS SOLEMN FESTIVALS ON THE FEAST OF ST. NICHOLAS AND AT CHRISTMAS; DURING WHICH FROISSART BECOMES ACQUAINTED WITH BASTOT DE MAULEON, WHO RELATES TO HIM, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HOW SEVERAL OF THE CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES WERE DEFEATED BEFORE THE TOWN OF SANCERRE,—HOW HE SURPRISED THE TOWN OF THURIE IN THE ALBIGEOIS, AND HOW ONE OF THE NAME OF LIMOUSIN REVENGED AN OUTRAGE COMMITTED AGAINST HIM BY LOUIS RAIMBAUT.

Among the solemnities which the count de Foix observes on high festivals, he most magnificently keeps the feast of St. Nicholas, as I learnt from a squire of his household the third day after my arrival at Orthès. He holds this feast more splendidly than that of Easter,

and has a most magnificent court, as I myself noticed, being present on that day. The whole clergy of the town of Orthès, with all its inhabitants, walk in procession to seek the count at the castle, who on foot returns with them to the church of St. Nicholas, where is sung the psalm "Benedictus Dominus, Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prœlium, et digitos meos ad bellum," from the Psalter of David, which, when finished, recommences, as is done in the chapels of the pope or king of France, on Christmas or Easter days, for there were plenty of choristers. The bishop of Pamiers sang the mass for the day; and I there heard organs play as melodiously as I have ever heard in any place. To speak briefly and truly, the count de Foix was perfect in person and in mind; and no contemporary prince could be compared with him for sense, honour, or liberality. At the feasts of Christmas, which he kept with great solemnity, crowds of knights and squires from Gascony waited on him, to all of whom he gave splendid entertainments. I saw there the bourg d'Espaign, of whose surprising strength sir Espaign du Lyon had told me, which made me more desirous to see him, and the count showed him many civilities. I saw also knights from Arragon and England; which last were of the household of the duke of Lancaster, who at that time resided at Bordeaux, whom the count received very graciously, and presented with handsome gifts.



Bishop of Pamiers singing the Mass at the Festival of St. Nicholas, held by the Count de Foix. The Organ drawn from Harl. MS. 3469, and the Costume from a MS. Froissart of Fifteenth Century.

I made acquaintance with these knights, and by them was informed of several things which had happened in Castille, Navarre, and Portugal, which I shall clearly detail in proper time and place. I saw there also a Gascon squire, called le bastot de Mauléon, an expert man at arms, and about fifty years old, according to his appearance. He arrived at the hôtel of the Moon, where I lodged with Ernauton du Pin, in grand array, having led horses with him like to a great baron, and he and his attendants were served on plate of gold and silver. When I heard his name, and saw how much respect the count de Foix and all the others paid him, I asked sir Espaign du Lyon, "Is not this the squire who quitted the castle of Trigalet, when the duke of Anjou lay before Mauvoisin?" "Yes," replied he; "and he is as able a captain and as good a man at arms as any existing." Upon this I besought his acquaintance, as he was lodged in the same hôtel as myself, with a cousin of his, a Gascon, called Arnauton,

governor of Carlat in Auvergne, whom I well knew, and who assisted me in it, as did also the bourg de Copaire *.

One night, as we were sitting round the fire chatting and waiting for midnight, which was the hour the count supped, his cousin began a conversation relative to his former life, and asked him to tell his adventures and success in arms, without concealing loss or profit, as he knew he could well remember them. Upon this he said, "Sir John, have you in your chronicle what I am going to speak of?" "I do not know," replied I; "but begin your story, which I shall be happy to hear; for I cannot recollect every particular of my history, nor can I have been perfectly informed of every event." "That is true," added the squire, and then began his history in these words:

"The first time I bore arms was under the captal de Buch at the battle of Poitiers: by good luck I made that day three prisoners, a knight and two squires, who paid me, one with the other, four thousand francs. The following year I was in Prussia with the count de Foix and his cousin the captal, under whose command I was. On our return, we found the duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and a great number of ladies and damsels, shut up in Meaux in Brie. The peasants had confined them in the market-place of Meaux, and would have violated them, if God had not sent us thither: for they were completely in their power, as they amounted to more than ten thousand, and the ladies were alone. Upwards of six thousand Jacks were killed on the spot, and they never afterwards rebelled.

"At this time there was a truce between the kings of France and England, but the king of Navarre continued the war on his own personal quarrel with the regent of France. The count de Foix returned to his own country, but my master and self remained with the king of Navarre and in his pay. We made, with the help of others, a severe war on France; particularly in Picardy, where we took many towns and castles in the bishoprics of Beauvois and Amiens: we were masters of the country and rivers, and gained very large sums of money. When the truce expired between France and England, the king of Navarre discontinued his war, as peace had been made between him and the regent. The king of England crossed the sea with a large army, and laid siege to Rheims, whither he sent for the captal, who at that time was at Clermont in Beauvoisis, carrying on the war on his own account. We joined the king of England and his children. But," said the squire, "I fancy you must have written all this, and how the king of England broke up his siege through famine, and how he came before Chartres, and how peace was made between the two kings." "That is true," replied I: "I have all this, as well as the treaties which were then concluded." Upon this Bastot de Mauléon thus continued his narration:

"This treaty of peace being concluded, it was necessary for all men at arms and free companies, according to the words of the treaty, to evacuate the fortresses or castles they held. Great numbers collected together, with many poor companions who had learnt the art of war under different commanders, to hold councils as to what quarters they should march, and they said among themselves, that though the kings had made peace with each other, it was necessary for them to live. They marched into Burgundy, where they had captains of all nations, Germans, Scots, and people from every country. I was there also as a captain. Our numbers in Burgundy, above the river Loire, were upwards of twelve thousand, including all sorts; but I must say, that in this number, there were three or four thousand good men at arms, as able and understanding in war as any could be found, whether to plan an engagement, to seize a proper moment to fight, or to surprise and scale towns and castles, and well inured to war; which indeed we showed at the battle of Brignais, where we overpowered the constable of France, the count de Forêts, with full two thousand lances, knights, and squires. This battle was of great advantage to the companions, for they were poor, and they then enriched themselves by good prisoners, and by the towns and castles which they took in the archbishopric of Lyons on the river Rhone. They carried on their warfare until they had gained the Pont du St. Esprit: and the pope and cardinals would not have been freed from them until they had destroyed everything, if they had not thought of a good expedient, by sending to Lombardy for the marquis de Montferrat, who was a gallant knight, and at that time at war with the lord of Milan. On his arrival at Avignon, the pope and cardinals

* *i. e.* he assisted him.

had a conference with him : and he negotiated with the English, Gascon, and German troops for their services, for sixty thousand francs, which the pope and cardinals paid to different leaders of these companies ; such as sir John Hawkwood, a valiant English knight, sir Robert Bricquet, Carsuelle, Naudon le Bagerant, le bourg Camus, and many more. They marched into Lombardy, having surrendered the Pont du St. Esprit, and carried with them six parts of the companies ; but sir Sequin de Batefol, sir John Jewel, sir James Planchin, sir John Amery, le bourg de Perigord, Espiote, Louis Raimbaut, Limousin, James Trittel, and myself, with several others, remained behind. We had possession of Ance, St. Clement, la Barrelle, la Terrare, Brignais, le Pont St. Denis, l'Hôpital d'Ortifart, and upwards of sixty castles in the Maconnois, Forêts, Velay, and in lower Burgundy on the Loire. We ransomed the whole country, and they could only be freed from us by well paying. We took, by a night-attack, la Charité, which we held for a year and a half. Everything was ours from la Charité to Puy in Auvergne (for sir Sequin de Batefol had left Ance, and resided at Brioude in Auvergne, where he made great profit, and gained there and in the adjacent country upwards of one hundred thousand francs), and below Loire as far as Orleans, with the command of the whole river Allier. The archpriest, who was then a good Frenchman, and governor of Nevers, could not remedy this ; but, being our old acquaintance, we sometimes complied with his entreaties to spare the country. The archpriest did great good to the Nivernois, by fortifying the city of Nevers, which otherwise would have been ruined several times ; for we had in the environs upwards of twenty-six strong places, as well towns as castles, and no knight, squire, nor rich man, dared to quit his home unless he had compounded with us ; and this war we carried on under the name and pretext of the king of Navarre. At this time happened the battle of Cocherel *, where the captal de Buch commanded for the king of Navarre, and many knights and squires went from us to assist him : sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel carried with them two hundred lances. I held at this period a castle called le Bec d'Allier, pretty near to la Charité, on the road to the Bourbonnois, and had under me forty lances, where I made great profit from the country near Moulins, and about St. Pourçain † and St. Pierre ‡ le Moustier. When news was brought me that the captal, my master, was in Constantin, collecting men from all parts, having a great desire to see him, I left my castle with twelve lances, with whom I joined sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel, and without accident or adventure we came to the captal. I believe you must have all this in your history, as well as the event of the battle." " Yes, I have," said I : " how the captal was made prisoner, and sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel killed." " That is right," added he : " I also was made prisoner ; but good luck befell me, for it was to my cousin : he was cousin to my cousin now by my side the bourg de Copaire ; and his name was Bernard de Turide : he was killed in Portugal, at the affair of Aljubarrota. Bernard, then under the command of sir Aymemon de Pommiers, ransomed me in the field for a thousand francs, and gave me a passport to return to my fort of Bec d'Alliers. Instantly on my arrival, I counted out to one of my servants a thousand francs, which I charged him to carry to Paris, and to bring me back letters of acquittance for the payment, which he did. At this same season, sir John Aymery, an English knight, and the greatest captain we had, made an excursion down the Loire towards la Charité : he fell into an ambuscade of the lords de Rougement and de Vendelay, with the men of the archpriest. They were the strongest, and overpowered him : he was made prisoner, and ransomed for thirty thousand francs, which he instantly paid down. He was, however, so much vexed at being captured, and with his loss, that he swore he would never re-enter his fort until he had had his revenge. He collected, therefore, a large body of companions, and came to la Charité on the Loire, and entreated the captains, such as Lamit, Carsuelle, le bourg de Perigord, and myself (who were come thither for our amusement), to accompany him in an expedition. We asked him, ' Whither ?' ' By my faith,' replied he, ' we will cross the Loire at port St. Thibaut, and scale the town and castle of Sancerre §. I have made a vow, that I will never re-enter my own castle until

* Battle of Cocherel, 1364.

† St. Pourçain de Melcheres and St. Pourçain sur Vesbre, villages of Bourbonois, near Moulins.

‡ " St. Pierre le Moûtier,"—a town of Nivernois, seven leagues from Moulins,

§ " Sancerre,"—an ancient town in Berry, near the Loire, eight leagues from Bourges.

I shall have seen the boys of Sancerre; and if we could conquer that garrison, with the earl's children within it, John Louis and Robert, we should be made men, and masters of the whole country. We may easily succeed in our attempt, for they pay no attention to us, and our remaining longer here is not of any advantage.' 'That is true,' we answered, and promised to accompany him, and went away to make ourselves ready.

"It happened," continued le bastot de Mauléon, "that our plot was discovered, and known in the town of Sancerre. A valiant squire from the lower parts of Burgundy, called Guichart d'Albigon, was at the time governor of the town, who took great pains to guard it well. The earl's children, who were all three knights, were with him. This Guichart had a brother a monk in the abbey of St. Thibaut near Sancerre, who was sent by the governor to la Charité with the composition-money that some of the towns in the upper districts owed. They were careless about him, and he discovered, I know not how, our intentions and what our numbers were, as well as the names of the captains of the different forts near la Charité, with the strength of their garrisons, and also at what hour and in what manner we were to cross the river at Port St. Thibaut. Having gained this information, he hastened to disclose it to his brother and the young knights of Sancerre. They made instant preparations for their defence, and sent notice of the intended attack to the knights and squires of Berry and the Bourbonnois, and to the captains of the different garrisons in the neighbourhood, so that they were four hundred good lances. They placed a strong ambuscade, of two hundred spears, in a wood near to the town.

"We set out at sun-set from la Charité, and rode on briskly, in good order, until we came to Prully, where we had collected a number of boats, to pass us and our horses over the river. We crossed the Loire, as we had intended, and were all over about midnight: our horses crossed, also, without accident; but, as day-break was near, we ordered a hundred of our men to remain behind, to guard the horses and boats; and the rest advanced with a good pace, passing by the ambuscade, which took no notice of us. When we had gone about a quarter of a league, they sallied forth upon those at the river side, whom they instantly conquered, for all were slain or made prisoners; the horses were captured, and the passage of the river secured, when, mounting our horses, they stuck spurs into them, and arrived at the town as soon as we did. They shouted on all sides, 'Our lady for Sancerre!' for the count himself was in the town with his men, and sir Louis and sir Robert had formed the ambuscade. We were thus completely surrounded, and knew not which way to turn ourselves: the shock of lances was great; for those on horseback instantly dismounted on their arrival, and attacked us fiercely; but what hurt us the most was the impossibility of extending our front, for we were enclosed in a narrow road, with hedges and vineyards on each side, with our enemies before and behind us. They knew well the country, and had posted a body of their men and servants in the vineyards, who cast stones and flints that bruised us much: we could not retreat, and had also great difficulty to approach the town, which is situated on a hill.

"We had very hard work: sir John Aymery, our captain, who had led us thither, was dangerously wounded by Guichart d'Albigon, who, exerting himself to save him, pushed him into a house in the town, and threw him on a bed, telling the master to take great care of his prisoner, and make haste to have his wounds dressed, for his rank was such, that if his life were saved, he would pay twenty thousand francs. On saying this, Guichart left his prisoner and returned to the battle, where he showed himself a good man at arms.

"Among others, the young knights of Sancerre had come to defend the country, with sir Guichard Dauphin, the lord de Marnay, sir Gerard and sir William de Bourbon, the lords de Cousant, de la Pierre, de la Palice, de Neutey, de la Croise, de la Sicete, and many more: I must say it was a very hard-fought murderous battle; we kept our ground as long as we were able, insomuch that several were slain and wounded on both sides. By their actions they seemed more desirous to take us alive than to kill us: at last they made prisoners of Carsuelle, Lamit Naudon le bourg de Perigord, le bourg de l'Esparre, Angerot, Lamontgis, Philip du Roc, Pierre de Corthon, le Pesat de Pamiers, le bourg d'Armesen; in short, all our companions who were in that neighbourhood. We were conducted to the castle of Sancerre in great triumph: and the free companies never suffered such loss in France as

they did that day. Guichart d'Albigon, however, lost his prisoner through negligence, for he bled so much that he died: such was the end of John Aymery. By this defeat, which happened under the walls of Sancerre, la Charité sur Loire surrendered to the French, as well as all the garrisons thereabout, by which means we obtained our liberties, and had passports given us to quit the kingdom of France and go whithersoever we pleased. Fortunately for us, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lord de Beaujeu, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and the count de la Marche, at this moment undertook an expedition into Spain, to assist the bastard Henry against don Pedro. Before that time, I was in Brittany at the battle of Auraye, where I served under sir Hugh Calverley, and recovered my affairs; for the day was ours, and I made such good prisoners, they paid me two thousand francs. I accompanied sir Hugh Calverley with ten lances into Spain, when we drove from thence don Pedro; but when treaties were afterwards made between don Pedro and the prince of Wales, who wished to enter Castille, I was there, in the company of sir Hugh Calverley, and returned to Aquitaine with him.

"The war was now renewed between the king of France and the prince: we had enough to do, for it was vigorously carried on; and great numbers of English and Gascon commanders lost their lives: however, thanks to God, I am still alive. Sir Robert Briquet was slain at a place called Olivet, in the Orleannois, situated between the territories of the duke of Orleans and the country of Blois, where a squire from Hainault, a gallant man at arms, and good captain, called Alars de Doustiennes, surnamed de Barbazan, for he was of that family, met him, and conquered both him and his company. This Alars was at that time governor of Blois and its dependencies, for the lords Lewis, John, and Guy de Blois; and it chanced that he met sir Robert Briquet and sir Robert Cheney at Olivet, when both were slain on the spot, and all their men, for none were ransomed. Afterwards, at the battle of Niort, Carsuelle was killed by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and seven hundred English perished that day. Richard Ellis and Richard Heline, two English captains, were also killed at St. Severe: I know but few, except myself who have escaped death. I have guarded the frontiers, and supported the king of England; for my estate is in the Bordelois; and I have at times been so miserably poor that I had not a horse to mount, at other times rich enough, just as good fortune befell me. Raymonet de l'Espee and I were some time companions: we held the castles of Mauvoisin, Trigalet, and Nantilleux, in the Toulousain, on the borders of Bigorre, which were very profitable to us. When the duke of Anjou came to attack them with his army, Raymonet turned to the French; but I remained steady to the English, and shall do so as long as I live. In truth, when I lost the castle of Trigalet, and was escorted to castle Cuillet, after the retreat of the duke of Anjou into France, I resolved to do something which should either make me or ruin me. I therefore sent spies to reconnoitre the town and castle of Thurie in the Albigeois, which castle has since been worth to me, as well by compositions as by good luck, one hundred thousand francs. I will tell you by what means I conquered it. On the outside of the town and castle, there is a beautiful spring of water, where every morning the women of the town come to fill their pails or other vessels; which having done, they carry them back on their heads. Upon this, I formed my plan; and, taking with me fifty men from the castle of Cuillet, we rode all day over heaths and through woods, and about midnight I placed an ambuscade near Thurie. Myself, with only six others, disguised as women, with pails in our hands, entered the meadow very near the town, and hid ourselves in a heap of hay; for it was about St. John's day, and the meadows were mown and making into hay. When the usual hour of opening the gates arrived, and the women were coming to the fountain, each of us then took his pail, and having filled it placed it on his head, and made for the town, our faces covered with handkerchiefs so that no one could have known us. The women that met us, said, 'Holy Mary, how early must you have risen this morning!' We replied in feigned voices, and passed on to the gate, where we found no other guard but a cobler, who was mending shoes. One of us sounded his horn, as a notice for the ambuscade to advance. The cobler, who had not paid any attention to us, on hearing the horn, cried out, 'Hola! who is it that has blown the horn?' We answered, 'It is a priest who is going into the country: I know not whether he be the curate or chaplain of the town.' 'That is true,' replied he: 'it is sir

Francis, our priest, who likes to go early to the fields in search of hares.' Our companions soon joined us, when we entered the town and found no one prepared to defend it. Thus did I gain the town and castle of Thurie, which has been to me of greater profit and more annual revenue than this castle and all its dependencies are worth. At this moment, I know not how to act: for I am in treaty with the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin d'Auvergne, who have been expressly commissioned by the king of France to buy all towns and castles from the captains of the free companies, wherever they may be, in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Agen, Quercy, Perigord, Albigeois, and from all those who have made war under the name of the king of England. Several have sold their forts, and gone away; and I am doubtful whether or not to sell mine."—Upon this, the bourg de Copaire said,—"Cousin, what you say is true; for I also have had intelligence since my arrival at Orthès, from Carlet, which I hold in Auvergne, that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, will soon be here: he is now incognito at Tarbes, as I have heard from those who have seen him."

They now called for wine, of which when brought we all drank, and Bastot de Mauléon said to me, "Well, sir John, what do you say? Have I well told you my life? I have had many more adventures, but of which I neither can nor will speak." "Yes, that you have, by my faith," added I: and, wishing him to continue his conversation, I asked what was become of a gallant squire, called Louis Raimbaut, whom I had met once at Avignon. "I will tell you," replied he. "At the time when sir Sequin de Batefol, who had possession of Brioude in Vélay, ten leagues from Puy in Auvergne, after having carried on the war in that country with much success, was returning to Gascony, he gave to Louis Raimbaut and to a companion of his, called Limousin, Brioude and Ance on the Saone. The country at that time was so desolated and harassed, and so full of free companies in every part, that none dared to venture out of their houses. I must inform you, that between Brioude and Ance, the country is mountainous, and the distance from one of those towns to the other twenty-six leagues. However, when Louis Raimbaut was pleased to ride from one of these places to the other, he made nothing of it; for he had several forts in Forêts and elsewhere, to halt and refresh himself. The gentlemen of Auvergne, Forêts, and Velay, had been so oppressed by ransoms to regain their liberty, they dreaded to take up arms again; and there were no great lords in France who raised any men. The king of France was young, and had too much to do in various parts of his kingdom; for the free companies had quartered themselves everywhere, and he could not get rid of them. Many of the great lords of France were hostages in England; during which time their property and vassals were pillaged, and there was not any remedy for this mischief, as their men were too dispirited even to defend themselves. Louis Raimbaut and Limousin, who had been brothers in arms, at length quarrelled, and I will tell you why. Louis Raimbaut had at Brioude a very handsome woman for his mistress, of whom he was passionately fond; and, when he made any excursions from Brioude to Ance, he intrusted her to the care of Limousin. Limousin was his brother in arms, and in him did he put his whole confidence; but he took such good care of the fair lady that he obtained every favour from her, and Louis Raimbaut had information of it. This enraged Louis Raimbaut against his companion; and, in order to insult him as much as possible, he ordered him to be seized by his servants and marched naked, all but his drawers, through the town, and then flogged with rods: at every corner of a street, trumpets sounded before him, and his action was proclaimed: he was then, in this state, and with only a plain coat on, thrust out of the town, and banished as a traitor. Louis Raimbaut thus insulted Limousin; but he was so much hurt at it, he vowed revenge whenever he should have an opportunity, which he afterwards found.

"Limousin, during the time he was in command at Brioude, had always spared the lands of the lord de la Voulte, situated on the Rhône, in his different excursions to Ance, and in the country of Vélay, for he had been kind to him in his youth. He therefore resolved to go to him, entreat his mercy, and beg he would make his peace with France, for that he would henceforward be a loyal Frenchman. He went therefore to Voulte, being well acquainted with the roads, and entered a house, for he was on foot: after he had inquired what hour it was, he went to the castle to wait on its lord. The porter would not at first

allow him to enter the gate; but, after many fair words, he was permitted to come into the gateway, and ordered not to stir further without permission, which he cheerfully promised. The lord de la Voulte, in the afternoon, came into the court to amuse himself, and advanced to the gate: Limousin instantly cast himself on his knees, and said, 'My lord, do you not know me?' 'Not I, by my faith,' replied the lord, who never imagined it was Limousin; but, having looked at him some time, added: 'Thou resemblest very much Limousin, who was formerly my page.' 'On my troth, my lord, Limousin I am, and your servant also.' He then begged his pardon for what had passed, and told him exactly everything that had happened to him, and how Louis Raimbaut had treated him. The lord de la Voulte said, 'Limousin, if what thou hast told me be true, and if I may rely on thy assurance that thou wilt become a good Frenchman, I will make thy peace.' 'By my faith, my lord, I have never done so much harm to France as I will from henceforward do it service.' 'I shall see,' replied the lord de la Voulte. From that time he retained him in his castle, and did not allow him to depart until he had made his peace everywhere. When Limousin could with honour bear arms, the lord de la Voulte mounted and armed him, and conducted him to the séneschal de Vélay, at Puy, to make them acquainted with each other. He was there examined as to the strength and situation of Brioude, and also respecting Louis Raimbaut; at what times he made excursions, and whither he generally directed them. 'I know by heart the roads he takes, for with him and without him I have too often traversed them; and, if you will collect a body of men at arms for an expedition, I will forfeit my head if you do not take him within a fortnight.' The lords agreed to his proposal, and spies were sent abroad to observe when Louis Raimbaut should leave Brioude for Ance in the Lyonois. When Limousin was certain he had left Brioude, he told the lord de la Voulte to assemble his men, for that Raimbaut was at Ance and would soon return, and that he would conduct them to a defile through which he must pass. The lord de la Voulte collected his men, and made him the leader of the expedition, having sent off to the bailiff of Vélay, the lord de Montclare, sir Guerrot de Salieres, and his son, sir Plouserat de Vernet, the lord de Villeneuve, and to all the men at arms thereabout: they were in the whole full three hundred spears; and when assembled at Nonnay, by the advice of Limousin, they formed two ambuscades. The viscount de Polignac and the lord de Chalençon commanded one, and the lords de la Voulte, de Montclare, de Salieres, and sir Louis de Tournon, the other. They had equally divided their men; and the viscount de Polignac and his party were posted near St. Rambut in Forêts, at a pass where Louis Raimbaut would be forced to cross the river Loire at the bridge, or higher up at a ford above Puy.

"When Louis Raimbaut had finished his business at Ance, he set out with forty lances, not expecting to meet with any one, nor suspecting anything from Limousin, as he was the farthest from his thoughts. I must tell you, that he was accustomed never to go and return by the same road: he had come by St. Rambut. On his return, he went over the hills above Lyons, and Vienne, and below the village of Argental*, and then straight towards le Monastier, three short leagues from Puy; and, after passing between the castles of Menestrol and Montfaucon, he made a circuit towards a village called le Batterie, between Nonnay and St. Julien. There is a pass in the wood there that cannot be avoided by any of those who take this road, unless they go through Nonnay; and there was posted the ambuscade of the lord de la Voulte, with about two hundred spears. Louis Raimbaut, suspecting nothing, was surprised; and the lord de la Voulte and his men, knowing what they were to do, lowered their lances, and, shouting their cry of 'La Voulte!' instantly charged him and his companions, who were riding much at their ease. On the first shock, the greater part were unhorsed: and Louis Raimbaut was struck to the ground by a squire of Auvergne, called Amblardon, who, advancing on him, made him his prisoner; the remainder were either killed or taken; not one escaped; and they found in a private trunk the sum of three thousand francs, which he had received at Ance as the composition of the villagers near, which gave much pleasure to the captors, for each had a share.

"When Limousin saw Louis Raimbaut thus caught, he showed himself, and said reproachfully, — 'Louis, Louis! you should have been better accompanied. Do you remember the insult and shame you made me undergo at Brioude, on account of your

* "Argental,"—a village of Forêts, diocese of Vienne.

mistress? I did not think that for a woman you would have made me suffer what you did; for, if it had happened to me, I should not have been so angry. To two brothers in arms, such as we were then, one woman might have occasionally served.' The lords laughed at this speech, but Louis had no such inclination. By the capture of Louis Raimbaut, those of Brioude surrendered to the séneschal of Auvergne; for, after the loss of their leader and the flower of their men, they could not keep it. The garrisons at Ance and in the other forts in Vélay and Forêts did the same, and were glad to escape with their lives.

"Louis Raimbaut was carried to Nonnay and imprisoned: information was sent the king of France of the event, who was much rejoiced thereat; and soon after, as I have heard, orders came for him to be beheaded at Villeneuve, near Avignon. Thus died Louis Raimbaut: may God receive his soul! Now, my fair sir," said Bastot de Mauléon, "have not I well chatted away the night? and yet all I have said is true." "Indeed you have," answered I, "and many thanks for it: I have had great pleasure in listening to you, and it shall not be lost; for, if God permit me to return to my own country, all I have heard you say, and all I shall have seen worthy to be mentioned, in the noble and grand history which the gallant count de Blois has employed me on, shall be chronicled, through God's grace, that the memory of such events may be perpetuated."

On saying this, the bourg de Copaire, whose name was Ernauton, began to speak, and, I could perceive, would willingly have related the life and adventures of himself and his brother, the bourg Anglois; and how they had borne arms in Auvergne and elsewhere, but there was not time; for the watch of the castle had sounded his horn, to assemble those in the town of Orthès, who were engaged to sup with the count de Foix. The two squires then made themselves ready, and, having lighted torches, we left the inn together, taking the road to the castle, as did all the knights and squires who lodged in the town.

Too much praise cannot be given to the state and magnificence of the count de Foix, nor can it be too much recommended; for, during my stay there, I found him such, as far to exceed all that I can say of him, and I saw many things which gave me great pleasure.

On Christmas day were seated at his table four bishops of his own country, two Clementists and two Urbanists. The bishops of Pamiers and Lescar, Clementists, were seated at top, and next to them the bishops of Aire and of Rou, on the borders of the Bordelois and Bayonne, Urbanists: the count de Foix sat next, then the viscount de Roquebertin, a Gascon, the viscount de Bruniquel, the viscount de Gousserant, then an English knight, called sir William Willoughby, whom the duke of Lancaster, at that time residing at Bordeaux, had sent thither. At another table were five abbots and two Arragonian knights, called sir Raymond de Montflorentin and sir Martin de Ruane. At another table were seated knights and squires from Gascony and Bigorre: first, the lord d'Anchin, then sir Gaillard de la Motte, sir Raymond de Châteauneuf, the lord de Chaumont, Gascons, the lords de Copaire, de la Lanne, de Montferrat, sir William Bernard, sir Peter Courton, the lord de Valenchin, and sir Aingale, surnamed le Basele. At other tables were many knights from Béarn. Sir Espaign du Lyon, sir Siquart du Bois Verdun, sir Nouvans de Nouvailles, and sir Peter de Vaux, in Béarn, were chief stewards of the hall. The count's bastard-brothers, sir Ernaut Guillaume and sir Peter de Béarne, waited; and his two bastard-sons, sir Evan de l'Eschelle placed the dishes, and sir Gracien served him with wine. There were very many minstrels in the hall, as well those belonging to the count, as to the strangers, who, at their leisure, played away their minstrelsy. This day the count gave to the minstrels and heralds five hundred francs among them; and he clothed the minstrels of the duke de Touraine, who were there, with cloth of gold, trimmed with ermine, which dresses were valued at two hundred francs. The dinner lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon. I willingly like to talk of the handsome establishment of the gallant count de Foix, for I was twelve weeks of his household, and generously treated, in all respects. During my residence at Orthès, it was my own fault if I did not collect information from every country, for the gentle knight, sir Espaign du Lyon, with whom I had entered the country, and to whom I told all my wants, made me acquainted with such knights and squires as were well able to inform me justly of all the things I was desirous of knowing. I there learnt much concerning Portugal and Castille: how their affairs were going on, and the battles which these two kings and their allies had fought, of which I will give a true account.

CHAPTER XI.—A SHORT RECAPITULATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN BEFORE SAID, OF THE WAR BETWEEN KING JOHN OF CASTILLE AND JOHN OF PORTUGAL.—THIS SUBJECT CONTINUED.

You may remember, that I have before related, how don John of Castille had besieged the master of Avis, whom the principal towns had crowned king for his valour, though in truth he was a bastard, in the city of Lisbon. You have also heard how this king had sent special ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge for succour, as they had married his cousins. These ambassadors were two knights, sir John Radinghos and sir John Testa-d'oro, with a professor of law, who was also archdeacon of Lisbon: they continued their voyage with a favourable wind, and arrived at Southampton, where they disembarked, and staid a day to recover themselves: they then hired horses, for they had not brought any with them, and took the great road to London. It was in the month of August, when the king was in Wales hunting and taking his pleasure. The duke of Lancaster and the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham were also at their seats in the country. This gave the ambassadors the more pain; but they went first to the duke of Lancaster, who resided at Hertford, twenty miles from London. The duke graciously received them: he opened their credential letters, and read them over three times, the better to comprehend them, and then said,—"You are welcome to this country; but you could not have come at a more unfortunate season in the whole year to obtain speedy assistance, for the king and my brothers are all scattered abroad in different parts, so that you cannot have any answer before Michaelmas, when the parliament will assemble at London, and the king return to Westminster. But as this business more particularly affects my brother and myself, I will write to him; and we will shortly be in London, and then consider with you how it will be best for us to act in this affair. You will return to London, and I will let you know when my brother and myself are there. The ambassadors from Portugal were well satisfied with this answer, and leaving the duke of Lancaster returned to London, where they lodged themselves and remained at their ease.

The duke of Lancaster was not forgetful of his promise, and instantly wrote private letters to the earl of Cambridge, containing an account of what you have heard. When the earl had perused them attentively, it was not long before he set off for Hertford, near Ware, where the duke of Lancaster resided. After consulting on this business three days together they came to London, according to the duke's promise to the Portuguese, where on their arrival they dismounted at their houses. These two lords had many and long consultations with the Portuguese ambassadors; for the earl of Cambridge was very ill-pleased with the conduct of don Ferdinand, the late king of Portugal, saying he had carried on the war in too cowardly a manner, and had made peace with the Spaniards contrary to the will of the English. The earl, therefore, very much doubted if, in the ensuing parliament, the king's council would assent to an expedition to Portugal; for the one that had been sent thither had cost the nation a large sum, not less than one hundred thousand francs, and had nothing done.

The Portuguese ambassadors readily comprehended what the earl said, and replied, "My lord, those times are passed, and it is now otherwise. Our late king, God pardon his soul! was marvellously afraid of the chances of war; but the present king is full of enterprise and valour, for were he to meet his enemies in the field three times more in number than himself, he would combat them, whatever might be the consequences; and we can most loyally assure you, that this is fact. My lords, it is very clear that you are interested in this quarrel; for it is your business to make war on Castille, and conquer it, as by right it belongs to you as the heritage of your wives. Now, to obtain this conquest, you cannot have any entrance into Castille like that through Portugal: for you will have all that country for your friends. Therefore, exert your influence, that one of you may go thither with such a powerful force, that joined to those you will find there, you will be enabled to keep the field!"

The duke of Lancaster replied, "It does not depend on us, but on the king and the nation, and you may be assured we will do everything we possibly can." Thus ended these

conferences. The Portuguese remained in London waiting for the meeting of parliament, and the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge went to their estates in the north of England.

About Michaelmas, when the parliament was to meet at Westminster, the king was on his return towards London, and had arrived at Windsor; from thence he came to Chertsey and to Richmond. He was accompanied wherever he went by the queen, his whole court, and the earl of Suffolk, for his favour was such, nothing was done without his approbation. At the period I am now speaking of, the wars in Flanders were going on between the duke of Burgundy and the Ghentmen. The bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Trivet and the others, were just come back to England, whom the king of France had surrounded at Bourbourg, as has already been related in this history.

Truces had been concluded between the Flemings, French, English, and Scots, to last until Michaelmas 1384: notwithstanding which, the English had so much on their hands that they knew not which way to turn; for, besides the business of Portugal, the council of Ghent was in London, to request as governor, to assist and direct them, one of the king's brothers, or the earl of Salisbury. There were in this parliament many debates, as well respecting the Flemings as the Portuguese and the Scots; for the war still continued in those parts by the truce not having been proclaimed. The duke of Lancaster, in particular, laboured hard to obtain the command of a large body of men at arms and archers to carry to Portugal, and explained to the prelates, barons, and commoners of the realm, how they were bound to assist him and his brother in the recovery of their inheritance, which they had sworn and engaged to do when their nephew the king was crowned, as was apparent by deeds then sealed. The duke complained bitterly of the wrongs that had been done him and his brother by delaying the matter; and that in truth, when the earl of Cambridge had gone thither on the faith of their promising him everything necessary for such an expedition, they had meanly fulfilled their engagements: he was to have had two thousand lances and as many archers sent to him, but they never were ordered, which had caused the settlement of the dispute for their just rights and inheritances to be so much the longer delayed.

This speech of the duke of Lancaster was attentively heard, and some of the most able in the council declared he was in the right; but, the necessities of the kingdom being more pressing, they must be first attended to. Some were for instantly agreeing to his request: others remonstrated by saying, it would be wrong to weaken the kingdom by sending two thousand men at arms and four thousand archers to such a distance as Portugal. Besides, so long a voyage was dangerous, and the climate of Portugal hot and unhealthy; and, if such a considerable force were sent, the kingdom might suffer an irrecoverable loss. Notwithstanding these arguments and doubts of what might be the consequences, it was settled that the duke of Lancaster should cross the sea in the summer with seven hundred men at arms and four thousand archers, and that they should all receive pay for one quarter of a year in advance: it was, however, reserved, that should anything in the mean time fall out inimical from France or Scotland, the expedition to Portugal was to be deferred. The duke of Lancaster assented to this, for he could not gain more.

You have before seen in this history, that after the duke of Lancaster had collected his men and stores at Southampton, ready to embark for Portugal, and though the ambassadors had returned thither with information of the speedy arrival of the duke and the number of his forces, which gave the Portuguese much pleasure, an event was found to have happened in England that forced him to retard it for some time. The admiral of France, sir John de Vienne, with a thousand good men at arms, had embarked at Sluys, and landed in Scotland; from whence he had made war on England, which obliged the whole force of that kingdom to march against him, as has been before related. I do not wish, therefore, to mention it twice, but return to the siege of Lisbon and the king of Spain, that I may narrate all I have heard. While the king of Spain was before Lisbon, news was brought him, by some Spanish merchants returned from Flanders and Bruges, of the large armament the duke of Lancaster was collecting to raise the siege of Lisbon. This intelligence was believed; for the Spaniards well knew how anxious the duke was to renew the war with Castille, as he claimed a share of it. Notwithstanding this information, the king continued the siege, and sent letters and messengers to France for assistance: he had in particular written to Béarn; so that from the

territories of Foix and Béarn there came to him, in less than four days, upwards of three hundred lances, the flower of the chivalry of that country. Sir John du Ru, a Burgundian, and sir Geoffry Ricon, a Breton, with sir Geoffry de Partenay, had already passed through Orthès from France, in their way to Castille, to serve the king; each of whom had his own company.

I will name the principal knights of Béarn who prepared for this expedition: first, a great baron, companion to the count de Foix, the lord de Lingnach, sir Peter Lier, sir John de Lepres, the lord des Bordes, sir Bertrand de Barege, the lord de Marciage, sir Raymond d'Aussac, sir John de Sallegre, sir Mouvant de Sarmen, sir Peter de la Robiere, sir Stephen de Valentin, sir Raymond de Rarasse, sir Peter de Hanefane, sir Ogerot de Domesson, and many others. Sir Espaignolet d'Espaign, eldest son of sir Roger d'Espaign, cousin to the count de Foix, joined this company of Béarn men. These barons and knights fixed their rendezvous at Orthès and in that neighbourhood; and I heard, from those who saw them march away, they were the handsomest and best equipped knights who had for a long time left Béarn.

When the count de Foix found that they really intended to go to Castille, he was greatly vexed and pensive, though at the first he had consented they should receive pay from the king of Castille, for he was afraid his country would be too much weakened by their departure. He sent, therefore, to the barons and knights above-mentioned, two knights of his household, sir Espaign du Lyon and the lord de Cabestan, to request they would come to the castle, for he was desirous to give them a dinner, by way of wishing them a good journey. The knights, as was natural, accepted the invitation, and the count de Foix received them most graciously. After mass, he led them into his cabinet, and thus addressed them,—"My fair sirs, are you indeed resolved to leave my country and assist the king of Castille in his wars, whilst I have on hand my dispute with the count d'Armagnac? Your departure makes me very uneasy." "My lord," replied they, "it is really so; for we are obliged to it, as we have received pay from the king of Castille; but this war between Spain and Portugal will be soon ended, when we hope, if it please God, to return in good health to you." "Soon ended!" exclaimed the count: "not so soon, for it is now but beginning. There is a new king in Portugal, and they have sent to England for support. This dispute in which you are about to engage is of a nature to last a long time, and keep you in the field; for you will not be fought withal until the arrival of the duke of Lancaster and his reinforcements, so that your pay will cost you dear enough." "My lord," they answered, "since we have gone so far, we must conclude the business." "God help you," said the count; "but come, let us go now to dinner, for it is time."

The count, with his barons and knights, entered the hall where the tables were laid, and dined magnificently and at their leisure, for they were served with all things becoming such a day. The count, after dinner, conducted his knights into his galleries, where he was used to solace himself in the afternoons, and, again addressing them, said,—"Indeed, my good gentlemen, I am much vexed that you leave my country; not that I am sorry for your advancement and honour, for on every occasion I would attend to it and exalt it; but I am sorry on your own account, for you are the flower of chivalry of Béarn, and are going into a foreign land. I will advise you, and have before said so, to give up this expedition and leave the kings of Spain and Portugal to fight their own battles, for you are by no means interested about them." "My lord," replied they, "under favour of your grace, we cannot thus act, and you know it better than you say: if you would be pleased to consider, that as we have received pay from the king of Castille, we must in consequence do something for it." "Well," answered the count, "that is true enough, but I will tell you what will happen to you in this expedition: you will either return so very poor and naked the lice will eat you up and grow between your nails (showing them by his gestures of rubbing the two palms of his hands together what he meant,) or you will be slain or made prisoners."

The knights burst out into laughter, and said, "My lord, we must indeed try our fortunes." The count then quitted this subject, and, conversing with them on the manners of the Spaniards, said they were nasty and lousy, and envious of the good fortune of others, advising them to be on their guard. After some other conversation, he called for spices and wine, of

which all drank who were present. He then took his leave of them shaking each by the hand, recommended them to the care of God, and entered his closet. The knights mounted their horses at the gate of the castle, as their men and equipages had already set out for Sauvetere†, where they lodged that night. On the morrow they departed, entering Biscay; and following the road to Pampeluna, they passed every where in safety, for they regularly paid for whatever they had occasion for.

CHAPTER XII.—THE INHABITANTS OF SANTAREM* REBEL AGAINST SOME OF THE MEN AT ARMS OF CASTILLE.—THE KING OF CASTILLE HAVING RAISED THE SIEGE OF LISBON, MARCHES TOWARDS THAT TOWN, WHEN IT MAKES ITS PEACE.

During the time the king of Castille lay before Lisbon (and he had been there about a year), the town of Santarem rebelled against him and closed its gates, declaring, that neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards should enter it, for the great oppressions it had suffered. Some say it was the fault of the party under the command of sir Geoffry Ricon and sir Geoffry de Partenay, composed of Bretons, who took or destroyed everything they could lay hands on, paying no attention to friends or foes. The citizens therefore possessed themselves of the town and the two castles, declaring they would defend them against all who wished to harass them. On the day they rebelled, they killed upward of sixty Bretons, who were pillaging; and would have slain sir Geoffry de Partenay, but he escaped over the wall which joined his house. Upon this the French and Bretons there quartered fought one whole day with those of Santarem, and made a grand attack on the place, but they lost more than they gained, without damaging the town.

Intelligence was brought to the king of Castille that Santarem had turned to the Portuguese, and was ready to surrender its town and castles, which the citizens had gotten possession of, to the king of Portugal. The king, on hearing this, was very melancholy, and, calling his marshal, sir Reginald de Limousin, said,—"Take one or two hundred spears, and see what they are doing at Santarem: why the inhabitants of that town have rebelled; and what could have caused them to act as they have done." Sir Reginald replied, "he would punctually obey." He took under his command two hundred lances, and, following the road to Santarem, arrived there, but sent before him a herald, to announce his coming, who parleyed with the inhabitants at the barriers, and delivered his message. They answered, —"We know well sir Reginald de Limousin for a gentleman and a valiant knight, and that he is marshal to the king: he is perfectly welcome hither, and may enter the town, but unarmed." This was the answer the herald brought back to sir Reginald, who said, he was not come thither to do them any harm, but solely to know what their intentions were. It is indifferent to me whether I enter armed or disarmed, provided I speak with them and learn their will. He quitted the place where he then was, and rode on unarmed, with five others only, and dismounted at the barriers, leaving his men behind. When those on guard saw the manner in which he had arrived, they opened the barriers, and received him handsomely. The inhabitants were assembled in a square of the town, when he thus addressed them,—"Ye men of Santarem, listen to what I am about to say: I am sent hither with orders to demand from you the reasons why you have rebelled, have shut your gates, and slain the king's allies who were coming to assist him. Know that the king is violently enraged against you; for he has been informed you have taken possession of the two castles of the town, which are his inheritance, and are willing to surrender them to his enemies of Portugal." "May it please your grace, sir Reginald, we wish not to surrender them, nor deliver them up into any other hands than those of the king of Castille, from whom we hold them, but let him govern us in peace and with justice. What we have done has been caused by these pillaging Bretons who were quartered in the town, and from their outrages; for, had we been Saracens, or worse people, they could not have more wickedly behaved, in

* "Sauvetere,"—seven leagues from Pau.

† "Santarem," a handsome town on the Tagus, thirty-five leagues from Lisbon.

forcing our wives and daughters, breaking open our coffers, destroying our casks of wine, and ill-treating and wounding us whenever we complained of their conduct. You ought not, therefore to be surprised, when we suffered such outrages ourselves, and witnessed the same on those whom we were bound to defend, that we were much enraged, for smaller things will cause that. You may, therefore, if you please, tell the king this, and that we have unanimously resolved, whatever may be the event, never to acknowledge nor receive any Frenchman nor Breton, nor any other than the king's person himself, or such as he may depute hither to treat us kindly."

When sir Reginald heard these words, he was well satisfied, and did not think they had been so much to blame in driving their enemies out of the town. He thus replied: "My good people, I have now heard what you had to say; and you shall remain quiet, for I will return to the king and tell it to him, and in good truth I will do every thing I can to serve you." "We thank you, my lord, most heartily; and we trust, that whatever wrong information concerning us may have been given the king, you will rectify it." On this sir Reginald mounted his horse and departed to his men, who were waiting for him in the plain, and then rode for Lisbon. After dismounting at his quarters, he waited on the king, and told him all he had seen and heard at Santarem. The king, on learning the truth of what had passed, said,—"By my faith, they have acted like wise men, since they could not trust these pillagers." Sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay, and their companions, finding they could have no redress from Santarem, and that the king was dissembling with them, were much angered, and said among themselves,—"We are well used for having left France to come to this country, to serve the king of Spain, when we are thus debased before a set of low fellows, against whom we cannot obtain justice. There will come shortly a large body of knights from Gascony: we will not notice this until their arrival, when we will inform them of what has passed, and they will help us to revenge ourselves for those companions who have been killed." Information was carried to the king and his council, that the Bretons threatened much those of Santarem, boasting that, when the Gascons should arrive, they would make them pay dearly for what they had done. The king was advised to break up the siege of Lisbon, and march to Santarem, to recruit himself and put every thing on a proper footing, and wait there for the Gascons, who were on their march, to the amount of about four hundred spears, good men at arms. He did not wish they should find the kingdom in confusion, when such numbers were to be provided for.

Orders were given by the king to break up the siege and march to Santarem, which were instantly obeyed. When the town of Santarem learnt the king was coming thither, they deputed twelve of the principal inhabitants on horseback, to meet the king and to know his pleasure. They rode on until they met the army about two leagues from Santarem, and learnt that the king was dismounted and had retired from the great heat under the shade of some olive-trees. Sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, was with the king and had had information of their arrival, who, when they were come near, cast themselves on their knees and said,—"Most renowned lord and noble king of Castille, we are deputed hither by the poor commonalty of your unhappy town and castlewicks of Santarem, who have been given to understand that you are much angered with them; and should this be true, most renowned lord, the fault has not been in them, but in the injuries and oppressions they have suffered from the Bretons when they were in your and our town. Now, as all their evil deeds could not be known, we do not blame their knights, squires and captains, but only such as have committed them; and it would be incredible, were all the infamous acts of these Breton pillagers told. They kept for a long time the town and castlewicks of Santarem under their subjection, of which many complaints were made to us; but, in spite of this, they broke open our coffers with hatchets, took our money, and violated our wives and daughters before our eyes; which when we complained of, we were beaten, wounded, and some murdered. In this miserable condition were we for upwards of two months; for which reason, most redoubted lord and noble king, we supplicate, that if we have angered you for this or any other cause, you would be pleased to do us justice, and take such loyal information concerning us, that we may be judged legally, as you promised and swore to us when you first entered Santarem as king, and the possession of it and its dependencies devolved and

rested on you. You will do an act of charity; and, since you are coming thither, we have that confidence in you and in your council, that you will find the gates open. Your poor people, who are crying for redress for the injuries they have sustained, beg your royal majesty will grant them mercy and remission of all offences."

The king remained for a while silent, when sir Reginald de Limousin, kneeling before the king, said,—"Most dear lord, you have heard the complaints of your subjects of Santarem, who have laid before you all they have suffered; condescend to give them an answer." "Reginald," said the king, "we see they have had just cause for what they did: go, and tell them to rise, and return to Santarem to make ready every thing proper for us, as we shall sleep there this night, and let them know they shall be carefully defended in their rights." Sir Reginald de Limousin arose and went to the deputies from Santarem, bidding them arise: "The king, our lord, has favourably heard all you have said; and, understanding you only desire justice, he will see that it be done to you. Now go, and make ready the town for his reception; and let it be so well done that he may be pleased, for every thing will turn out as you wish, by the good assistance of the friends you have." "My lord," replied they, "we give you our best thanks." They then took leave, returned to Santarem, and related all that had passed with the king, and the answer sir Reginald had made them from their sovereign. They were exceedingly rejoiced at this intelligence, and richly decorated their town against the king's arrival, strewing the streets with fresh herbs. The king made his entry at Vespers: he was lodged in the castle called the Lion, and his men in the town; that is to say, as many as could, but the greater part were quartered in the fields and in the adjacent villages.

The king remained there a month; and things were in that state that those who expected to gain by confusion, were greatly disappointed.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE SPANIARDS ARE JEALOUS OF THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS.—FIVE HUNDRED ENGLISH ARRIVE TO SERVE THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

During the residence of the king of Spain at Santarem, there arrived a handsome company of men at arms from Béarn. Sir Reginald de Limousin rode out to meet them, and received them very politely, as he knew how to do, and conducted them to the king, who was much pleased at their coming, and commanded sir Reginald to see that they were well lodged, and at their ease, for such were his wishes. Sir Reginald acted in a manner to satisfy them. The state of the king's affairs continued the same during the time he remained at Santarem, and while his army was in and near to that town, which consisted of four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand others. He called the barons of France to his council, to consider of the best means to carry on the war; for he had lain a long time, and with great expenses, before Lisbon, and had done nothing. It was imagined, if the Gascons had not by their arrival encouraged the king to proceed, he would have retreated from Santarem to Burgos, or into Galicia, for his men were weary with being so long in the field.

When the knights of France and Béarn were admitted to the council, the king thus addressed them: "My fair sirs, you are intelligent and active in war: I therefore wish to have your advice how I may most advantageously continue my war against the Portuguese and Lisboners: they have maintained their ground against me upwards of a year, and I have done nothing. I was in hopes to have drawn them out of Lisbon, and have fought them, but they would not accept my challenge. My friends have advised me to dismiss my army, and permit every man to return to his home. I therefore wish to know what your opinions may be on this subject." The knights from France and Béarn, being just arrived at the army, were eager for battle; for, though they had as yet been idle, they were desirous of deserving the pay they had received; and replied, "Sir, you are a great and powerful prince, and it little matters to you to pay the expenses of your army, especially when it is in its own country. We will not say, but that, if it had been in a foreign land and deprived of provision, the advice which has been given you would have been good: we see, however, that it is as comfortably situated here as if every man were at his own home. We therefore say (not indeed as a

resolution of council, for your wisdom and prudence will enable you to choose the best opinion) you ought to keep the field, which may easily be done until Michaelmas, when perhaps your enemies will march out to meet you when you the least expect them, and thus they may be combated. We are very anxious for conquest, for our equipment has cost us very considerably, and we have had many difficulties before we could come hither: we therefore never shall be of the opinion of your counsellors, for we wish to see the enemy." "By my head," said the king, "you speak well and loyally, and in this and on other occasions I will henceforward take your advice, for my late lord and father as well as myself have always found your opinions fair and honourable. May God have pity on the soul of sir Bertrand du Guesclin! he was a good and loyal knight, and through his means we gained many important victories."

This conversation between the king of Castille and the foreign knights, as well as the advice they had given, was soon known to the Spanish barons: they were much vexed for two reasons; one, because they imagined the king had greater confidence in these strangers than in his own liege subjects who had crowned him; and because the French knights had advised the king to keep his ground, whilst they were tired of the war. They therefore privately caballed together, and said, "The king knows not how to carry on a war but by the French, as his father did before him." They now conceived a hatred to the French, which their servants and foragers soon made manifest. They had quartered all the French together, but when they sent out parties to forage, the Spaniards being more numerous, took their forage from them, and beat and wounded several, insomuch that complaints were made to the king. The king much blamed sir Reginald de Limousin, his marshal, for not having prevented this. The marshal excused himself, by saying,—"As God might help him, he knew nothing about it; but that he would instantly provide a remedy, by ordering men at arms into the field, to attend carefully that the French collected their forage in security." He also issued a proclamation for all who had provision, or other necessaries, to bring them to the army at Santarem, when a reasonable price would be given for them. The foreigners were amply supplied, for, by the king's orders, they were to be served before any others, which increased the hatred of the Spaniards.

It happened, that the same week the king of Castille broke up the siege of Lisbon, three large ships, having on board English men at arms and archers, entered the port: they might amount, in the whole, to about five hundred; but three parts of them were adventurers, under no command and without pay, from Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Mortaigne in Poitou, who, hearing of the war between Castille and Portugal, had assembled at Bordeaux, and said,—"Let us go seek adventures in Portugal: we shall find some one there to receive and employ us." Sir John Harpedane, who at that time was séneschal of Bordeaux, had strongly advised them so to do; for he was not willing they should remain in arms in the Bordelois, as they might do more harm than good, being adventurers who had nothing to lose.

Of all who thus arrived at Lisbon I heard of no knights, only three English squires who were their leaders: one was called Northberry, the other Morberry, and the third Huguelin de Hartsel; and not one of them was more than fifty years old, good men at arms, and well accustomed to war. The Lisboners and the king of Portugal were much rejoiced at the arrival of the English. As he wished to see them, they were conducted to the palace, and received handsomely by the king, who asked if the duke of Lancaster had sent them. "By my faith, sir," replied Northberry, "it is a long time since he has known any thing of us, or we of him: we are people from different countries, who come to seek the chance of arms and adventures: there are some of us who have even come from the town of Calais to serve you." "On my troth," said the king, "you and they are very welcome: your arrival gives us much joy; and know, that we shall very shortly employ you. We have been, for a time, shut up here, which has tired us much; but we will take the advantage of the field, as the Spaniards have done." "We desire nothing better," answered the captains; "and entreat we may speedily see our enemies."

CHAPTER XIV.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL ISSUES HIS ORDERS FOR HIS ARMY TO MARCH TOWARDS SANTAREM.—THE KING OF CASTILLE QUITS THAT PLACE TO MEET HIM.

The king of Portugal had these new-comers to dine in the palace of Lisbon, and ordered them to be well lodged in the city, and their pay to be advanced them for three months. The king made his secretaries draw up letters, which he sent throughout the realm, commanding all persons, capable of bearing arms, to come instantly to Lisbon, under pain of his displeasure. Few paid any obedience to these letters, and too many remained at home; for three parts of the kingdom were on bad terms with the Lisboners, because they had crowned a bastard for king, and abused them much behind their backs. The king of Castille and his council, knowing of this difference of opinion in Portugal, had thus advanced, with the intent of conquering it; for they said it would be the affair of only one battle, when, if the Lisboners were conquered, the rest of the country would be rejoiced, and the grand master of Avis would be overpowered and slain, so that the kingdom would fall to Spain, for the queen was the right heiress to it. King John of Castille, however, would willingly have avoided this war; but his subjects would not permit it, as they said he had just cause for it, and thus emboldened him.

When the king of Portugal found his summons was so little attended to, and disobeyed by those on whose services he had counted, he was very pensive. He assembled the principal persons of Lisbon, and the knights of his household who had been most active in crowning him, and who had served under king Ferdinand; such as sir John Radighos, sir John Testa d'Oro, the lord de la Figuire, sir Gomme de Tarbeston, Ambrose Condrich, Peter Condrich his brother, sir Monges de Navaret, a knight of Castille whom, having been banished from thence by the king, the king of Portugal had made captain of his knights. At this council the king explained several things, and said—"My fair sirs who are here assembled, I know I may depend on your friendships, for you have made me king; but you must perceive that great numbers of my subjects refuse me their assistance in this time of need, and will not take the field. I must own I should have been truly happy to have seen them as well disposed as myself to meet our enemies; but alas! it is otherwise, for they draw back and dissemble. I solicit your advice on this business, how I had best act, and beg of you to give me your opinions." Sir Gomme de Tarbeston, a Portuguese knight, then spoke: "Sir, I advise, for your own honour, that you instantly take the field, with as many men as you can collect, and hazard the event: we will assist you until death, for we hold you king and lord of this town; and if there be any rebels or discontented persons in Portugal, it is, I say (and in this I am joined by many in the town), because you have never yet attacked nor showed yourself to your enemies. You have had hitherto the renown of being a valiant man at arms, but on this occasion you have not acted like one. This has encouraged your enemies, and checked the ardour of your subjects; for, when once you show courage and resolution, they will fear you, as well as your enemies." "By my head," said the king, "sir Gomme you speak well: and now order our men to be made ready, and every other preparation to hasten our march, for we will meet our enemies, and gain all or lose all."

"My lord," replied the knight, "it shall be done: if God send you good success, and the day be ours, you will reign king of Portugal, and be prized and honoured in all countries wherever you shall be known. You can only have the complete government of this kingdom by a battle; and I give you as an example king don Henry, your cousin, the father of don John of Castille. He gained all his inheritances by the sword, and would never otherwise have succeeded; for you know how the power of the prince of Wales replaced don Pedro on the throne, when afterwards by the event of the battle before Montiel, he forfeited his life, and don Henry regained possession of the kingdom. He in that day risked his own person as well as that of his friends; and you must do the same if you wish to live with honour." "By my head," said the king, "you say well; and I will not ask other advice, but follow this, which is much to my advantage." The council now broke up; and orders were given for the army to march in three days' time, to choose a proper position to wait for the enemy. The gates of Lisbon were kept so closely shut that no person what-

ever was allowed to quit the town; for the king and the inhabitants would not that the Spaniards should know their intention nor their numbers.

The English were much pleased when they learnt they were to march towards Santarem, where the king and his army lay. Every one now prepared his arms; the archers their bows and arrows each according to his rank. On a Thursday, in the afternoon, the king with his army marched out of Lisbon, and encamped that day on the banks of a small river two leagues from the town, with their front towards Santarem: they said they would never return before they had seen their enemies, and that it was much better they should offer battle than for the enemy to come to them. They had remarked the difference between those who sought and those who waited for a battle, and that inferior numbers had frequently gained the day: for in almost all the victories the English had obtained over the French, they had been the first to offer battle; and they observed, that an attacking army is naturally more courageous than one on the defence. This was the opinion of the inhabitants of Lisbon when they marched out of the town, and they thus continued their conversation: "Some of us were with the men of Ghent when they marched to Bruges and offered battle to the count of Flanders and his army in that town; and we well know, that Philip Von Artaveld, Peter du Bois, John Cliqueriel, François Atremen and Peter le Nuitre, the leaders of the Ghent-men, had not under them more than seven thousand men; but they fought the battle, and defeated eleven thousand. This is a known fact, for there was not any treachery: fortune was favourable to Ghent on the day of battle, which was fought on a Saturday, a long league distant from Bruges, as we were informed on the morrow when they had conquered that city." They comforted themselves that there was as good a chance to win as to lose, and that, if they wished to succeed in arms they must act boldly. Such were the conversations of the Lisboners among themselves on the Thursday, as they continued their march. When the king heard how resolutely they discoursed, he was much pleased.

When the trumpets of the king's army sounded on the Friday morning, all made themselves ready, and marched on the right, following the river and the flat country, on account of the baggage and provision which followed them, and advanced four leagues. News was brought, on this Friday, to the king of Castille at Santarem, that the Portuguese, under the command of the master of Avis, whom the Lisboners had crowned king, were advancing to meet him. This intelligence was soon spread through the army; and it gave the Spaniards, French, and Gascons much joy: they said, "These Lisboners are valiant fellows, thus to come and fight with us: let us hasten to take the field, and surround them if we can, that we may prevent their return: for, if we can help it, not one of them shall see Lisbon again." It was proclaimed through the army, by sound of trumpet, for every one to be ready, both horse and foot, on Saturday morning, as on that day the king would march to combat his enemies. Every one was prepared and showed great joy at the orders, and at the event likely to happen.

On the Saturday morning, all the trumpets in the Castille army sounded. The king heard mass in the castle, then drank a cup, as did his attendants, and mounting their horses, they marched into the plain in handsome order: sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, led the van. Scouts were ordered to examine the appearance of the enemy, where they were, and what might be their numbers. Two squires were ordered on this duty by the French; one a Burgundian, and the other a Gascon. The Burgundian was called William de Montigny, and of the company of sir John de Rue: the Gascon came from Béarn, and his name was Bertrand de Barege. They were both on that day made knights, and with them a lord of Castille, an able man at arms, called sir Pedro Fernando de Medina; he was mounted on a light genet that had wonderful speed. While these three knights were exploring the country on all sides, in search of the Portuguese, their main army, which consisted of full two thousaud lances, knights, and squires, Gascons, Burgundians, French, Picards and Bretons, as well equipped and mounted as men at arms could be, and twenty thousand Spaniards, all on horseback, marched at a foot's pace, and had not advanced the distance of a bow-shot when they halted. The king of Portugal had also sent three scouts to observe the countenance and order of the Spaniards, two of whom were English squires and expert men at arms, whose names were James d'Hartleberry and Philip Bradeston, and with them a Portuguese called Fernando de la Gresse. They were all well mounted, and

rode so far that from an eminence where they were hid by the leaves of the trees they examined carefully the whole Spanish army. They then returned to the king of Portugal and his army, which they found drawn up in the plain, and related what they had seen. "Sire, we have advanced so far as to have fully reconnoitred your enemies: they are very numerous, thirty thousand horse at least: therefore consider well the business." The king asked, "Do they march in one body?" "No, sir: they are in two battalions." The king turned about, and said aloud, "Now all of you attend to what I say, for here must be no cowardice: we shall soon engage our enemies, who are on their march and eager to meet us: this they will do, for we can neither fly nor return to Lisbon. We have left that town: therefore act well and sell your lives dearly. You have made me your king: this day I shall see whether the crown is to be peaceably mine; for be assured I will never fly, but abide the event." They replied, "God assist us! we will all stand by you."

Northberry and Hartsel were then called, with others the most experienced in arms, and men who had seen the greatest number of battles, when they were asked their opinions, as to the best mode of acting, to wait the event of a battle; for they were likely to be forced to fight, as the enemy was advancing fast, and in such numbers that they were at least four to one. The Englishmen said, "Since we must have a battle, and they are superior to us in numbers, it is an unequal chance, and we cannot conquer them but by taking advantage of the hedges and bushes: let us therefore fortify ourselves in such manner, and you will see they will not so easily break us as if we were in the plain. The king replied, "You speak wisely, and it shall be done as you recommend."

CHAPTER XV.—THE PORTUGUESE FORTIFY THEMSELVES, NEAR THE CHURCH OF ALJUBAROTA*, BY THE ADVICE OF THE ENGLISH.—KING JOHN OF CASTILLE, THROUGH THE COUNSEL OF THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS, RESOLVES TO FIGHT THEM.—THE HATREDS AND JEALOUSIES OF THE CASTILLIANS STILL CONTINUE AGAINST THE FOREIGNERS.

The Portuguese and Lisboners approved of the advice of the English, and gave their opinion whither they should march. They were then near Aljubarota, a large village, to which place they had sent their stores, sumpter-horses and baggage, as the situation in which they had intended lodging that night, battle or not. About a quarter of a league without the village is a considerable monastery, whither the inhabitants go to hear mass. The church is on a small eminence, a little beside the road, surrounded by large trees, hedges, and bushes, which, with some little assistance, might be made a strong post. This was then told the king and his council: but he would have the English called, for, though they were very few in number, he wished to follow their advice. They said: "Sire, we know not any spot near, more favourable than the monastery of Aljubarota, situated as it is among trees: it is now a strong position, but may be much strengthened by art." Those who knew the country agreeing to the truth of this, the king said,—"Let us march thither, and form ourselves in such a manner as good men at arms should do; so that our enemies, when they advance, may not find us unprepared." This was instantly done: they marched slowly to Aljubarota, and came to the square before the church, when the English and sir Monges de Navarêt, with other valiant Portuguese and Lisboners, attentively examined the place and the environs. The English said, "This spot can be made sufficiently strong, and we may securely wait here the event." They cut down the trees fronting the plain, and laid them across, so that the cavalry could not pass them, leaving one entry not too wide, on the wings of which they posted all their archers and cross-bows. The men at arms were on foot drawn up beside the church, where the king was: and they had already displayed the king's standard and banners.

When they saw themselves thus drawn up they were much contented, saying, if it pleased God, they were in a situation to hold out for a long time and to gain the advantage by it. The king addressed them: "My fair gentlemen, show your valour this day, and think not

* "Aljubarota,"—a vill ge of Estremadoura in Portugal, four leagues from the town of Leiria.

of flight; for that will be of no avail, as you are too distant from Lisbon; and besides, there is no safety in flight, for three good men will overpower and slay twelve run-aways. Prove that you are men of courage and offer yourselves vigorously to your opponents: consider, should the day be ours, which it will be, if it please God, how much we shall be honoured and praised in the different countries where news of it shall be carried; for the victors are always exalted, and the conquered abased. Consider also, you have made me your king, which should strengthen your courage; for be assured, that as long as this battle-axe in my hand shall hold, I will continue the fight: and should it break or fail me, I will get another, and show I am determined to guard and defend the crown of Portugal for myself, and for the right I have to the succession of my lord and brother, in which, on my soul, I declare and say they oppose me wrongfully, and that the quarrel is personal."

Those of his countrymen who had heard him, replied—"My lord and king, you have graciously admonished and greatly advised us to be men of valour, and to support you in defending what we have given to you, and at the same time acknowledge to be your own. Know, then, that we will all remain with you steadily, and never leave the field alive, until we gain the battle, or be carried away. Have it proclaimed to your men, for they have not all heard you, that no one dare, on his life, think of flying; and if there should be any whose courage fails, so that he fear to await the battle, let him come forward, and he shall have leave to depart (for one faint heart discourages a dozen of good men at arms), or have his head struck off as an example to others." The king said it should be done, and two knights were ordered by him to examine the army and admonish it, and see if any symptoms appeared among them of fear. The knights, on their return, reported to the king, that wherever they had visited, and they had examined all the different companies, they had found every one resolute and determined to wait the event of the battle. "So much the better," said the king. He issued orders to the army, if any persons were desirous of knighthood, to come forward, and he would confer on them the order of knighthood in the name of God and St. George. From the information I had, it seems that sixty new knights were created, which pleased the king much; and placing them in front of the army, he said,—"My fair sirs, the order of chivalry is more exalted and noble than imagination can suppose; and no knight ought to suffer himself to be debased by cowardice, or any villanous or dirty action; but when his helmet is on his head he should be bold and fierce as a lion when he sees his prey; and because I wish you to show your courage this day, where it will be needful, I order you to the front of the battalion, where you must exert yourselves, that we may both obtain honour, otherwise your spurs will not become you." Each new knight answered in his turn, as he marched by—"Sire, we will, with God's grace, do so, that we shall gain your love and approbation." In this manner were the Portuguese drawn up, and fortified near the church of Aljubarota. None of the English were desirous to be knighted this day: they were requested by the king to be so, but excused themselves for that time.

We will now return to the king of Castille, and to the knights, squires and men at arms from France and Gascony with him, and speak of the appearance of the Spaniards, and how they were drawn up. The knights they had sent out to reconnoitre, had returned, and said, —"Sir king, and you barons and knights present, we have leisurely examined our enemies: we do not believe that their whole amount is more than ten thousand men: they have marched to the abbey of Aljubarota, where they have halted, and are drawn up in order of battle; and there they may be found by whoever chooses to seek for them." Upon this the king summoned a council, to which, in particular, the barons and knights of France were invited: they were asked, what was best to be done, when they instantly replied,—"Sir, it is proper they should be fought with: we see nothing else to be done; for, from the report of our scouts, they are alarmed for the event, as they find themselves distant from any fortresses whither they may retreat, and Lisbon is six leagues off; they cannot, therefore, easily run thither, even if they should take advantage of the night, without being overtaken on the road. We therefore, sir, advise, since we know where they are, that we be drawn up in battle array, and march to combat them, while your men are in a good disposition to behave well."

The king then asked his countrymen their opinions, such as Don Gonzales Nunez de

Gusman, don Diego de Mendoza, Peter Gonzales de Mendoza, Peter Lopez d'Ayala, and the grand master of Calatrava who replied,—"My lord, we have well heard the French knights advise you to march instantly against your enemies; but we wish you and them to know, that before we can arrive thither it will be night, for the sun is now on the decline, and we have not yet arranged our order of battle. It would be better to wait until morning, and approach them so near that we may discover by our scouts, whom we can spread over the plain, in what manner they have posted themselves; and if they should incline to march away during the night, we might also decamp, when they cannot escape, for the country is quite open, and there is not any strong place except Lisbon, so that they must fall an easy prey to us. This is the advice we give."

The king, on hearing this, was silent, and looked first on the ground and then on the foreigners; when sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, thus spoke (in order to please the French) in Spanish, that he might be heard and understood by all, for he spoke that language fluently, so long had he resided among them, addressing himself to the Spaniards who were near the king, and who had given him the last advice:—"How can you, my lords, (calling each of them by their name, for he was well acquainted with them all) pretend to have more knowledge of battles or more experience in war than the valiant knights and squires here present? how can you imagine you can devise any plan superior to theirs, or even that could be of any value? For their whole life has been employed in travelling from one kingdom to another, in search of adventures. How can you dare offer any other opinion, or thus detract from what they have so nobly said, in the defence of the honour of the king and country; in which you are more interested than they are, for you have therein your properties as well as your persons, whilst they have only their persons. They have offered a proof of their attachment by requesting of the king to be posted in front of the battalions, which his majesty has disapproved. Consider how disinterested they must be, when they made this offer. It would appear to some persons as if you were envious, and wished not that any honour or profit might accrue to them, or that the king should gain the victory over his enemies. Honourable men at arms, who seek perfection, should be above low jealousies and such base passions, and always be of one and the same way of thinking. Besides, through your advice, has the king been thus long and expensively kept at the siege of Lisbon, without having any opportunity of a battle, until now when the master of Avis (who signs himself king of Portugal, though he can have no such right, being a bastard) has taken the field. He is at Aljubarota at this moment with all the force he can muster, but it is not any way great: if it should therefore happen that he make his escape from us, and avoid a battle, you will run the risk of the people rising and slaying you; or the king, considering you as traitors, will have you beheaded, and your estates confiscated. I therefore see no better means for you than being silent, and agreeing with those who have been actors in more matters of this sort than you ever have been engaged in, or ever will be."

As sir Reginald ended this speech, the king raised his eyes from the ground, and seemed highly pleased with what he had heard: the Spaniards on the contrary, were thunderstruck, and thought, at the moment, they had done worse than they really had; for, notwithstanding the marshal had thus opposed and reproved them, they had wisely and prudently advised the king, for he could not have had better counsel; but his valour and frankness made him speak as follows in compliance with the French and the strangers present, who were eager for battle. Every one was silent, when the king said,—"In the name of God and my lord St. James, I will that we combat our enemies, and that those who desire knighthood, may advance, and receive the order of chivalry in honour of God and St. George." Many squires of France and Béarn came forward, and were knighted by the king's hand; such as sir Roger d'Espaign, and his son Edmund: from the county of Foix, sir Bertrand de Barege, sir Peter de Salbiere, sir Peter de Valentin, sir William de Quer, Sir Angiers de Sollenaire, Sir Peter de Vaud, Sir William de Mondigy, with many more; in all, one hundred and forty, who willingly accepted the order of knighthood. Some barons of Béarn first displayed their banners with several of Castille and Sir John de Rue.

You might have seen these young knights full of vigour and gallantry, carrying themselves so handsomely that it was a pleasant spectacle to see; and they were, as I have said, a large

battalion of themselves. The lord de Lingnach then approached the king, accompanied by all those who had come from different countries, and whom the Castillians called indiscriminately Frenchmen, completely armed except their helmets, and said—"My lord king, we are come from distant countries with the best dispositions to serve you: grant us, we beg of you, that we may form the van battalion." "I grant it," replied the king, "in the name of God, St. James, and my lord St. George, and may they be with you!" Upon this the Spaniards whispered one to another,—"See, for God's sake! see how our king confides wholly in these foreigners: he has not any trust in others. They have obtained the honour of the van, and hold us so cheap they will not invite us to make a part. They are now drawing themselves up separately. Well, we will do the same on our part, and, by God, let them combat and fight by themselves. Have they not already boasted they are sufficient to vanquish the Portuguese? Be it so, then: we are contented; but it will be right we ask the king if he choose to remain with us, or go with the Frenchmen." They were murmuring a long time, whether they should put such a question to the king or not, for they were much afraid of the reprimands of sir Reginald de Limousin. Having fully considered, they thought there would not be any harm in asking the question. Six therefore of the principal nobles, employed about his person, advanced, and, with many obeisances, thus spoke: "Most noble king, we perceive plainly that this day there will be an engagement with your enemies. God grant you may have the victory and honour! as we sincerely wish it; but we are anxious to know your pleasure, whether you will remain with us or march with the Frenchmen?" "By no means," replied the king: "my fair sirs, if I have determined on battle, in consequence of the advice of the knights and squires from France who have come to serve me, and who are men of great valour and abilities, I do not renounce you, but will remain among you, and you will therefore help in defending me." The Castillians were delighted with this answer; and said, "That, my lord, will we do, and never fail you as long as we live; for we have sworn to do so, and pledged our faith on the day you were crowned: we had besides so great an affection for the good king your father, that nothing shall ever make us desert you." The king of Castille remained with his Castillians, who amounted to full twenty thousand horse all covered with armour. Sir Reginald de Limousin was in the first battalion, that post being his right as marshal.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE BATTLE OF ALJUBAROTA, IN WHICH THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS, IN THE INTEREST OF CASTILLE, ARE DEFEATED AND SLAIN BY THE PORTUGUESE, FROM NOT BEING PROPERLY SUPPORTED BY THE CASTILLIANS, WHO WERE JEALOUS OF THEM.—THEY AFTERWARDS MEET THE SAME FATE.

This Saturday had been a fine clear day, but the sun was now declining, and it was about the hour of vespers, when the first battalion of the Castillian army came before Aljubarota, where the king of Portugal and his men were drawn up in battle array. The French knights amounted to two thousand, as gallant lances as could be seen. The moment they perceived the enemy they formed in close order, like men of resolution who knew their business, and advanced within bow-shot. This attack was very sharp; for those who were eager after glory, and to perform feats of arms, assaulted the place which the English had fortified. The entrance having been made narrow caused a great pressure of the assailants against each other, and much mischief was done by the English archers, who shot so vigorously and quick that the horses were larded, as it were, with arrows, and fell one on the other. The few English men at arms and the Lisboners now came forward, shouting their cry of "Our Lady for Lisbon!" They were armed with well steeled Bordeaux lances, with which they pierced through every thing, and wounded knights and squires. The Lord de Lingnach of Béarn was unhorsed, his banner taken, and himself made prisoner, and numbers of his men slain or taken. On the other hand, sir John de Rue, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay, with difficulty, had entered the fort with their men; but their horses were so wounded by the archers, they fell down under them. The men at arms on their side were in great danger, for one could not assist the other, nor could they gain room to exert themselves,

while the Portuguese, seeing the ill success which had attended the first assailants, were as fresh and as active as ever for the combat. The king of Portugal was mounted on a tall courser decorated all over with the arms of Portugal, and his banner set up before him: he was much pleased at seeing the defeat of his enemies, and to encourage his men, and for his own pleasure he laughed aloud, crying out,—"Go on, my good fellows: defend yourselves well, for, if there be no more than what I see, we shall not make much of them; and if I have any knowledge of war, these men must remain with us."

Thus did the king of Portugal encourage his men, who fought valiantly, and, having inclosed the first comers within their fort, they were putting numbers of them to death. True it is, that this first battalion of which I am speaking, under the command of knights from France and Béarn, expected to have been more quickly and better supported by the Castillians than they were; for if the king of Castille with the main army, which consisted at least of twenty thousand men, had advanced to check the Portuguese in another quarter, the day must have been theirs; but they did nothing, for which they suffered much loss and blame. It is also true, that the battle began too soon; but they did so to acquire greater honour, and to make their words good which they had said in the presence of the king. On the other hand, as I have heard, the Castillians made no great haste to advance, for the French were not in good favour with them, and they had said,—"Let them begin the fight, and tire themselves: they will find enough to do. These Frenchmen are too great boasters, and too vainglorious, and our king has not any perfect confidence but in them. Since he wishes that they should have the honour of the day, it shall be so; for we will have it our own way, or not at all." Conformably to this resolution, the Spaniards kept in a large body, twenty thousand at least, in the plain, and would not advance, which vexed the king much; but he could not help it, for they said,—"My lord, it is all over, (though none had returned from the battle): these French knights have defeated your enemies: the honour and victory of the day are theirs." "God grant it may be so!" replied the king; "but let us advance a little." They advanced about a bow-shot, and halted again. It was truly a fine sight to view their appearance, so well and handsomely were they armed and mounted. During all this time the French were fighting; and those knights and squires who had been able to dismount performed many gallant deeds, for, when their lances were broken, they used their battle-axes, and with them gave such desperate blows on the helmets of all who opposed them, that wounds, if not death, were the consequences. Whoever is engaged in such-like combats as this at Aljubarota must abide the event, if safety be not sought in flight: but in flight there is more danger than in the heat of the battle, for, when any one flies a pursuit is made, and, if overtaken, he is slain: when in a battle, if the chance turn unfortunate, he surrenders, and is well taken care of as a captive.

It cannot be denied but that the knights and squires from France, Brittany, Burgundy and Béarn, fought valiantly: they were overpowered at the first onset, from the advice the English had given to fortify the place: besides, in this attack, the Portuguese were superior in numbers. They therefore were at their mercy, and all were slain or taken, for few escaped. At this beginning they made a thousand knights and squires prisoners, which gave them much joy. They did not expect any further battle that day, and entertained their prisoners handsomely, saying to them,—"Do not be cast down: you have valiantly fought and have been conquered fairly: we will behave to you as generously as we should wish to be dealt with ourselves, were we in your situation. You must come and recruit yourselves in the good city of Lisbon, where you shall have every comfort." Those to whom such speeches were made, replied by returning thanks. Some were ransomed on the spot, and others said they would wait the event, for they did not imagine things would remain as they then were, but that the king of Spain would come with the main army and deliver them.

As the king of Castille and his people were drawing near to Aljubarota, news of what had happened speedily came to them from the runaways (for unfortunate indeed is the battle whence no one escapes), who cried aloud and with much fear—"Sir king, advance; for your whole van battalion are either slain or made prisoners, and there is no hope of deliverance but from you." When the king heard this he was much enraged, and with reason, for it too nearly concerned him: he instantly gave orders to march, saying, "March, banners, in the

name of God and St. George: let us hasten to the rescue of our friends who have been captured, for they have need of us." The Castillians began to quicken their march in close order: it was now past vespers, and the sun was setting, when some of them said, it would be better to wait for the morning, as it would soon be night, when they would be unable to perform any good deeds of arms. But the king was determined to advance, and was in the right; for he said,—"How can we think of thus deserting our friends, who are fatigued and in distress? whoever gives such advice neither loves me nor regards my honour." They continued therefore to advance, with trumpets sounding and drums beating, and making a great noise to frighten their enemies.

I will now relate how the king of Portugal and his army had employed themselves. As soon as they had defeated the van division and taken care of their prisoners, as has been before said, they did not confide in this first victory, though they saw not any appearance of reinforcements, but ordered six men at arms, the best mounted, to reconnoitre, and bring them intelligence, if they were to expect another battle. Those who had been sent on this expedition, saw and heard the army of the king of Castille, which was at least twenty thousand men on horseback, and approaching very near to Aljubarota: they returned full gallop to their friends, and said aloud—"My lords, take care of yourselves, for hitherto we have done nothing: the king of Castille is advancing with his whole army, of twenty thousand horse, for not one has remained behind." On hearing this they held a short council, as the necessity of the case obliged them, and came to a pitiless resolution; for it was commanded, under pain of death, that whoever had taken a prisoner should instantly kill him, and that neither noble, nor rich, nor simple, should be exempted. Those barons, knights and squires, who had been captured, were in a melancholy situation, for entreaties would have been of no avail. They were scattered about disarmed in different parts, considering themselves in safety, for their lives at least; but it was not so, which was a great pity. Each man killed his prisoner, and those who refused, had him slain before their eyes: for the Portuguese and English, who had given this advice, said,—"It was better to kill than to be killed; and if we do not put them to death they will liberate themselves while we are fighting and then slay us, for no one ought to put confidence in his prisoner." By this order there were killed the lord de Lingnach, sir Peter de Salbiere, the lords de Lespre, de Béarn, des Bordes, sir Bertrand de Barege, the lord de Moriane, sir Raymond Donzack, sir John Afolege, sir Manaut de Saremen, sir Peter de Salibieres, sir Stephen de Valentin, sir Raymond de Courasse, sir Peter de Hausane, with full three hundred squires from Béarn. Of Frenchmen, there were sir John de Rue, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay and many more. This was a very unfortunate event to the prisoners, as well as to the Portuguese; for they put to death, this Saturday, as many good prisoners as would have been worth to them, taking one with another, four hundred thousand francs. When they had thus cleared the place, by putting every one to death, (for none escaped but those who had been carried to the village of Aljubarota, where the baggage and stores were) they again formed themselves in the same position and place as when the van battalion commenced their attack.

The sun was now setting, when the king of Castille advanced in puissant array, with banners displayed, and on barded horses, shouting out "Castille!" and entered the fortified pass. They were received with lances and battle-axes, and the first flight of arrows grievously wounded their horses, threw them into confusion, and many were wounded or slain. The king of Castille, ignorant of the unfortunate fate of the van, imagining they were only prisoners, was anxious to deliver them, as you have heard. The battle raged with violence: many were thrown to the ground, and the Portuguese had not the advantage: they were forced to fight most valiantly, or they would have been overpowered: they owed their safety to the impossibility of being attacked but in one place. The king of Portugal dismounted, and, taking his battle-axe, placed himself at the pass, where he performed wonders, knocking down three or four of the stoutest of the enemy, insomuch that none dared to approach him. I must not omit to notice the manner in which the Spaniards generally act in war. It is true they make a handsome figure on horseback, spur off to advantage, and fight well at the first onset; but as soon as they have thrown two or three darts, and given a stroke

with their spears, without disconcerting the enemy, they take alarm, turn their horses' heads, and save themselves by flight as well as they can: this game they played at Aljubarota; for they found their enemies obstinate, and as fresh as if they had not had an engagement, which astonished them much; and their surprise was increased by not hearing anything of the van battalion.

The Spaniards had a hard afternoon's work, and the fortune of war was greatly against them: all who through courage, or a wish to distinguish themselves, had entered the fort of the Lisboners, were cut to pieces; for they would not ransom any, whether poor or noble, (such had been their orders) nor encumber themselves with prisoners. Very many of the nobles of Castille were there slain: among the greatest barons who suffered were sir Dangommes Neudrich, sir Diego Parsament, don Pedro de Rourmont, sir Marc de Versaux, the grand master of Calatrava, and his brother, who was that day created a knight, and called sir Diego Moro, sir Peter Goussart de Modesque, don Pedro Goussart de Seville, don John Rodrigo de la Rousselle, with upwards of sixty barons and knights of Spain. There were not even at the battle of Najara, when the prince of Wales defeated the king, don Henry, so many nobles of Castille killed, as at this battle of Aljubarota, which was on a Saturday, the feast of our Lady, in August 1385.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE KING OF CASTILLE, AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT ALJUBAROTA, RETREATS TO SANTAREM.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL RETURNS TO LISBON.—A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THEM.

When king Henry perceived that his army was defeated, the van battalion having been totally destroyed, that sir Reginald de Limousin, his marshal, was slain, and that the flower of his own chivalry, as well as that of France, which had come so willingly to serve him, were dead or disabled, he was mightily cast down, and knew not how to act. He saw his men flying in all directions, and heard them crying to him,—"My lord, march away: it is time for you: the battle is over: you alone cannot conquer your enemies, nor repair your losses: your men are running away on all sides, for every one now looks to himself: you know, also, it will be prudent, at this moment, to follow their example, and if fortune is now against you, another time she may be more favourable." The king of Castille followed this advice: he changed his horse, and mounted a fresh one that had not been rode that day, and which had great speed. The king stuck spurs into him, turned his back to his enemies, and made for Santarem, whither all the runaways, who wished to save themselves, followed.

The king of Castille had that day ordered a knight of his household, called sir Peter Harem, to bear his helmet. This helmet was encircled with gold, and might be worth twenty thousand francs. The king intended wearing it at the battle, and had so ordered it the morning he marched from Santarem, but did not do so; for, when the army was forming, there was so great a crowd round the king, the knight could not come near, and, not hearing himself called, he ceased to attempt it. Shortly afterwards, he heard that the Portuguese had gained the day, and saw his own army flying in all directions: fearful of losing so rich a jewel as the king's helmet, that was valued so highly, he put it on his own head, not to lose it nor have it stolen from him by meeting the enemy, and fled: he did not follow the road to Santarem, but took another, which led to the town of Ville Arpent. Thus did they disperse, some one way, some another, like to people thunderstruck and discomfited; but the greater part made for Santarem, where the king arrived in the evening, confounded and cast down.

After the defeat of the Spaniards at Aljubarota, the Portuguese and Lisboners kept the field of battle: the slaughter was great, and would have been more if they had pursued the enemy; for the English seeing the enemy turn their backs, called aloud to the king of Portugal,—"Sir king, let us mount our horses, and set out on the pursuit, and all these runaways shall be dead men."—"I will not," replied the king: "what we have done ought to satisfy us. Our men are fatigued, and have fought hard this evening: it is now so dark

we shall not know whither we are going, nor how many are flying. Their army was very numerous, and perhaps this may be a stratagem to draw us out of our fort and the more easily conquer us. We will this day guard the dead, and to-morrow call a council and consider how we shall next act." "By my faith," replied Hartsel, an Englishman, "the dead are easily guarded: they will do us no harm, nor shall we have any profit from them, for we have slain our rich prisoners. We are strangers, come from a distance to serve you, and would willingly gain something from these calves that are flying without wings, and who drive their banners before them." "Fair brother," said the king, "all covet, all lose: it is much better that we remain on our guard, since the honour and victory are ours, through God's grace, than run any risk when there is no necessity for it. Thanks to God, we have enough to make you all rich." Nothing more was said on the subject. Thus, as I have related, happened the battle of Aljubarota, which the king of Portugal completely gained. There were slain about five hundred knights, and full as many, if not more, squires, which was a great pity, and six or seven thousand other men: God have mercy on their poor souls!

The king of Portugal and his men remained all night under arms, at their post without stirring, until about six o'clock on Sunday morning. They ate a morsel standing or sitting, and quaffed a cup or so of wine, which was brought to them from the village of Aljubarota. At sun-rise, the king of Portugal ordered twelve knights to mount their horses, and scour the country, to see if there were any bodies of men assembled together. When they had rode far and near, on their return, they said they had seen nothing but dead men. "Of them we have no fear," said the king, who gave orders for the army to march to the village of Aljubarota, where they were to halt the rest of the day and that night until Monday morning. Upon this they decamped, leaving the church of Aljubarota, and quartered themselves in the village the whole of Sunday and the following night.

On the Monday morning, it was ordered in council that they should return to Lisbon, and the trumpets sounded to decamp. They then formed themselves in handsome array, and took the road to Lisbon. On the Tuesday, the king entered the city, amid an immense concourse of people, with great glory and triumph, and was conducted by a numerous company of minstrels, and a long procession of churchmen, who had come out to meet him as far as the palace. As he rode through the streets, all the people, and even children, paid him the greatest respect and reverence, shouting out, "Long live the noble king of Portugal! to whom God has been gracious in giving victory over the potent king of Castille, the gain of the field and discomfiture of his enemies." By this fortunate victory which the king of Portugal had over don John of Castille, as I have just related, he won so much the affections of all Portugal, that those, who before this battle had dissembled their sentiments, now came to Lisbon, took the oaths, and paid their homage to him, saying, he was worthy to live, and God must love him when he gave him the victory over a king more powerful than himself, and that he deserved to wear a crown. Thus did the king acquire the love of his subjects, more especially of the whole commonalty of the kingdom.

We will now say something of the king of Castille, who, after his defeat, retreated to Santarem, regretting and bewailing the loss of his men, and cursing the hard fate he had had, when such numbers of noble knights of his kingdom, as well as those from France, lay dead on the field. At the time he entered the town of Santarem, he knew not the greatness of his loss, but was made acquainted with it on the Sunday, when he sent his heralds to examine the field of battle, having imagined the greater part of those barons and knights whom they found lying dead had been prisoners to the Portuguese. He was so much enraged when the heralds returned, on learning the names of those who had fallen and the certainty of their deaths, that he could not be appeased or comforted. He declared with an oath, he should never again taste joy, for the loss of so many noble knights, who had perished through his fault.

At the end of the three days the king had passed at Santarem, his knight, sir Martin Harene*, came into the town, bringing with him his majesty's helmet, which was estimated at twenty thousand francs, on account of the rich jewels with which it was ornamented.

* His name is not mentioned in the printed copies until now, but he is called in my MSS. Peter Harem.

Much had been said on this subject in the king's household, and some had declared he had fraudulently carried it off, and would never more return. When the knight came before the king, he cast himself on his knees, and made such fair excuses that the king and his council held him blameless. Things remained in this state, and the king of Castille returned to Burgos the twenty-fifth day after his arrival at Santarem, having dismissed his whole army. Negociations were now entered on between the kings of Castille and Portugal, and a truce was made between them and their allies, as well on land as at sea, from Michaelmas until the first day of May. The bodies of the barons and knights who had been slain at Aljubarota, were buried in that and in the neighbouring churches: the bones of many were carried by their servants to their own countries.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE COUNT DE FOIX IS RAPIDLY, AND IN A SECRET MANNER, INFORMED OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT ALJUBAROTA.—FROISSART, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS, RELATES A STORY WHICH HAD BEEN TOLD HIM OF A FAMILIAR SPIRIT, CALLED ORTHON, WHO SERVED THE LORD DE CORASSE IN THE LIKE MANNER.

A FACT I am about to relate will astonish my readers, if they consider and pay attention to it. It was told me in the hotel of the count de Foix at Orthès, and by the same person who had informed me of the battle of Aljubarota, and the event of that day. I will therefore narrate it; for, ever since the squire related it to me, I have much thought on it, and shall do so as long as I live. It is a fact, as the squire assured me, that the count de Foix was informed, the day after the battle of Aljubarota, of everything that had there happened, the same as I have related it, which surprised me exceedingly how this could possibly have been.

The whole days of Sunday, Monday, and the following Tuesday, he was in his castle of Orthès, and made such poor and melancholy meals that not one word could be drawn from him; nor would he, during that time, quit his chamber, nor speak to knight or squire, however nearly they were related by blood, unless he had sent for him; and it also happened, that he even sent for some, to whom he never opened his lips during these three days. On the Tuesday, in the evening, he called his brother Arnold William, and said to him in a low voice,—"Our people have had a desperate battle, which has vexed me very much, for it has happened to them just as I had foretold at their departure." Arnold William, who was a wise man and a prudent knight, well acquainted with the temper of his brother, was silent. The count, anxious to cheer up his courage, for he had too long nurtured in his breast this sad news, added, "By God, sir Arnold, it is just as I have told you; and very soon we shall have news of it. Never has the country of Béarn suffered so severely for these hundred years past, as it has now at this battle in Portugal." Many knights and squires who were present, and heard the words of the count, were afraid to speak, but commented within themselves on them.

Within ten days, the truth was known from those who had been in the battle, and they first told the count, and all who wished to hear them, everything relative to their disputes with the Castillians and the event of the battle at Aljubarota. This renewed the grief of the count, and of those persons belonging to the country who had lost brothers, relations, children, or friends. "Holy Mary!" said I to the squire, "how was it possible for the count to know, or even to guess at it, on the morrow after it had happened?" "By my faith," replied he, "he knew it well enough, as it appeared afterwards." "Is he a wizard, then," said I, "or has he messengers who ride on the winds? for he must have some secret art." Upon this, the squire began to laugh, and said, "In truth, he must have known it by means of necromancy. We indeed are ignorant in this country how he manages, but we have our suspicions." Upon this, I said to the squire, "Now do have the goodness to tell me what your suspicions are, and I shall be very much obliged to you. If it be necessary to keep it secret, I will be silent, and never open my mouth on the subject as long as I live or remain in this country." "I must entreat that of you," replied the squire, "for I would not have it known that I had told it to you; for we only speak of it secretly when among our friends." Upon this, he drew me aside to a corner of the vault of the chapel of Orthès, and thus began his tale:

"About twenty years ago, there lived a baron in this country, called Raymond, lord of Corasse. You must understand, that Corasse is a town seven leagues distant from Orthès. This lord of Corasse had a suit at Avignon, before the pope, for the tythes of his church, against a priest of Catalonia: this priest was very learned who claimed these tythes, which were worth a hundred florins a year. He proved his right so clearly that pope Urban V. in full consistory, gave a definitive judgment in favour of the priest, condemning the knight to costs of suit. The priest obtained a copy of this sentence, and hastened to Béarn, where showing it, and his bulls from the pope, he obtained possession of the tythes. The lord de Corasse, being doubtful of the priest and of his designs, went to him and said,—'Master Peter, or master Martin, (according as he was called) do you think I will lose my inheritance through the papers you have brought hither? I do not believe you will be bold enough to collect anything belonging to me; for if you do, your life shall pay for it. Go elsewhere and seek for benefices, for you shall not have anything from my estates; and, once for all, I forbid you to take any tythes.' The clerk was fearful of the knight, as he knew him to be a cruel man, and dared not persevere, but resolved to return to Avignon, which he did. Before he set out, he came again to the lord de Corasse, and said to him,—'By force, and not by justice, you deprive me of the rights of my church, for which, in conscience, you behave exceedingly ill. I am not so powerful in this country as you are; but know, that as soon as I possibly can, I will send you a champion that you will be more afraid of than you have hitherto been of me.' The lord de Corasse, not alarmed at his menaces, replied—'Go, in God's name go: do what thou canst: I fear thee neither dead nor alive; and for thy speeches I will not lose my property.' The clerk then departed, and went I know not whether to Catalonia or to Avignon, but did not forget what he had told the lord de Corasse on leaving him; for, about three months after, when the knight least thought of it, and was sleeping in his bed with his lady, in his castle of Corasse, there came invisible messengers, who made such a noise, knocking about everything they met with in the castle, as if they were determined to destroy all within it; and they gave such loud raps at the door of the chamber of the knight, that the lady was exceedingly frightened. The knight heard it all, but did not say a word, as he would not have it appear that he was alarmed, for he was a man of sufficient courage for any adventure. These noises and tumults continued, in different parts of the castle, for a considerable time, and then ceased. On the morrow, all the servants of the household assembled, and went to their lord, and said,—'My lord, did you not hear what we all heard this night?' The lord de Corasse dissembled, and replied, 'What is it you have heard?' They then related to him all the noises and rioting they had heard, and that the plates in the kitchen had been broken. He began to laugh, and said, 'it was nothing: that they had dreamed it, or that it had been the wind.' 'In the name of God,' added the lady, 'I well heard it.'

"On the following night, the noises and rioting were renewed, but much louder than before; and there were such blows struck against the door and windows of the chamber of the knight, that it seemed they would break them down. The knight could no longer desist from leaping out of his bed, and calling out, 'Who is it that at this hour thus knocks at my chamber door?' He was instantly answered, 'It is I.' 'And who sends thee hither?' asked the knight. 'The clerk of Catalonia, whom thou hast much wronged: for thou hast deprived him of the rights of his benefice: I will, therefore, never leave thee quiet, until thou hast rendered him a just account, with which he shall be contented.' 'What art thou called,' said the knight, 'who art so good a messenger?' 'My name is Orthon.' 'Orthon,' said the knight, 'serving a clerk will not be of much advantage to thee; for, if thou believest him, he will give thee great trouble: I beg thou wilt therefore leave him and serve me, and I shall think myself obliged to thee.' Orthon was ready with his answer, for he had taken a liking to the knight, and said, 'Do you wish it?' 'Yes,' replied the knight; 'but no harm must be done to any one within these walls.' 'Oh no,' answered Orthon: 'I have no power to do ill to any one, only to awaken thee and disturb thy rest, or that of other persons.' 'Do what I tell thee,' added the knight: 'we shall well agree; and leave this wicked priest, for he is a worthless fellow, and serve me.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'since thou wilt have it so, I consent.'

"Orthon took such an affection to the lord de Corasse that he came often to see him in the night-time; and, when he found him sleeping, he pulled his pillow from under his head, or made great noises at the door or windows; so that, when the knight was awakened, he said, 'Orthon, let me sleep.' 'I will not,' replied he, 'until I have told thee some news.' The knight's lady was so much frightened, the hairs of her head stood on end, and she hid herself under the bed-clothes. 'Well,' said the knight, 'and what news hast thou brought me?' Orthon replied, 'I am come from England, Hungary, or some other place, which I left yesterday, and such and such things have happened.' Thus did the lord de Corasse know by means of Orthon all things that were passing in different parts of the world; and this connexion continued for five years; but he could not keep it to himself, and discovered it to the count de Foix, in the manner I will tell you. The first year, the lord de Corasse came to the count de Foix at Orthès, or elsewhere, and told him, 'My lord, such an event has happened in England, in Scotland, Germany, or some other country;' and the count de Foix, who found all this intelligence prove true, marvelled greatly how he could have acquired such early information, and entreated him so earnestly, that the lord de Corasse told him the means by which he had acquired his intelligence, and the manner of its communication. When the count de Foix heard this, he was much pleased, and said, 'Lord de Corasse, nourish the love of your intelligencer: I wish I had such a messenger: he costs you nothing, and you are truly informed of everything that passes in the world.' 'My lord,' replied the knight, 'I will do so.' The lord de Corasse was served by Orthon for a long time. I am ignorant if Orthon had more than one master; but two or three times every week he visited the knight, and told him all the news of the countries he had frequented, which he wrote immediately to the count de Foix, who was much delighted therewith, as there is not a lord in the world more eager after news from foreign parts than he is. Once, when the lord de Corasse was in conversation on this subject with the count de Foix, the count said, 'Lord de Corasse, have you never yet seen your messenger?' 'No, by my faith, never; nor have I ever pressed him on this matter.' 'I wonder at that,' replied the count; 'for had he been so much attached to me, I should have begged of him to have shown himself in his own proper form; and I intreat you will do so, that you may tell how he is made, and what he is like. You have said, that he speaks Gascon as well as you or I do.' 'By my faith,' said the lord de Corasse, 'he converses just as well and as properly; and, since you request it, I will do all I can to see him.'

"It fell out, when the lord de Corasse, as usual, was in bed with his lady (who was now accustomed to hear Orthon without being frightened), Orthon arrived, and shook the pillow of the knight, who was asleep. On waking, he asked who was there: Orthon replied, 'It is I.' 'And where dost thou come from?' 'I come from Prague in Bohemia.' 'How far is it hence?' 'Sixty days' journey,' replied Orthon. 'And hast thou returned thence in so short a time?' 'Yes, as may God help me: I travel as fast as the wind, or faster.' 'What, hast thou got wings?' 'Oh, no.' 'How, then canst thou fly so fast?' 'That is no business of yours.' 'No!' said the knight. 'I should like exceedingly to see what form thou hast, and how thou art made.' 'That does not concern you to know,' replied Orthon; 'be satisfied that you hear me, and that I bring you intelligence you may depend on.' 'By God,' said the lord de Corasse, 'I should love thee better if I had seen thee.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'since you have such a desire, the first thing you shall see to-morrow morning, in quitting your bed, shall be myself.' 'I am satisfied,' said the knight; 'you may now depart: I give thee thy liberty for this night.'

"When morning came, the knight arose, but his lady was so much frightened she pretended to be sick, and said she would not leave her bed the whole day. The lord de Corasse willed it otherwise. 'Sir,' said she, 'if I do get up, I shall see Orthon; and, if it please God, I would neither see nor meet him.' 'Well,' replied the knight, 'I am determined to see him;' and, leaping out of his bed, he seated himself on the bedstead, thinking he should see Orthon in his own shape; but he saw nothing that could induce him to say he had seen him. When the ensuing night arrived, and the lord de Corasse was in bed, Orthon came and began to talk in his usual manner. 'Go,' said the knight; 'thou art a liar: thou oughtest to have shown thyself to me this morning, and hast not done so.' 'No!' replied

Orthon; 'but I have.' 'I say, no.' 'And did you see nothing at all when you leaped out of bed?' The lord de Corasse was silent, and, having considered awhile, said, 'Yes; when sitting on my bedside, and thinking of thee, I saw two straws which were turning and playing together on the floor.' 'That was myself,' replied Orthon, 'for I had taken that form.' The lord de Corasse said, 'That will not satisfy me; I beg of thee to assume some other shape, so that I may see thee and know thee.' Orthon answered, 'You ask so much that you will ruin me and force me away from you, for your requests are too great.' 'You shall not quit me,' said the lord de Corasse; 'if I had once seen thee, I should not again wish it.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'you shall see me to-morrow, if you pay attention to the first thing you observe when you leave your chamber.' 'I am contented,' said the knight; 'now go thy ways, for I want to sleep.' Orthon departed. On the morrow, about the hour of eight, the knight had risen and was dressed; on leaving his apartment, he went to a window which looked into the court of the castle. Casting his eyes about, the first thing he observed was an immensely large sow; but she was so poor, she seemed only skin and bone, with long hanging ears all spotted, and a sharp-pointed lean snout. The lord de Corasse was disgusted at such a sight, and, calling to his servants, said, 'Let the dogs loose quickly, for I will have that sow killed and devoured.' The servants hastened to open the kennel, and to set the hounds on the sow, who uttered a loud cry and looked up at the lord de Corasse, leaning on the balcony of his window, and was never seen afterwards; for she vanished, and no one ever knew what became of her.

"The knight returned quite pensive to his chamber, for he then recollected what Orthon had told him, and said, 'I believe I have seen my messenger Orthon, and repent having set my hounds on him, for perhaps I may never see him more: he frequently told me, that if I ever angered him, I should lose him.' He kept his word, for never did he return to the hôtel de Corasse, and the knight died the following year. Thus have I related to you the history of Orthon, and how for a time he supplied the lord de Corasse with intelligence." "That is true," said I to the squire; "but with what intent have you told it? Does the count de Foix make use of such a messenger?" "In good truth, that is the real opinion of several of the inhabitants of Béarn; for there is nothing done in this country or elsewhere but what he instantly knows, when he sets his heart on it, even when it is the least suspected. Thus it was respecting the intelligence he told us of our good knights and squires, who had fallen in Portugal. The reputation and belief of his possessing this knowledge is of great service to him, for there would not be lost a gold or silver spoon, or anything of less value, in this country, without his instantly knowing of it." I then took my leave of the squire, and joined other company, with whom I chatted and amused myself. However, I kept in my memory every particular of the tale he had told me, as is now apparent. I will leave for a while the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and speak of those of Brittany, Languedoc, and France.

CHAPTER XIX.—SIEGE IS LAID TO BREST.—ST. FORGET AND SEVERAL OTHER ENGLISH GARRISONS IN THE ENVIRONS OF TOULOUSE ARE RECOVERED BY THE FRENCH.

During the time these matters were passing in Castille and in distant countries, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, ordered a block-house to be built before the castle of Brest in Brittany, which the English held, and had done so for a considerable time, and would not quit it, neither for the king of France nor for the duke of Brittany, to whom it belonged. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king's council, had frequently written on this subject to the duke of Brittany; for at that time, as you know, the young king of France was under the government of his uncles. They had entreated the duke of Brittany to exert himself to conquer the castle of Brest, which being held by the English was much to his discredit. The duke, in compliance with their entreaties, as well as knowing himself to be the lord of Brest, had once besieged it, but had not pushed it forward: when he marched away, he said nothing could be done: at which several knights and squires of Brittany murmured behind his back, saying that he feigned and dissembled, as those who held it

were his great friends, and that he would not on any account wish it even in his own possession, nor in that of the king of France; for, if the French had it, he would not be the master, but be much weakened by it; and, as long as the English held it, the French would not dare to anger him.

The constable of France, having considered the whole business, thought that, if the duke of Brittany were indifferent as to the recovering the town and castle of Brest from the hands of the enemies of France, it would be dishonourable to him and to the nobles of Brittany. He therefore ordered it to be besieged, and sent thither great numbers of knights and squires, under the command of the lord de Malestroit, the viscount de la Belliere, Morfonace, and the lord de Rochederrien. These four valiant men laid their siege as near to Brest as was possible, and erected a large and fair blockhouse of wood, surrounding also the place with palisadoes and walls, so that the garrison was shut up from all communication but by sea: on that side it was not possible for them to surround them. There were frequent skirmishes before Brest; for those companions who were fond of arms advanced gaily to the barriers, where they called out the garrison and fought with them until some were killed or wounded, and then they retired: scarcely a day passed without some warlike deeds being done.

At this period there was in the Toulousain a valiant knight from France, called sir Walter de Passac: he was an expert captain and excellent man at arms, and born in Berry, on the borders of Limousin. Before his arrival, sir Hugh de Froideville, séneschal of Toulouse, and sir Roger d'Espaign, séneschal of Carcassonne, had written to the king and council of the state of Toulouse and Rabastens *; that several gallant companions from the garrisons of Lourde and châtel Cuillet had made war successfully for the English; and having possession of Saint Forget, la Bassere †, le Mesnil, Pomperon, Convalle, Rochefort, Jullians ‡, Navarêt, and some other forts, they had surrounded the good city of Toulouse, so that the inhabitants could not quit it, nor the farmers labour their vineyards or gardens but with great risk, for there was neither truce nor any composition entered into between them. They were commanded by an able man from Biscay, called Espaignolet, who performed wonders and took by scalado the castle of Ermaille, whilst its master, sir Raymond, was absent at Toulouse, and kept possession for upwards of one year. During this time, he dug a mine that, after passing under the apartments, opened to the fields, which, when finished, was so well covered, that no one would imagine there was a subterraneous passage under the castle. When about this, the lord of Ermaille was treating with Espaignolet respecting the sum for which he would surrender to him his castle; and, on the mine being completed, he yielded the castle to sir Raymond for two thousand francs, who, having again possession, had it repaired and strengthened. Not fifteen days passed before Espaignolet advanced with his men to the mouth of this mine, which they entered about midnight, gained the castle, and took the knight in his bed, whom he again ransomed for two thousand francs, and then allowed him to depart; but Espaignolet kept possession of the castle, which he strongly garrisoned, and much harassed the country from thence with others of his companions.

For these and such like causes was sir Walter de Passac sent into Languedoc, with full powers over all the troops in that district, and to free the country from these pillagers and robbers. Having sent letters to sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Hugh de Froideville, and other leaders, they came to serve under him with all their men. Sir Roger brought sixty lances and one hundred men with shields; and the séneschal of Rouergue, with sir Hugh de Froideville, joined him with as many, if not more. When they were all assembled, they amounted to four hundred spears, and upwards of one thousand armed with shields, including lusty varlets. The son of the lord d'Esterach was there, with a handsome company; and also the lord de Barbasan, sir Benedict de Faignolles, and William Conderom, a Breton, with his rout. They marched from Toulouse straight to St. Forget, where they halted. It was then commanded by a Béarnois, called le bourg de Taillesac, a grand marauder. When these lords had drawn up their troops, the attack commenced, and the crossbowmen shot so briskly, scarcely any of the garrison dared show themselves in its defence for fear of the arrows; but the French did not gain it at this first assault. In the evening they

* "Rabastens,"—a town of Upper Languedoc, nine leagues from Toulouse.

† "La Bassere,"—a village near Tarbes.

‡ "Jullians,"—a village near Tarbes.

retired to repose and refresh themselves, as they had brought plenty of everything with them.

On the morrow, the trumpets sounded for a renewal of the attack, when the lords, with their men, gallantly marched to the foot of the ditches. Whoever had seen them thus advancing, their heads covered with shields, with their lances measuring the depth of the water in the ditches, would have had much pleasure. When the first ranks had passed through, the others did not delay following, or they would have been greatly blamed for remaining behind. This second party carried pick-axes and iron crows to batter the walls; and, in so doing they fastened their shields on their heads to ward off the stones and other things that were thrown at them from the battlements: but they suffered little from this, as the cross-bows posted on the banks by their alertness in shooting prevented many from appearing. They shot so well, as hardly ever to miss what they aimed at; and several on the walls were mortally struck on their heads by the small bolts, which caused many in the garrison to dread their blows. The attack was so long and successfully continued that a large breach was made in the wall. This alarmed those within, who offered to surrender on having their lives spared; but they were not listened to, and fell into such good hands that every one was put to death, for sir Walter had ordered no quarter to be given. Thus did the barons and knights of France regain the castle of St. Forget, which sir Walter gave up to its proper owner, who had lost it last year from neglect of well guarding it, as several other castles in France had been formerly lost in like manner. When the knight was repossessed of his castle, he had it repaired where wanted; for the French had done much damage by their attack.

The French then marched to the castle of la Bassere, of which Ernauton de Batefol was captain. He had strongly fortified it, in expectation of the visit the French intended him. On their arrival, they reconnoitred it on all sides, to see where they could the better make their attack, and with the least loss to their men: having carefully examined it, they posted themselves opposite to the weakest part. The cross-bowmen were ordered to advance before those intended for the assault, and they did their duty so well that few dared to appear on the battlements. Ernauton de Batefol was at the gate where the attack was the sharpest, performing such wonders in arms that the French knights cried out,—"Here is a squire of great valour, who becomes his arms well, and makes excellent use of them; it would not be amiss to treat with him to surrender the castle, and seek his fortune elsewhere: let him be informed, that if sir Walter de Passac conquer it by storm, no power on earth can save him; for he has sworn to be put to death, or have hanged, all whom he may find in any castle or fort." The séneschal de Toulouse then charged a squire from Gascony, named William Aliedel, who was well acquainted with Ernauton, they having formerly borne arms together, to talk with him on the subject. He willingly undertook it; for he would have been very sorry if Ernauton had suffered loss of honour or death, as other things could be remedied.

William stepped forward, and made signs to Ernauton that he wanted to speak to him on what nearly concerned him, to which his friend assented; and the assault was at that place discontinued, though not elsewhere. "Ernauton," said William, "you are risking too much: our leaders have compassion on you, and send me to tell you, that should you be taken, sir Walter de Passac has strictly ordered you to be instantly put to death, as he has done to those who were in St. Forget. It is, therefore, much better for you to surrender the place, as I would advise, than to wait the event; for I can assure you, we shall not depart before we be masters of it." "I know very well," replied Ernauton, "that, although you now bear arms against me, you would never advise anything disgraceful to my honour; but if I do surrender, all who are with me must be saved likewise; and we must carry away with us as much as we can, excepting the provisions, and be conducted in safety to the castle of Lourde." "I am not commissioned," answered William, "to go so far, but I will cheerfully mention it to my commanders." On this, he returned to the séneschal of Toulouse, and related what you have heard. Sir Hugh de Froideville said, "Let us go and speak with sir Walter; for I know not what his intentions may be, although I have advanced so far in the treaty; but I fancy we shall make him agree to it."

When they came to sir Walter, they found him engaged in assaulting another part of the castle; the séneschal addressed him,—"Sir Walter, I have opened a treaty with the captain of the castle, who is willing to surrender the place as it is, on condition that himself and garrison be spared and escorted to Lourde, and that they carry away everything but the provision: now, what do you say to this? We should lose more, if any of our knights and squires were killed by arrows or stones: and you would have more sorrow than profit, even should you win it and put all to death; but that is not yet done; it will cost us many lives; for it will not be so easily conquered as St. Forget." "That is true," added the séneschal of Carcassonne, who was present: "it is impossible but in such attacks there must be many killed and wounded." Sir Walter de Passac then said,—"I am willing to consent: order the attacks to cease. We have still farther to march; and, by little and little, we shall gain all these castles from the pillagers; if they escape from us cheaply at this moment, they will fall into our hands again some time hence, when they shall pay for all. Ill deeds bring the doers to an ill end. I have hanged and drowned in my time more than five hundred such scoundrels, and these will at last come to the same fate."

William Aliedel and others then returned to the gate, where Ernauton was waiting for them, to conclude the treaty. "By my troth, Ernauton," said William, "you and your companions ought to give many thanks to God and to sir Hugh de Froideville, for he has obtained for you your own terms of surrender. You and your garrison may depart hence, taking with you all you are able to carry, and will be escorted to Lourde." "I am satisfied," replied Ernauton, "since it cannot be otherwise; but know, William, that I am very sorry to quit my castle, which has been of infinite service to me since my capture at the bridge of Tournay, below Mauvoisin, by the bourg d'Espaign, who made me pay two thousand francs for my ransom; indeed, to say the truth, I have more than repaid myself the loss since I have been here. I have been so long in this part of the country that I like it well; and whenever I wished to make an excursion, I always was fortunate in meeting with prey, that fell into my hands, from some merchant from Rabastens, Toulouse, or Rodais." "Ernauton," answered William, "I readily believe you; but if you will turn to the French, I will obtain your pardon, and put a thousand francs into your purse besides: and will pledge my honour that you be steady to the French interest, when once you have sworn so to do." "Many thanks," said Ernauton; "but I like not your party, and will remain firm to the English; for, as God may help me, I do not think I can ever be a good Frenchman. Return now to your army, and say that we shall employ this day in packing up; but we will surrender the place to-morrow and depart: you will therefore order an escort to conduct us to Lourde."

The attacks on la Bassere had ceased, and the French retired to their quarters, where they refreshed themselves at their ease, for they had wherewithal so to do. On the morrow, by eight o'clock, the army was drawn out, and those who were to escort the garrison selected. Sir Walter then sent the séneschal of Toulouse to take possession of the castle, where he found Ernauton with his companions and their baggage packed, and all ready to set out. He ordered a knight of Lourde, called sir Mouvant de Salenges, to escort them, which he undertook to do safely; and I believe he kept his word. This castle was given to Bertrand de Montesquieu, a squire of that country, to guard, as well as the territory adjacent. The army then marched away, and came before a castle called Pulpiron; it was in the possession of marauders, under the command of Angerot and le petit Meschin, who had done much damage to the country round about.

Sir Walter de Passac had sworn by the soul of his father, that in return for the mischief, they had done, he would never grant them mercy, but hang them the moment he could lay hands on them. The army laid siege to this castle, which is seated on a rock, whence the view is extensive and pleasant. On forming the siege, sir Walter again swore he would never depart until he had gained it, and taken all within, who should not be allowed to surrender and go away, if they even wished it. Many attacks were made: but the French failed in all, as it was ably defended. "I know not," said sir Walter, "how things may turn out; the king of France is rich enough to keep up the siege, and, if I remain here a whole year, I will not leave it until I be the master." What he had said was attended to, and all things necessary for a long siege were done.

The two captains in the castle, seeing the French were determined not to depart without having gained it, cost what it would, began to feel alarmed, and thought it advisable to leave it, whether their enemies would or not. They could easily do so at their pleasure, for there was a subterraneous passage that had an outlet half a league from the castle, of which the French had not any suspicion. When Angerot noticed how the besiegers had posted themselves, and seemed resolved to have them by famine or otherwise, he said to his companions,—"Gentlemen, I find the lord de Passac hates us mortally, and that by a blockade he will starve us. He may easily do it, if he erect a small fort and garrison it with only one hundred lances; for we shall then be prevented quitting the castle. I therefore propose, that we this night pack up all we can carry, and sally through the mine, which is wide enough, and opens into a small wood hard by. We shall thus be out of all danger before any one knows what is become of us; for there is not one man in the army that is acquainted with this mine." His proposal was agreed to: and that same night, having packed up their all, they entered the subterranean passage with lighted torches, and issued out in a wood half a league from the castle. There were those with them able to conduct them through by-roads to other fortresses in Limousin and Rouergue. Some, however, the moment they were out of danger, departed different ways, saying, they would not carry on the war longer. Angerot, with four others, went to a castle in Perigord, called Mont Royal, where the lord of it received them handsomely; for he and his dependants were entirely English, and would never turn French when others did so, and many were of his way of thinking. Thus did the garrison of Pulpiron escape, not leaving a single varlet behind; and, before it was known to the army, they had arrived at the different places whither they intended going.

On the third day after the garrison were gone away, the commanders of the army ordered an assault. They had made a large machine, four stories high, and each story would hold twenty cross-bows. When this machine was completed, which they called a Passavant, it was moved to what they thought the weakest place of the walls, and Genoese cross-bowmen were posted in it. The cross-bows began shooting, but as no one appeared on the battlements, they imagined the castle was empty, and ceased to shoot, for they were unwilling to lose their bolts and arrows. They left the machine, and surprised their captains by their sudden return. They said,—"My lords, the garrison have certainly quitted the castle; for there is not a man within it." "How can you know this?" replied sir Walter. "We know, that notwithstanding our shooting, not one showed himself." Ladders were upon this ordered to be affixed to the walls, and lusty varlets, proper for the business, to ascend them. They mounted without opposition, for the castle was empty; and having passed the walls and ascended into the court, they found near the gate a large bunch of keys, among which was that of the gate. They, with some difficulty, opened it and the barriers.

The lords were much surprised; but more especially sir Walter de Passac, who thought it must have been by enchantment they had been able thus to escape, and asked his knights how it could have been done. The séneschal of Toulouse replied,—"That if they were gone, it must have been through some subterraneous passage." The castle was searched, and this passage discovered in the cellars, with the door wide open. The lords would examine it; and sir Walter said to the séneschal of Toulouse,—"Did not you know of this passage, sir Hugh?" "By my faith," he replied, "I certainly have heard that such a thing was in this castle; but I forgot it, and never imagined they would thus have made use of it." "But in God's name they have done so," answered sir Walter, "as is very clear. Have all the castles in this country similar mines and passages?" "Sir," said sir Hugh, "there are many castles which have been built in the same manner, particularly all those that belonged to Reginald de Montauban; for when he waged war against king Charlemagne of France, he had them so well built, by the advice of Maugis his cousin, that when the king was besieging them with his whole power, and resistance would have been vain, they made use of their tunnels, and departed without taking leave." "By my troth," said sir Walter, "I admire the thought. I know not if any king, duke, or neighbour I have, will make war upon me; but on my return home I will have instantly built, at my castle

of Passac, just such a passage." Here ended this conversation. They took possession of the castle, and, having placed a good garrison therein to guard it, they began their march towards the town and castle of Convalle *, in which were Espaignolet de Papercau, a Biscayan, and a number of pillagers.

CHAPTER XX.—THE CASTLE OF CONVALLE IS STORMED BY THE FRENCH.—SOME OTHER FORTRESSES TURN TO THE FRENCH INTEREST.

Sir Walter de Passac, with his army, came before Convalle, and surrounded it on all sides. Having called to him the séneschal of Toulouse, he said,—"Was this one of sir Reginald de Montauban's castles?" He answered, that it was one. "Then it has a subterraneous passage like his others." "Ay, in God's name truly there is one; for by means of this passage did Espaignolet take the castle a second time and the lord within it." "Order the knight to whom it belongs, and who is with us, to come hither; for it will be proper," added sir Walter, "that we first get information from him." On sir Raymond de Convalle appearing, he was asked concerning the strength of the place, and if there were a subterraneous passage like that of la Bassere. He replied, that it was by such means he had been captured; that he had long ago stopped it up as useless; "but these robbers who keep possession of my castle have repaired it, and entered the castle through it." "And do you know its issue?" "Yes, my lord: it opens into a wood not far hence." "It is well, by God," said sir Walter, and was then silent. At the end of four days, sir Walter was conducted by sir Raymond to the opening of the mine in the wood, accompanied by two hundred of the country peasants well armed. When arrived at the entrance, he had all the earth and thorns cleared away from before it, and a number of torches lighted, and said to those with him,—"Enter this passage, which will lead you to the hall of the castle: when you come to the door, break it open, for you are sufficiently strong to do it, and to combat all you shall find in the castle." They replied, they would cheerfully obey.

Having entered the passage, they came to the steps that lead to the door of the hall, and began to make use of their axes and hammers in battering the door. As it was about night-fall, the garrison kept a good watch, and heard them working in the mine to enter the castle. They instantly informed Espaignolet of it; be was going to bed, but he advised them to place benches, stones, and other things in the doorway, to embarras it so much that they might not enter. This was instantly done, and no better defence could have been made; for although their opponents had cut the door into a thousand pieces, they found their difficulties so increase upon them, they gave it up, and returned about midnight to tell their lords, how the garrison, having heard them, had blocked up the passage, making it impossible to gain entry by that way. Upon this the passavant was ordered from la Bassere, which being taken to pieces, was brought on carts to Convalle, and remounted on its wheels, fit for immediate service. When all was ready, sir Walter de Passac, impatient to win this castle, ordered his trumpets to sound, and the host to arm and advance in proper array. The séneschal of Toulouse was on one side, with all his séneschalship; on the opposite sir Roger d'Espaign, in like manner, with his men from Carcassonne; there were the lord de Barbazan, sir Benedict de Faignolles, the lord de Benoch, the son of the count d'Estarac, sir Raymond de l'Isle, and the knights and squires of the country, each with his company, drawn up in good array. The attack and defence now seriously commenced: the garrison defended themselves valiantly; indeed it behoved them so to do, for they found themselves hard pressed; and knowing that sir Walter would show them no mercy, if taken, were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The Genoese cross-bows behaved well, and shot so truly with their bolts, that the boldest was afraid of them; for whomsoever they struck on the head, it was over with him.

Sir Walter de Passac was in the front acting wonders in arms, and crying out,—"How, my lords! shall such a stinking crew keep us here all the day? If they were good men at arms, I should not wonder; for in them is much more vigour than in such fellows as we are

* This place is called before "Ermaille." Sala calls it "Crimaille."—*Marginal note, D. Sauvage.*

attacking; it is my intention to dine in the castle, and it will depend on you that I accomplish my purpose." Those who were desirous to obtain his favour advanced eagerly to the attack, and fixed several ladders to the walls, near where the large machine was placed, which they mounted under protection of the cross-bows, who prevented the garrison from showing themselves. The French thus entered the castle of Convalle sword in hand; they pursued their enemies, killing great numbers, and the remainder they made prisoners. Sir Walter, having entered by the gates, was asked what he would have done with the prisoners. "By St. George, I will they be all hanged." His orders were instantly obeyed, and Espaignolet suffered the first. The lords dined in the castle, and the men at arms in the town, where they remained the whole day. Sir Walter gave to the lord de Convalle his town and castle, and then made preparations to continue his march.

After the conquest of Convalle, the army marched for a fort, called Mastulle, which with the others had done much mischief to the country. On their arrival, they began an attack, which was bravely resisted at first; but it lasted not long, for the place was taken by storm, and all within slain or hanged. When those of Roix, Rocheforte, and other castles in possession of these pillagers, heard that sir Walter de Passac was on his march, and that, whatever places he took, he had hanged the garrisons, they were doubtful whether they might not come to the same end, and in consequence, left their forts in the night time, by subterranean passages or otherwise; for Roix and Rochefort have mines, having formerly belonged to sir Reginald de Montauban, so that when the French arrived they found them both empty. Having taken possession, they re-garrisoned and re-victualled them, and then marched towards Toulouse to enter Bigorre, for there were in that country two castles on the borders of Tarbes, called Jullians and Nazareth*, held by these marauders, who much harassed Tarbes and its neighbourhood, as well as the territory of the lord d'Anchin.

Sir Walter de Passac and his army, having refreshed themselves in Toulouse, took the road towards Bigorre, and seated themselves before Jullians, saying they would never depart until they had delivered the country from its oppressors. Sir Walter was joined by the séneschal of Donnezan†, who represented the count de Foix, according to the summons of sir Walter to come to his aid in driving the pillagers out of the country; for they made, when opportunity offered, as free with the country of Donnezan as they did elsewhere. It was for this reason the séneschal had come, and with the approbation of the count, otherwise he would not have dared to have done it.

They were fifteen days before they could gain the castle of Jullians, for it was strong, and the captain a Gascon squire, called Bruyer de Brunemote, of great skill and valour. He had quitted la Bassere in the manner before mentioned; and at last, finding they could not take it by storm, they consented to a capitulation, agreeing to spare the lives of the garrison and to conduct them to Lourde. A squire, called Bertrand de Montdighen, escorted them thither. When the French had possession of the castle of Jullians, they debated whether to keep or to raze it: at last they determined to demolish it on account of its vicinity to Lourde, for that garrison, the men being traitors, might, after they had left it, regain possession by stratagem or open force. It was therefore razed; and the stones to this day remain in heaps, without the expectation of its being rebuilt.

The army then came before Nazareth, a strong place, of which some adventurous companions had kept possession for more than a year. When they heard that those of Jullians had retreated, they also withdrew, having obtained a passport, and went to Lourde, where they knew they would not seek them, unless they wished to lose their labour, for Lourde is so strong it is impossible to be conquered. The French, finding Nazareth empty, razed it to the ground, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Tarbes, as they had received many injuries from it. They then marched to the castle of Auch, in Bigorre, situated among the mountains on the borders of Béarn. They remained there about fifteen days, but only conquered the lower court with all the horses within it, though very many attacks were made: the great tower, being seated on a high rock, they could not win, for it is impregnable.

* "Nazareth,"—a small town in the Condomis, diocese of Condom.

† "Donnezan,"—a small country in the government of Foix, contiguous to Catalonia, about three miles square Querigut is the chief place.

The lords seeing they were labouring in vain, and that William Morenton, the captain, would neither surrender nor listen to any treaty whatever, marched away, and returned to Tarbes. Sir Walter de Passac then disbanded his army, with liberty for them to return to their homes. Those who had served in this army received their pay in money or in promissory notes, at their option: he himself retired to recruit himself at Carcassonne, and in that neighbourhood.

During his residence at Carcassonne, he received orders from the king of France to go to Bouteville in Saintonge, on the borders of Poitou and the Bordelois, which was under the command of a Gascon called Sainte-Foy, as it had been reported that sir John Harpedane, séneschal of Bordeaux, was collecting a large force at Libourne on the Dordogne, to march thither and attack such forts as the Poitevins and Saintongers had raised before it. Sir Walter, as was natural, obeyed the king's orders, and took with him sixty lances and one hundred Genoese cross-bows. On leaving Carcassonne, he marched through Rouergue and Agen, skirted Perigord, and arrived at Bouteville, where he found the séneschals of la Rochelle, Poitou, Perigord, and Agen, with numbers of men at arms.

CHAPTER XXI.—A SHORT DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH AND GASCONS IN THE TIME OF FROISSART.

Foreign countries may well wonder at the noble realm of France, how finely it is situated, and what numbers of cities, towns, and castles it possesses, as well in the distant parts as in the heart of the country. There are in travelling from Toulouse to Bordeaux, the underneath rich towns, situated on the Garonne, called Gironde at Bordeaux: Grenade, Verdun, St. Nicholas, Auvillas, Valence, Leirac, Agen, Porte St. Marie, Aguillon, Tonneins, Marmande, St. Basile, la Réole, St. Macaire, Langon, Cadillac, Rions, Castres. Then ascending the Dordogne, which falls into the Garonne, are the following castles: St. André, Libourne, Castillon, St. Foy, Bergerac, la Linde, Limeul, St. Cyprian, Dommes, Soulliac. Some of these being English and others French, carried on a war against each other: they would have it so; for the Gascons were never, for thirty years running, steadily attached to any one lord. True it is, that the whole of Gascony submitted to king Edward and to his son the prince of Wales, but the country afterwards, as has been clearly shown in this history, revolted from those English masters. King Charles, son to king John of France, gained by his wisdom, prudence, kind treatment, and great gifts, the affections of their principal barons, such as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, and others, whom the prince of Wales lost through his pride.

I, the author of this history, was at Bordeaux when the prince of Wales marched to Spain, and witnessed the great haughtiness of the English, who are affable to no other nation than their own; nor could any of the gentlemen of Gascony or Aquitaine, though they had ruined themselves by their wars, obtain office or appointment in their own country; for the English said they were neither on a level with them nor worthy of their society, which made the Gascons very indignant, as they showed on the first opportunity that presented itself. It was on account of the harshness of the prince's manners that the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth, with other knights and squires, turned to the French interest. King Philip of France, and the good John his son, had lost Gascony by their overbearing pride; and in like manner did the prince. But king Charles, of happy memory, regained them by good humour, liberality, and humility. In this manner the Gascons love to be governed. King Charles, the more firmly to strengthen the connection, married his sister, the lady Isabella de Bourbon, to the lord d'Albreth; by whom he had two fine children, which causes love to endure the longer.

True it is, that when I lived among these lords at Paris, I once heard the lord d'Albreth use an expression that I noted down. I believe it may have been said in joke: however, it contained, in my opinion, much truth and good sense. A knight from Brittany, who had borne arms for him, inquired after his health, and how he managed to remain steady to the French: when he thus answered,—"Thank God, my health is very good; but I had more

money at command, as well as my people, when I made war for the king of England, than I have now; for, whenever we took any excursions in search of adventures, we never failed meeting some rich merchants from Toulouse, Condom, la Réole, or Bergerac, whom we squeezed, which made us gay and debonair, but now all that is at an end." The knight, on hearing this, burst into laughter and replied, "In truth, that is the life Gascons love: they willingly hurt their neighbour." On hearing this, I concluded that the lord d'Albreth heartily repented his having turned to the French, in the same manner as the lord de Mucident, who, when made prisoner at Yurac, swore to the duke of Anjou, he would set out for Paris and become ever after a good Frenchman. He did go to Paris, where the king handsomely received him; but he was not treated to his satisfaction, so that he slunk away from the king, and left Paris without taking leave, to return to his own country, where he again became an Englishman, and broke all his engagements with the duke of Anjou. The lords de Rosem, de Duras, de Langurant, did the same.



English and Gascon Lords at Bordeaux. From an old Black Letter History of Bertrand du Guesclin.

Such are the Gascons: they are very unsteady, but they love the English in preference to the French, for the war against France is the most profitable; and this is the cause of their preference.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE ARRIVAL OF LEON, KING OF ARMENIA, IN FRANCE; ON WHICH OCCASION FROISSART DESCRIBES THE STATE OF GENOA IN HIS TIME, AND RELATES THE DEATH OF THE KING OF CYPRUS.

About this period Léon, king of Armenia,* arrived in France; not indeed with a king-like state, but as one driven from his throne and kingdom, which had all been conquered

* In tom. vii. p. 494, of the Fœdera, we find Richard II. had settled a pension of 1000l. yearly on Léon, the Christian king of Armenia, who had been driven from his kingdom by the Turks. In former reigns, there had been frequent collections made in England, as well as elsewhere, for supporting those Christian kings against the Turkish power, which, however, at length swallowed them up.—*Anderson's Hist. of Commerce*, &c. vol. i. p. 213. The Grandes Chroniques de France place the arrival of the king of Armenia in 1385.

from him by the Turks, except a castle, situated on the sea-shore, called Courth.* This castle is the key or entrance into Alexandria and the territories of the sultan. The Genoese carry their commerce everywhere, by means of the duties they pay, even to the farther India, and the realm of Prester John:† they are universally well received on account of the gold, silver, and rich merchandize they bring from Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, or from the Saracens. It is thus the world is supplied, for what is not in one country is in another: but all this is well known. The Genoese are the most adventurous navigators, and are much superior to the Venetians as lords of the sea, being more feared by the Saracens than any others, for they are excellent and determined seamen, and one Genoese galley would attack and probably conquer four galleys of the Saracens.

If the Turks and Tartars have frequently hurt Christendom, the Genoese felt it not; for, being masters of the sea, they could attack the infidels, and had always fifty galleys and large ships guarding the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Candia, and the shores of Greece, as far as Turkey, where they possess the handsome town and castle of Pera, situated on the sea-shore opposite to Constantinople, which is garrisoned at their expense, and supplied with provision and stores three or four times a year. The Turks and Tartars have often attempted to win it, but have always failed, and have lost more than they gained; for Pera is seated on a rock, with only one entrance, and this the Genoese have well fortified. The Genoese have also Jaffa, which is a strong place, profitable both to them and to all Christendom; for did they not possess Jaffa, and Rhodes, the infidels would invade Naples, and attack Gaietta and Rome: but the strong garrisons of men at arms in these two places and their galleys on the sea, hold them in check.

These reasons prevented the infidels making any excursions, except from Constantinople, towards Hungary; but if that noble king of Cyprus, Peter de Lusignan, had longer lived, he would have found the Sultans and Turks more employment than they had met with since the days of Godfrey of Boulogne. Having conquered the cities of Alexandria and Satalia, the infidels, knowing his prowess and enterprise, and fearful of further losses from him, bargained with his brother Jacquet to have him put to death; who himself slew the gallant king in his bed.‡ It was an infamous act thus to assassinate the valiant king of Cyprus, whose thoughts were solely occupied, day and night, on the means of conquering the holy land, and driving out of it the infidels.

Philip de Mesieres,§ being chancellor to this king of Cyprus, had engraven on a monument he erected to him,|| in the chapter-house of the Celestins at Paris, as follows: "Peter of Lusignan, fifteenth Latin king of Jerusalem, since Godfrey of Boulogne, and king of Cyprus, by his magnanimous prowess and enterprise, conquered in battle, with an army supported at his own cost, the cities of Alexandria in Egypt, Tripoli in Syria, Layas in Armenia, Satalia in Turkey, with several other cities and towns, from the enemies of the faith of Jesus Christ.

"*Anima ejus requiescat in pace.*"

When the Genoese, who were much attached to him, and with reason, heard of his melancholy end, they armed seven galleys, and sent them to Famagousta, which they took by storm and Jacquet in it. They overran the greater part of the island, and would have destroyed the whole had they not feared the consequences; but, the towns being strong and on the frontiers of Turkey, they left them in the hands of the natives. They kept possession of Famagousta, where they amassed great wealth from its plunder, which they carried to

* "Whatever may be the name of this castle, and wherever situated, I have no doubt but those who are acquainted with the two Armenias, will think what our author hereafter says very strange. It is not for me to gainsay him: I am satisfied, if he be consistent with himself."—*Marginal note by D. Sauvage.*

† The Dalai Lamas was formerly denominated Prester John; and Thibet was the country of Prester John.

‡ He was assassinated by two lords of his country whom he had offended. Peter tarnished, by his debaucheries and cruelty, the last years of his life, and even the glory he had acquired by his former exploits.—*Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

§ For further particulars respecting Philip de Mesiers, see a memoir on this subject by M. le Bœuf, in the 17th vol. of les Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. and also the first vol. pp. 460, 461, of les Antiquités de Paris, par M. Sauval.

|| *i. e.* The king of Cyprus. In the original it stands, fist ecrite du dit Roy de Cipre *sur sa tombe* qui est au chapitre des Celestins, &c.

Genoa, and also Jacquet, who had murdered his brother, that the state might determine on his destiny. The late king of Cyprus had a son, whose marriage the Genoese procured, after which they crowned him king*. Jacquet, though suffered to live, was closely confined in prison. They did not yield up Famagousta; but I am ignorant if they have it at this day. This king of Cyprus died in his bed, and without heirs, to the great grief of the Genoese. I know not who now reigns there; but the year I was in Béarn, the lord de Valenchin, a knight of that country, told me the Genoese had a great share in its government, being masters of Famagousta, and that they had crowned Jacquet† king, in default of heirs. I know not how the devil he escaped from prison, nor out of the hands of the Genoese.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE KING OF ARMENIA RELATES MANY STORIES OF THE TURKS AND TARTARS.

The king of Armenia, on his first arrival in France, was well entertained by the king and his lords, as was proper, for he had come from a far country. They gained from him information respecting Greece and Constantinople; for he was well questioned concerning the power of the Turks and Tartars, who had driven him out of his kingdom. To their questions he answered, that the cham of Tartary had always made war upon him, and had at last overpowered him. "And this cham of Tartary, is he so powerful?" "That he is indeed; for he has, with the assistance of the sultan, conquered the emperor of Constantinople." The lords then asked if Constantinople were under the law of the Tartars. "Oh no," replied the king: "the cham and sultan having continued the war on Constantinople for a long time, it was at length agreed, (for otherwise the emperor would not have had peace) that the emperor of Constantinople, who was son of Hugh de Lusignan and Mary of Bourbon, should give his son in marriage to the cham; but notwithstanding this union, he was to enjoy his own laws and privileges‡. He was then asked what the count Verd de Savoye had done with his gallant company of knights, squires, and men at arms. He replied,—"That when the count de Savoye had come to Hungary, he had carried his war as far as he could into Turkey, but had made no great progress into the country; but by his prowess he had conquered the large town of Gallipoli and Limonia§: in the last, he left a sufficiency of men to guard it, and, during the life of the king of Cyprus, he had always kept possession of it. The moment the sultan and cham of Tartary heard of the king's death, they were no longer afraid of the emperor of Constantinople, but raised an army of one hundred thousand men, which they marched to Constantinople, and from thence laid siege to Gallipoli, took it by storm, and slew all the Christians within it. They made so deadly a war on the emperor, that he would have lost everything, if it had not been for the

* Peter II. or Petrin, ascended the throne in 1372, when twelve years of age, under the regency of his uncles James and John, to the exclusion of his mother. The day of his coronation, there arose a dispute between the bailiffs of Venice and the consuls of Genoa for precedency; and, the court having declared in favour of the Venetians, the Genoese revenged themselves for this affront, in 1373, by conquering the whole island. Only two places made any resistance, Famagousta and Chèrines. The first surrendered the 10th October, and was pillaged during three days; the second submitted about the middle of March following. The king was made prisoner, but recovered his liberty by the cession of Famagousta, and the promise of one million of ducats to the Genoese.

In the year 1375, at the solicitation of his mother, he caused his uncle John to be assassinated in his presence, to revenge the death of his father, in which this prince had been a principal actor. Peter died on the 17th of October, 1382, aged twenty-six, without leaving any children by his queen, Valentine, daughter of Bernabo Visconti.

† James I. constable of Cyprus, was a hostage at Genoa when his nephew Peter II. died. He was sent home at the demand of his countrymen, who crowned him king. He died in 1398, aged sixty-four, leaving children by Agnes of Bavaria, his queen, John, his successor to the throne of Cyprus; Hugh, cardinal archbishop of Nicosia; Philip, constable of Cyprus; Henry, prince of Galilee; Mary, married to Ladislaus, king of Naples; Isabella, married to Peter of Cyprus; Civa died unmarried, 1393. —*Art. de Vérifier les Dates.*

‡ Froissart must have been misinformed; for I see by Anderson's Royal Genealogies, that John Paleologus must have been emperor of Constantinople at this time. He was routed by Cantacuzenus, and restored by the Genoese, to whom he gave Lesbos. He afterwards made peace with Cantacuzenus, made him his colleague, and married his daughter. He died 1386, having reigned forty-six years.

§ Limonia is a small island in the Archipelago, near Rhodes, between that island and Stapalia.

attachment the son of the cham had for his daughter, whom he afterwards married. This is a melancholy prospect for the times to come, for the officers of the cham are already in Constantinople, and the Greeks only live there as it were by sufferance from them; if therefore, the princes of the west do not apply a speedy remedy, the Turks will conquer all Greece, and bend it to their faith and laws. They already boast they will do so; and only laugh at the two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon, saying, 'The two gods of Christendom are waging war against each other, by which their government is weakened and easier to be destroyed;' adding, 'that those who ought to attend to this, act with such indifference as to leave it to its own ruin.'"

The king of Armenia was next asked if the sultan of Babylon and the cham of Tartary were the most powerful princes among the infidels, known to the Greeks, on the other side of the mountains. "By no means," he replied; "for the Turks have always been looked to as the most wise and potent in war, as long as they are under an able chief; and this they have had for these last hundred years: although the cham completely governs the emperor of Constantinople, the Turkish chief keeps him also under subjection. The name of their present leader is Amurat, a prudent and able man both in arms and council, of whom, to say the truth, I have not any cause of complaint, for he has never injured me, having carried his war against the king of Hungary." "This Amurat, of whom you speak, is he then of such consequence and power, and so much renowned and feared?" "Yes," replied the king of Armenia; "and even more than I say; for, if the emperor of Constantinople and the king of Hungary are afraid of him, the caliph of Babylon and the cham of Tartary equally dread him. It was supposed, indeed I have heard it from the Tartars, that the cham would have been more hard on the emperor of Constantinople and that country, had he not been afraid of Amurat. He is well acquainted with his jealous temper; and that, the instant he finds any one more powerful than himself, he never rests until he shall have lowered him, and brought him under his subjection. It was the knowledge of this that prevented the cham from doing all he could have done against the emperor of the east."

"Does Amurat keep on foot a large army?" "Yes; he was not thirty years of age before he had an army of one hundred thousand horse, which he always kept in the field, never quartering himself in any large town: besides, he had ten thousand Turks to serve and defend his person. Wherever he marches, he carries his father with him." "How old is he?" "He is full sixty years old, and his father is ninety. Amurat loves the French language, and those who come from France: he says he would rather see the king of France and his state than all the other potentates of the earth. He is greatly pleased when any one talks to him on this subject, and in favour of the lords of that country." "Why does Amurat remain on terms with the cham, since he is so great a conqueror?" "Because the cham is afraid of him, and dares not make war: there are, also, certain ports and towns in Tartary which pay Amurat heavy duties: they are both of the same faith, and will not destroy their law. It has been a great matter of wonder to him that Christians should make war on each other; and he has frequently had an inclination to enter Christendom and conquer all before him. It would have been to my advantage if he had conquered me, rather than the cham of Tartary." They asked the king of Armenia, why it would have been to his advantage, who replied,—"Amurat is a man of noble birth; and, were he thirty years younger, is formed to make great conquests wherever he should please to march his army. When he conquers any country or town, he only insists on the payment of a tax, leaving every one to follow his own religion; and he has never taken any man's inheritance from him, only requiring the supreme government of the country. It is for these reasons, I say, that if he had conquered Armenia, instead of the Tartars, he would have left me my kingdom and religion, and remained in peace, on my acknowledging him as lord paramount, like other great barons on his frontiers, Greeks and Thracians, who thus acknowledge him, to free themselves from all danger from the caliph of Babylon and the grand cham." "What are the names of these barons?" "I will tell you," answered the king: "first, there is the lord de Satalia, the lord de la Palice, and the lord de Haute-loge: these lords and their territories, by means of the tax they pay to Amurat,

remain in peace, and there is neither Turk nor Tartar that dares injure them*." They then asked the king, if Armenia was so totally lost that there were no means of recovering it. "Yes, indeed," he replied, "unless a force superior to the Turks and Tartars cross the mountains and conquer Greece; for excepting the town of Courth, which is the entrance to my kingdom, and as yet remains to Christendom, the infidels have possession of all the rest: and, where the churches used to be, they have placed their idols and their mahomets." "And this town of Courth, is it strong?" "Aye, in God's name is it," said the king of Armenia: "it is not to be taken unless by treachery or a very long siege; for it is situated in a dry spot on the sea-shore, and between two rocks that cannot be approached. Should the Turks or Tartars gain it, and another good town not far distant, called Aldelphe†, all Greece must inevitably be lost, and Hungary besides in a short time afterwards." The king of Armenia was asked if Hungary were on the frontiers of the Turks and Tartars. He said it was; but nearer to the Turks and the territories of Amurat than to any other potentate. "It is very extraordinary," they replied, "that Amurat, who is so valorous, and such a conqueror, should leave so near a neighbour in peace." "In God's name," answered the king, "he has not for some time even pretended to keep peace with Hungary, but made such exertions, to the injury of that kingdom, that if an unfortunate accident had not befallen him, he would at this moment have been far advanced in that country." "And what was that accident?" "I will tell you," replied the king.

CHAPTER XXIV.‡—CONTINUATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE WHICH THE KING OF ARMENIA RELATES TO THE BARONS OF FRANCE.

"When Amurat saw that all the adjoining princes feared him, and that the shores of the sea as far as Hungary bounded his dominion, he determined, as the kingdom of Hungary had, by king Frederick's death, devolved on the queen, to declare war and conquer it. He therefore issued a particular summons to his vassals throughout Turkey, which being obeyed, he began his march and encamped in the plains of Satalia, between la Palice and Haute-loge, to strike more fear into his enemies. It was his intention to enter the kingdom of Hungary, notwithstanding it is a country inclosed with high rocks and mountains which make it so much the stronger. He sent before him ambassadors and heralds, with a mule laden with a grain called millet, telling them 'Go you into Hungary, to the count de Lazaran,§ whose territories lie among the mountains of Meleabre and Robée, through which we mean our army to pass, and tell him we order and command, if he wish for himself and country to remain at peace, that he come and render us obedience, as he knows the lords de Satalia, de la Palice and de Haute-loge have done, and lay open his country for us to pass through. If he should refuse to obey and appear rebellious, tell him from us, that we will pour into his territories, to destroy them, as many heads as you will show you have grains of millet in your bags.' The ambassadors instantly departed on receiving these instructions, and arrived in the territory of the count de Lazaran in Hungary: they found him at one of his castles called Archiforme. He received the ambassadors from Amurat kindly, and handsomely entertained them, but was much surprised when he saw the mule enter his court laden with he knew not what. He at first imagined it might be gold or precious stones, which Amurat had sent to

* Sauvage, in a marginal note, says he would willingly tell where those territories are, but he has not been able to find them out, and thinks there must have been some mistakes in their names.

† "Aldelphe." Q. If not meant for Delphos.

‡ Denys Sauvage complains that he cannot understand this chapter, nor the accounts from the Levant. There was not any king of Hungary at that period of the name of Frederick. Lewis the great reigned in 1342, and his daughter Mary succeeded him 1352. I find myself therefore obliged, like Sauvage, to leave it as I find it.

§ Sauvage says in a note, "According to Paul Jovius and father Anthony Geoffrai, his proper name was Lazarus, despot or lord of Servia, formerly called by the Romans Missia Inferior."

This probably is the person called by Froissart the lord de Lazaran.

"Servia made formerly part of Mœsia, Illyria and Pannonia. At the fall of the Roman empire, it belonged to the Servians, who had come thither from Sarmatia in Asia. It had afterwards its own despots, some of whom depended on the kings of Hungary. The last had the misfortune to be captured in battle, and his army cut to pieces by Amurat I. in the 14th century."

See Servie, in the Encyclopédie par Ordre des Matières.

seduce him to his party, and to bribe him to allow a passage for his army through his country; but he had resolved, that he would never submit to be corrupted by any presents whatever.

"When the ambassadors had their audience, they spoke as follows:—'Lord de Lazaran, we are sent hither by that high and mighty prince, our redoubted sovereign, Amurat, lord of Turkey and of all its dependencies: and we tell you from him, that he orders you to place yourself under his obedience in the same form and manner as you know the lords de Satalia, de la Palice and de Haute-loge have done, and that you delay not coming to perform your homage to him, in like manner as your neighbours have done. You will open your country to his army if you wish to have peace, and by so doing you will greatly enjoy his good favour: but, should you refuse and prove rebellious, we are commanded to say, that our sovereign lord, Amurat, will pour more heads into your country, to destroy it, than there are grains of millet in this bag.' Having said this, he opened the bag to show him its contents. The lord de Lazaran was advised to return a temperate answer, and not discover his thoughts at once. He replied, 'Tie up your bag; I see what is within it, and I have heard from you what Amurat's intentions are: within three days you shall have an answer, for these demands require deliberation.' They replied, 'You say well;' and, in confidence of having an answer, they tarried three days. I will now tell you what the Count de Lazaran did during these three days: he got collected and brought to his castle ten thousand head of poultry of all sorts, which he caused to be shut up without any food whatever. On the day appointed for the ambassadors to receive their answer, he conducted them to a gallery which overlooked a court, bidding them lean over the rail, and, before he gave them his answer, he would show them something new: they, not thinking what he was about, did as he ordered. Two doors were instantly opened, when all his poultry who had been starving for two days rushed out; and the millet bag being opened, and its contents scattered about, the whole was devoured in less than half an hour, and more would have been eaten if they could have had it. The count de Lazaran then, turning towards the ambassadors, said,—'My fair sirs, you have seen how the millet you have brought hither, from your master, with many menaces, has been destroyed by this poultry, who would have destroyed more had they had it?' 'Yes,' replied they, 'but wherefore do you mention it?' 'Because you have your answer in what you have witnessed and in the fact you have seen. Amurat threatens that, unless I obey him, he will pour into my country men at arms without number, to destroy it: tell him from me, I wait for him, and that with whatever force he come, he shall be destroyed in the same manner as the fowls have devoured your millet.' The ambassadors, on receiving this answer, became quite pensive. They took leave of the count, and travelled by short days, journeys, until they came to where Amurat and his army lay. They related to him all that the count de Larazan had done and said, and that he seemed to hold his menaces very cheap. Amurat was very wroth on hearing this answer, and swore that things should not remain as they were; but that he would enter the territories of the count whether he would or not, and lay waste all his lands, in revenge for his insolent answer.

"I will now tell you what the count de Lazaran did, since war had been denounced against him, which he knew would be speedily followed otherwise than by words. He instantly made preparations of stores and provision, and sent expresses to inform his knights and squires, and all those capable of bearing arms, that Amurat was about to invade Hungary, and to order them to guard valiantly all the passes into the country, and join him as speedily as may be, for there was no time for delay. Amurat remained with his army on the plains of Haute-loge. As it was to defend Christendom, all the knights to whom the count had written obeyed his orders and came to him, as did many more to whom he had not sent, but who had heard it accidentally, to support the faith and destroy the infidels. The count had the forests cut down and thrown across the roads Amurat was to pass, which he expected would have a great effect in checking the Turks on their march. The count, accompanied by ten thousand Hungarians and as many cross-bows, entrenched himself and men on each side of a pass through which he knew Amurat must march. He had also with him two thousand peasants, armed with axes and wedges, to fell the timber and block up the road on a signal given. When everything was prepared, the count said,—

'Without doubt Amurat will come hither, for he has sent me word he would so do; be therefore steady and valiant in defending this pass, for, should it be won by the Turks, all Hungary is in danger of being conquered. We are strongly posted, and one man here is equal to four. It will be more for our honour to perish in the field, defending the faith of JESUS CHRIST, than to live in bondage under these dogs of infidels, notwithstanding the courage and ability of Amurat.' 'Sir,' replied they unanimously, 'we will with you abide the event: let the Turks come when they will, we are ready to receive them.' The Turks were quite ignorant of all this; for the count, fearful lest his plans should be discovered by Amurat's spies, and revealed to him, had posted some of his most confidential friends between him and the enemy, to prevent any communication whatever between the two armies.

"Amurat was not forgetful of his menace, but declared he would visit the territories of the count de Lazaran, in such a manner that he should remember it; for he was unwilling to be thought a liar in breaking his promise. Having selected sixty thousand men, for he had two hundred thousand in his camp, he gave the command of them to four captains attached to his household and faith: their names were, the duke Mansion of Mecca, the governor of Damietta, Alphalory de Samarie, and the prince de Corde, surnamed Brachin, to whom he said, on their leaving him,—'You will march these men whom I put under your command, a number sufficient to open a passage into Hungary, to the lands of the lord de Lazaran, which you will completely destroy by fire and sword. As soon as I shall be informed of your arrival there, I will follow with the remainder of my army; for I am resolved to have Hungary under my obedience, and afterwards the empire of Germany. The wizards of my country, and the diviners of Egypt, have pronounced that I am destined to be king of all the world; but the place I would most willingly visit is Rome; for, in ancient times, it formed part of our inheritance: and our predecessors have conquered and governed it several times. I will lead with me le Galifre de Baudas, the cham of Tartary, and the sultan of Babylon, who shall there crown me.' The captains, who were on their knees, replied, they would cheerfully obey his commands, and then marched off with the sixty thousand men. Among them were twenty thousand of the most able and best armed of the Turkish army, who formed the van battalion. When they came to the mountains on the frontiers of Lazaran, the van, finding no one to oppose them, entered them, under the command of the duke of Mecca and the governor of Damietta, and passed the ambuscade of the count de Lazaran. As soon as the count and the Hungarians saw they had entrapped their foe, they began to work, by cutting down the forest trees and laying them across the road, so that it was quite impossible for the Turks to retreat or to advance, for the passage was entirely blocked up.

"Thus were twenty thousand Turks inclosed, who were so vigorously attacked by the Hungarians from each side of the forest, and with such good effect, that all were slain. Not one escaped death, not even the two commanders. Some few attempted to fly, but were pursued through the wood and killed. The rear division, unable to advance through the fallen forest, returned to Amurat, and related the unfortunate event which had happened to his army. He was very pensive on hearing it, and summoned his council to consider what was to be done, as he had lost the flower of his army." The king of Armenia, having thus finished his history of the defeat of the Turks, resumed the account of his own melancholy situation, to the king of France and his uncles. They took compassion on him, because he had come from such a distant part of the world as Greece to seek aid and comfort; and being a king driven out of his realm, without any means of keeping up his state, or even supporting himself, as his complaints evidently showed. The king of France, young as he was, said,—"We will that the king of Armenia, who has come to us in hopes of assistance, have allowed him wherewithal to maintain his dignity, suitable to his rank, as he is a king like ourself; and when we are able, he shall have men at arms to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom; for we have a very good inclination so to do, being bound to support the Christian faith."

The speech of the king was applauded by all. His uncles and council were willing to fulfil these commands; and a proper allowance was ordered to be paid the king of Armenia monthly, from the chamber of accounts, to keep up his state. The sum allowed was six

thousand francs yearly; and he had five thousand presented him, to provide himself with plate and other smaller necessaries. The palace of St. Ouen, near St. Denis, was likewise given to him for his residence. Such assistance did the king of Armenia receive on his first arrival in France, which was constantly increasing. He was at times much with the king, particularly at all the grand festivals *.

CHAPTER XXV.—DURING THESE WARS OF THE TURKS, DISSENTIONS CONTINUE BETWEEN THE TWO POPES, URBAN VI. AND CLEMENT VII.—FRIAR JOHN DE LA ROCHE-TAILLARD DELIVERS A GOOD APOLOGUE, RESPECTING THE PAPACY, TO THE CARDINALS.

About this period, Otho of Brunswick came to pope Clement at Avignon, to receive his pay for the war he had carried on for the pope and church against the Romans and Bartholomew Prignano, who styled himself pope Urban VI. as you have before seen in this history. He remonstrated with the pope and cardinals on various topics, to which they attentively listened; but, as for his pay, he could not obtain one penny, the treasury being so empty that the cardinals were unable to get what was their due. Sir Otho, therefore, left them much discontented; but, before he set out from Avignon, they gave him one thousand francs, which he held cheap, and the war of the pope was greatly weakened, for sir Otho would not henceforward concern himself about it. Besides, Margaret de Duras, duchess of Anjou †, who resided at Gaietta, sent for his assistance against the Neapolitans. Sir Otho balanced for a time, not knowing which side to take; some of his council advising him to aid Margaret in the defence of her realm, and take her to wife, as she had not any objection and was of noble birth, and by this means they told him that he might become king of the country: but others advised the contrary, lest it might have an unfavourable issue; for her children by the duke of Anjou, who had been crowned king in Bari, were young, and had many relations and friends, especially in the king of France their cousin-german, who would certainly support their claims, as well as the lady Jane, duchess dowager of Anjou, who would have great weight. Sir Otho was so long doubtful between the two parties that at length neither had him.

About this time, the forces subsidized by pope Clement, under the command of the lord de Moetroye, a right valiant knight from the country of Geneva and Savoy, sir Talebert, a knight of Rhodes, and sir Bernard de la Salle, had shut up pope Urban in the city of Perugia. He was much straitened, and on the point of being made captive. I was told

* Sauval, in his Antiquities of Paris, copies Froissart in the account of the reception of the king of Armenia by the court of Charles VI.; but adds, from Juvenal des Ursins, that this prince was not so wretched in his fortune, having saved many jewels, and even some of his treasure, when he fled from the Tartars. He was a fruitless negociator of peace between England and France, and was sent to Boulogne, with others on this subject. He died in 1393, in the palace of the Tournelles, situated in the street of St. Anthony, opposite the royal hotel of St. Pol, where the kings of France usually resided. He was buried in the church of the Celestins, after the manner of his own country, his friends clothed in white, carrying torches of white wax: his body, dressed in royal robes of the same colour, was laid upon a white bed of state, and his head encircled with a crown of gold. At this funeral ceremony many of the princes and great lords assisted, and crowds of common people.—*Antiquités de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 251.

Holingshed says, Leo, king of Armenia, came to England and received a pension of 1000*l.* from Richard II.; the object of his visit was to make peace between the two countries of France and England.

† The text which Mr. Johnes here follows is essentially different from that of D. Sauvage and more recent French editions, and Lord Berners, and is moreover not consonant to the truth. Margaret of Duras was not duchess of Anjou, but widow of Charles of Duras, king of Naples, the competitor of Louis, duke of Anjou, for that kingdom. According to D. Sauvage, &c., the passage should run as follows:—"Besides Margaret of Duras, who resided at Gaietta, and was opposed to the queen of Naples, widow of king Louis, duke of Anjou, begged his assistance to make war on the Neapolitans. Sir Otho balanced for a time, not knowing which side to take. Some of his council advised him to take part with Margaret of Duras, who was heiress of Naples and Sicily, and assist her to defend and keep her heritage, and to take her to wife, as she was very willing to have him for a husband, he being of noble blood and high lineage; and he would thus become king and lord of the countries which she claimed. Others advised him to the contrary; for the children of king Louis, who had been crowned in the city of Bari, were young and had numerous friends and relations, especially the king of France, who were willing to assist them; and their lady mother, queen Joan, duchess of Anjou and Maine, was a woman of great intrigue. All these doubts were laid before him by his council. Sir Otho held back and hesitated so long that he lost both parties." We should here observe that Margaret of Duras was not heiress to the kingdom of Naples, but regent during the minority of her son Ladislas.—Ed.

it depended only on the payment of twenty thousand crowns; for count Conrad, a leader of a large body of Germans, would have delivered him up to pope Clement for that sum. Sir Bernard de la Salle was sent to Avignon to inform the pope, and to remonstrate with him and the cardinals on the subject, but in vain with regard to the money, for the court was so poor that he could not obtain anything, and returned, very discontented, to the siege of Perugia. The siege was slackened on both sides, and Urban escaped from this danger to Rome, where he remained.

I know that in times to come, these things will be wondered at, and it will be a matter of astonishment how the church could fall into such troubles, and those of so long a duration. It was a punishment sent by God to make the clergy feel and consider the great pomp and superfluities they possessed: but many paid no attention to it, being so swollen with pride and arrogance, that each would imitate his superiors, and thus was religion little regarded; and if the Holy Spirit, who enlightens the hearts of the devout, had not kept them steady, and in unison, it would have been severely shaken, if not lost. The great proprietors of land, who at the first were such noble benefactors to the church, now make a joke of it, even at the time I was writing and chronicling this history, in the year of grace 1390; at which the commonalty were much surprised, and wondered why such great lords as the kings of France and Germany, and the other princes of Christendom, did not provide a remedy for it. But, to satisfy the people and excuse the great barons, I may say, that as there cannot be a yolk of an egg without its white, nor a white without the yolk, so neither the clergy nor the lords can exist independently of each other; for the lords, not being ruled by the clergy, would degenerate into beasts.

I will say, that in my time I have for certain seen much of mankind; whether for my own amusement, or in travelling to learn the history of what passes in the world relative to deeds and adventures in arms, which are described in this book; but I have never met with any lord, except the count de Foix, who had not his minions, pages, and jesters, most honourably entertained. The count de Foix had none such; for he was naturally grave, and of great good sense, which was of more value than anything they could have afforded him. I do not say, that those lords who are attended by minions * are mad; they are worse than mad, for they are blind having two eyes.

When information of this disputed choice was first brought to king Charles of France, of happy memory, he paused, and left it to his clergy; who, having considered the matter, resolved that pope Clement had been truly elected. To this opinion the kings of France, Castille, and Scotland assented; and, notwithstanding the schism which was caused in the church, these three kings, being allied together, remained steady to Clement; but the kings of England and Portugal were of a contrary way of thinking. The earl of Flanders had formed his creed as you have heard in this history; for he would never acknowledge pope Clement, because he had, at the first conclave, voted for the Cardinal of Bari, and because, while cardinal of Geneva, he had written to the earl to say Urban had been legally elected pope, for which reason the earl of Flanders considered his as the true one as long as he lived. The emperor and all Germany, with the king of Hungary, acknowledged Urban.

While writing of these dissensions that happened in my time both in states and in the church (which was somewhat shaken thereby), and it is to be understood that the great landed proprietors were acting like hypocrites, it comes to my remembrance how in my young days, during the reign of pope Innocent, at Avignon, there was confined in prison a learned clerk, called Friar John de la Roche-taillade. This friar, as I have been told by several privately, for it was never talked of in public, foretold, while in prison, many of the great events which would happen shortly in the world, more especially those that related to France. He prophesied the capture of king John of France, and the misfortunes that were to befal the church from the pride and arrogance of those who governed it. It was said, that during his imprisonment, he was brought to the pope's palace, when the cardinal of Ostia, commonly called cardinal of Arras, and the cardinal of Auxerre, disputed with him on these subjects. Friar John gave them for answer the following apologue: "In former days a bird was hatched without any feathers. When the other birds heard of this, they went to see him, for he was

* *Marmousets.*

fair and pleasant to look on. Having considered that without feathers he could not fly, nor without flying live—which, however, they were determined to assist him in, for he was a prodigiously handsome bird—they resolved that every bird should give him some of his feathers. The best feathered gave most, so that he was soon enabled to fly. The other birds took much pleasure in seeing him. When this bird saw himself thus in feather, and that all the birds paid him great honour, he grew proud, and not only held those cheap who had made him so, but pecked and drove them from him. The birds held an assembly to consider how they should act, in consequence of the treatment they received from this bird whom they had clothed, and who now despised them. The peacock said, 'He is too finely dressed in my feathers: I will take them from him.' 'In God's name,' said the falcon, 'so will I mine.' The other birds said they would do the same, and immediately began to unfeather him. The bird, on seeing this, humbled himself greatly, and acknowledged the honours and wealth he had received; and that his fine feathers were not his own, for he had come into the world naked and featherless; and those who had feathered him might, if they chose, retake them. He cried out for mercy, and promised, henceforward, never to risk, by pride or presumption, the loss of his feathers. The gallant birds who had plucked him, seeing him thus humbled in his deportment, restored his feathers: but said, on giving them back,—'We will gladly see thee fly among us, as long as thou shalt bear thyself meekly, for so it becometh thee; but if ever thou shalt act arrogantly, we will pluck thee bare, and leave thee in the naked state we found thee.' Thus, my fair sirs," said friar John to the cardinals, "will it happen to you. The emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, have given you wealth, and power and possessions, that you may serve God; but you expend it in pomp, luxury and all extravagancies. Why do you not read the life of St. Silvester,* the first pope who succeeded St. Peter, and weigh well the conditions on which the emperor Constantine gave the tithes to the church? St. Silvester did not travel with two or three hundred attendants on horseback, but lived simply and retired at Rome, solely with his churchmen, when the angel, through God's grace, appeared to announce that the emperor Constantine, then an infidel and unbeliever, had sent for him. It had likewise been revealed to the emperor, by the angel of the lord, that Silvester would put him in the way of being cured of his leprosy; for he was so ill of that disorder, his limbs were rotting. On his arrival he pointed out to him his cure, by means of baptism. He was baptised and cured, which so strongly impressed his mind with the goodness of God, that he believed, and made his empire believe also. He gave to Silvester and to the church, all tithes, which he had before held himself, with many other rich gifts and territories, for the augmentation of our faith and church. It was his intention that these should be prudently and properly governed, and not with pomp and pride as is now done; for which the Lord is wroth, and his anger will be much increased against you in times to come. Should the nobles excuse themselves from giving support to the church, and grow cold in their devotions, and perhaps retake what they have given, it must speedily be destroyed."

Thus spoke friar John to the cardinals, who were much astonished thereat, and would willingly have put him to death, but they could not find out any just cause for it. They suffered him to live, but confined him a close prisoner; for he proposed such deep questions, and examined so closely the Scriptures, that he might perhaps, had he been at liberty, have led the world astray. However, many things were seen to happen, which he had foretold in prison, and which he proved from the apocalypse. His proofs saved him sometimes from being burnt, and some of the cardinals took compassion on him and did not oppress him as they might have done.

We will now leave these narrations and return to the principal matters of this history, the affairs of Spain, Portugal, France, and England, and say what events were passing there worthy of being recorded.

* Silvester was the thirty-second pope, reckoning St. Peter as the first.—*Art de vérifier les Dates.*

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE REASONS WHY THE PORTUGUESE PREFER THE GRAND MASTER OF AVIS FOR THEIR KING TO DON JOHN, KING OF CASTILLE, WHO HAD MARRIED BEATRICE, DAUGHTER OF DON FERDINAND, LATE KING OF PORTUGAL.

You have before heard how don John, son of don Pedro, king of Portugal, and bastard brother to the late king, had gained possession of the crown, through the boldness of four of the principal towns in Portugal; for the nobles and knights ought not to be inculpated in the matter, as they had ever borne themselves loyally to don John of Castille, who had married Beatrice, the daughter and heiress of don Ferdinand. Many, however, were of opinion she was a bastard, being the daughter of a Portuguese lady, whose husband, a knight of Portugal, was still living*. The king of Portugal having seized his wife, married her; and the knight left the country and resided with the king of Castille: he never returned to Portugal, notwithstanding his noble birth, through fear of the king.

This opinion of her being a bastard was the more extraordinary, as don Ferdinand considered her as legitimate, having received dispensations from pope Urban VI. to that purpose. When peace was concluded between the kings of Castille and Portugal, don John Ferdinand Audère, who ruled the Portuguese council, proposed a marriage between the daughter of his king, and don John, king of Castille, who was at that time a widower. The council of Castille, when this union was proposed, had mentioned their doubts of the legitimacy of the lady's birth; and to satisfy the king of Castille, don Ferdinand had made his principal barons and nobles of Portugal swear, that after his decease, they would consider her as their queen, and would unite their kingdom to Castille. He had also forced the principal towns to promise the same, and to acknowledge the king of Castille as their king, under a penalty of two hundred thousand francs. The Lisboners, having put to death don Ferdinand Audère, because he had interfered in this business, and exerted himself, at the king of Portugal's death, to have it confirmed, elected the master of Avis, and would have no other king. They said, that were Portugal to be turned topsy-turvy, they would never submit to Castille, nor to the Castillians, so greatly did they hate each other. The Lisboners were the great instigators of this dispute; they said that the lady Beatrice could not be their queen, for she was a bastard, a thorough bastard; and, during the life-time of don Ferdinand, and now when he is dead, Lorenzo d'Acunha, the husband of her mother, still exists. For this reason, the four cities of Lisbon, Coimbra, Ourique, and Oporto, elected don John, and crowned him king of Portugal. They would have a king from among themselves, and noticed the great affection the commonalty had for the master of Avis.

One of the chief causes for this hatred of the Portuguese to the Castillians, was, that after the marriage had been concluded between the king of Castille with don Ferdinand's daughter, and it had been agreed that Portugal should, after the death of don Ferdinand, revert to Castille, wherever the Castillians met the Portuguese, they mocked them, and said, they should return under their obedience whether they would or not; that they would keep them in subjection and slavery, and teach them, like Jews and slaves, to obey their wills. The Portuguese replied, they would never be under theirs nor the subjection of any men in the world. Owing to such reproaches, they elected the grand master of Avis king, who was bastard son to don Pedro, king of Portugal. Don Ferdinand, during his reign, paid no attention to his brother, nor ever imagined the Portuguese would, after his decease, choose him their king, to the disparagement of his daughter; but so they did; and don Ferdinand Audère was in the right, when he advised the king to have him put to death, for the people had too great an affection for him. The king would never consent to this, saying that the people had no power over the nobility of the realm; and that his son-in-law, the king of Castille, was powerful enough to punish any rebellion that might break out; that he had no just cause to imprison him nor put him to death; and besides, his brother was of a religious order and possessed of great wealth, without thinking of the crown of Portugal. These were the reasons why he escaped death.

* Ferdinand, at the conclusion of the war between him and Henry de Transtamare, king of Castille, engaged to marry Henry's daughter. This he did not perform, but married Leonora Tellez, the wife of Lorenzo d'Acunha.

All these are well-known facts; for I, the author of this history, was told them by the nobles of Portugal. It was certainly strange they should choose a bastard for their king: but they found none nearer in blood to the crown; for they declared that the queen of Castille, daughter of the lady Leonora d'Acunha, being a bastard, should never possess the crown of Portugal, nor should any of her descendants. The count de Foix was of a similar opinion, as he told the knights when he gave them an entertainment on leaving his country for Portugal; for he is perfectly well informed, though he resides at Orthès, of everything that passes in Castille or Portugal. When his knights departed, he said,—"Gentlemen, you have not any business to interfere in the disputes between Castille and Portugal; for the queen of Castille, daughter of don Ferdinand king of Portugal, has no claim to that crown. This war is begun foolishly, and with much bitterness: you may therefore, as well as those who first stirred it up, heartily repent when it is too late." They replied, "that having received earnest of pay from so great a lord as don John of Castille, they were bound to serve him." He then suffered them to go: but, as I have before related, the greater part never returned home again.

CHAPTER XXVII.—FROISSART TRAVELS TO MIDDLEBURGH IN ZEALAND, TO MAKE INQUIRIES FROM A KNIGHT, WHO IS GOING TO PRUSSIA, OF THE AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL.

We will not yet quit the affairs of Portugal, as they ought not to be forgotten; but the grand feats of arms which took place there should be chronicled, that those who come after our time may find them related and written down. It would be pity they were annihilated: and it was by means of clerks of former days, who enregistered histories, that facts are now known, for there is no memory equal to writing. In truth, I must say, and I wish those who in after times shall come may know the fact, that I have taken infinite pains to seek out the truth of what was passing in my day, and have travelled through many a kingdom and over many countries for this purpose. I have been personally acquainted with many valiant men, as well in France, England, Castille, Portugal, as in the duchies and countries adjoining, and with their companions in war, from whom I have never failed asking many questions for my information; and I have never willingly neglected, after having heard any fact, making every possible inquiry to know the truth of it.

During the time I resided with the gallant count Gaston de Foix at Béarn, I heard many of the transactions which happened in Portugal; but on my return home to Valenciennes in Hainault, having rested myself a while, my passion for the history I had begun was renewed, and I bethought myself that I could not impartially continue it, having only heard that side of the question which related to the king of Castille. It was proper therefore, if I wished to avoid partiality, to hear what the Portuguese had to say, as I had listened to the Gascons and Spaniards in the castle of Foix, and upon the road in going thither and in returning. Indifferent as to bodily fatigue, I set out for Bruges expecting to meet some Portuguese and Lisboners, as many of that nation are generally there: I was most fortunate in my journey, for it was told me, and I since found it true, that if I had considered for seven years, I could not have come more opportunely to Bruges than at that moment. I had only to go to Middleburgh in Zealand, where I should find a valiant knight of Portugal, and of the king's council, called don Juan Fernando de Portelet, who would give me a true account of the events that had passed in Portugal, having been a party concerned in all of them: he was but lately arrived, intending to embark for Prussia, whither his valour had led him. This intelligence rejoiced me much, and I set out from Bruges in company with a Portuguese well acquainted with the knight. On our arrival at Sluys, we embarked, and, thanks to God, arrived safely at Middleburgh. I made myself acquainted, through my companion, with the knight, whom I found prudent, honourable, gracious and pleasant. I remained with him about six days, and might have done so longer had I pleased, when the knight told me all that had happened in the wars between Castille and Portugal, from the death of king Ferdinand until the time he had left that country. He related it so clearly and fully that I had great delight in hearing him, and in writing down what he had said.

When I had learnt all I had wanted, and found the wind to be favourable, I took leave of the knight: he accompanied me to the vessel, as did several rich merchants of his country who had come from Bruges hither to see him, as well as other good people of Middleburgh. In his company was the son of the count de Novaire*, in Portugal, and other knights and squires from those parts: but greater respect was paid to don Juan than to any of the others: and certainly, from what I saw, he was very deserving of it, for he was a handsome well-made man, formed for vigorous exploits. I returned thence, through Bruges, home, where I chronicled all I had heard from don Juan Fernando de Portelet, relative to what had passed in the realms of Portugal and Castille until the year of our Lord 1390.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE PORTUGUESE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF ALJUBAROTA, SEND AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND, TO INFORM THE KING AND HIS NOBLES OF THAT EVENT.

After don John had defeated the Spaniards at the battle of Aljubarota, which took place, as you have heard, near the monastery of Alcobaçar, whereat were slain such numbers of knights and squires from France, Gascony, and Castille, he returned triumphant to Lisbon, his head crowned with laurel, like to the Roman conquerors of old. The Portuguese highly honoured him for his courage and victory; and, after many grand festivals, a parliament was held by the barons, knights, and magistrates from the principal towns, on the state of the kingdom, and on the means by which they could best persevere in what they had been so fortunate in commencing. The wisest among them said, now was the time to strengthen themselves, so that they might be enabled to withstand the power of the king of Castille, and enjoy with honour to themselves the fruits of their victory. This conference was holden in the cathedral church of St. Dominick at Lisbon, where many proposals were made, but not such as were worth recording. It was at last determined to send to the duke of Lancaster, who claimed the crown of Castille, in right of the lady Constance, his duchess, eldest daughter to don Pedro the Cruel, and indite letters to him in such words as these:—That if ever he wished to claim the kingdom of Castille, and not surrender his right, which had been some time in suspense and nearly lost, now was the time for him to hasten to Portugal, well accompanied by men at arms and archers.

The count de Novaire †, constable of Portugal, thus spoke at the conference: "Since we have determined to send to the duke of Lancaster, from whom we hope to have counsel and assistance, and it is the wisest measure we can take to make us feared by our enemies, let us select the best informed and properest persons to carry our message to England, so that the duke may be induced to come hither with such a force as may enable him, with what he receives from us, to oppose and conquer his enemy. We may well suppose the king of Castille will call for aid from the king of France, and the French, as they know not where to seek adventures, for there is truce between France and England until St. John the Baptist's day, and peace is now established between France and the Flemings, who have found them full employment for several years past."

This speech of the constable was much applauded, and his advice followed. It was then ordered that the grand master of the order of St. James, in the kingdom of Portugal, and Laurence Fongasse, an able and prudent squire, and who understood and spoke the French language well, should set out for England; for, according to the opinion of the king's council, there could not be found abler men to execute this business. Letters were drawn up in French and Latin, addressed to the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, and his uncles of Cambridge and Buckingham. When they had been fairly engrossed, they were read to the king and his council, who, finding them properly done, had them sealed and delivered to the envoys, the grand master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, who engaged to carry them to England, if God permitted, and if they should escape from enemies and robbers; for there are as many, if not more, on the sea than on land.

* Nuño Alvarez Pereira.—Ed.

† Nuño Alvarez Pereira. He was created constable of Portugal by the master of Avis, to whom he rendered essential services, in aiding him to obtain the crown. Nuño Alvarez is celebrated in Portuguese history as the hero of his time.—Ed.

Having freighted a vessel called a lin, which keeps nearer the wind than any other, they took leave of the king, the bishop of Coimbra, and the council of Portugal, and embarked for England. The wind was favourable, and they were three days without seeing anything but sky and water; on the fourth they discovered the land of Cornwall. By God's aid, and favourable winds, from which their mariners knew how to profit, they arrived in safety at Southampton, where they anchored. When they disembarked, to refresh themselves in the town, they were summoned before the bailiff, who demanded whence they came and whither they were going. On answering that they were from Portugal, and sent by the king and his council, they were made very welcome. After they had allowed themselves some rest, they were provided with horses for their own use and that of their attendants, and with guides to conduct them to London, for they were quite ignorant of the country and roads. On leaving Southampton, they continued their journey until they arrived in London, where they dismounted in Gracechurch, at the hotel of the Falcon, kept by Thomelin de Winchester, and then sent back their horses and guides to Southampton.



Ambassadors of Portugal (the Grand Master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse) presented to Richard II. by the Duke of Lancaster. Designed from contemporary sculptures and illuminations.

Fortunately for them, the king and his court were at the time at Westminster, which rejoiced them much. Being arrived at London about nine o'clock they sat down to dinner; when that was over, having selected their letters for the duke and duchess of Lancaster, they waited on them. The duke and duchess were desirous to see them, as they were anxious for news from Portugal. They had indeed heard some rumours from that quarter, but had not believed them, as they had not received any letters which tended to confirm the report. The grand master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse were conducted into their presence, and the latter, on account of his facility in the French language, was the spokesman. After his salutations, he gave the duke the letters he had brought from Portugal, who, opening them, gave the duchess that which was addressed to her. Having each read them, the duke said, "You are welcome, gentlemen, to this country: we will to-morrow attend the king,

and you shall have assistance, as it is but reasonable you should." The duchess, taking Lawrence apart, asked the news of Castille and Portugal, and what was going on in those parts. Lawrence, having made exact answers to all the lady's questions, the duke ordered wine and spices, of which the envoys partook, and then returned to their hotel. On the morrow, by six o'clock, they again waited on the duke, who had heard mass, and entering a large barge, rowed up the Thames to Westminster, where the king and the greater part of his council resided.

The duke of Lancaster made them enter the council-chamber, and addressing the king, said, "My lord, here is the grand master of St. James in Portugal, who brings you letters: will you please to see them?" "Willingly," replied the king. Upon which, the two ambassadors, kneeling, presented the letters, which the king having taken, he made them rise, and then opened and read them. They also gave letters to the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham.

The king replied very graciously to the ambassadors, saying, "You are welcome to this country, and your coming has given us much pleasure. You will not immediately return, nor without having letters to your satisfaction. Make my fair uncles acquainted with your business, who will attend to it, and not allow it to slip their memories." They answered on their knees, "Very dear lord, we will cheerfully so do." They then quitted the council chamber, and amused themselves in the palace, waiting for the duke of Lancaster, who remained in conference until high noon. When the parliament rose, the duke carried his two brothers, with the ambassadors, in his barge to dine with him. The earl of Cambridge was well acquainted with the grand master and Lawrence Fongasse, as he had known them in Portugal. After dinner he began a conversation with them in the presence of his brothers, and asked about the marriage of the lady Beatrice, who was to have been his daughter-in-law, and how she went on. The ambassadors gave such answers as satisfied the company.

Before the arrival of these ambassadors, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge had held frequent conferences respecting Castille; for the earl, as you have heard, was greatly displeased with the late king of Portugal for having remained fifteen days with his army in sight of that of Castille without coming to an engagement. The earl had pointedly remarked this fault by saying, "I have only with me, sir king, one hundred lances and a thousand archers; but I would have you and your barons know that we have unanimously resolved to risk a battle with our enemies, and abide whatever be the event God may please to ordain." King Ferdinand replied, that neither himself nor council thought it advisable to offer battle. Upon this, the earl of Cambridge left the country, carrying his son John with him to England*. When he was departed, the king of Portugal offered his daughter to the king of Castille, to strengthen the peace, by the advice of don Fernando Audère, in whom alone he put confidence. The king of Portugal asked his daughter whom she would prefer for her husband, the king of Castille or John of Cambridge: she answered, "The last." The king demanded, "Why?" "Because he is a handsome youth, of her own age, and because she wished to avoid being united to the king of Castille," who, she plainly said, was not to her liking. The king, notwithstanding, to preserve peace, as their kingdoms adjoined each other, married her to the king of Castille.

The earl of Cambridge was also much dissatisfied with don Fernando Audère, who had taken great pains to conclude a peace on the grounds of this match. He had told his brother that he much suspected the Portuguese would rebel against the lady Beatrice, after her father's death; for the majority of the people, although the king had espoused the lady Eleanora d'Acunha, considered her as a bastard; and, when he was there, great were the murmurs about it, and this is one reason why he had so hastily brought his son thence. The duke of Lancaster, whom these circumstances affected more nearly, having married the elder heiress of the late king of Castille, by whom he had a daughter called Constance, was anxious to learn as much as possible respecting the affairs of Castille, and not suffer his claim to remain longer in a state of suspense. He perceived that he never could have a more convenient entrance into that country than through Portugal; more especially as king

* In October, 1382.—Ed.

John was so desirous for him to come thither, and the king of England and his council had consented thereto. He looked on don John as valiant and wise, and honoured him much for the victory he had won over the Castillians. That he might gain more information as to the real state of Portugal, together with the claims the lady Beatrice had on that crown, and the reasons why the commonalty had elected the grand master of Avis their king, he invited the ambassadors to a private dinner; when it was over, he ordered all the attendants out of his apartment, and called the grand master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse most kindly to him, and began to converse on the affairs of Portugal; but, as Lawrence spoke French so fluently, he addressed himself to him, saying,—"Lawrence, I entreat you will relate to me everything that has happened in Portugal since my brother left it; for the king of Portugal writes me word, that no one can give me such exact information as yourself; and by so doing you will very much oblige me." "My lord," replied the squire, "your pleasure shall be obeyed;" and he immediately began to this effect.

CHAPTER XXIX.—LAWRENCE FONGASSE, ONE OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM PORTUGAL TO ENGLAND, RELATES TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER THE EVENTS WHICH HAD HAPPENED IN PORTUGAL SINCE THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE HAD LEFT IT.

"The kingdom of Portugal has been in great trouble since the departure of the earl of Cambridge; but, thanks to God, all has turned out well, and affairs are now on a steady footing. If the Lord had not interfered, matters must have ended badly, and all from the fault of don Fernando our last king, as was generally reported and believed by the more sensible part of the nation. King Fernando fell desperately in love with the wife of one of his knights, called Lorenzo d'Acunha, and was so much enamoured he would have her by force: the lady made the best defence she could, but at length he succeeded, and told her he would make her queen of Portugal, for that, if he was smitten with her charms, it was not to lower her, but on the contrary to exalt and marry her. 'Ah, my lord!' replied the lady, with tears and on her knees, 'I beg your grace's pardon: I can never have the honour of being queen of Portugal; for you know, as well as all the world, that I have a husband, to whom I have been married these five years.' 'Leonora,' said the king, 'that shall not prevent it; for I will never have any other woman to wife since I have enjoyed you; but I will have you divorced from your husband before I make you my bride.' The lady could not obtain any other answer, and related all that had passed to her husband. The knight, on hearing it, was very melancholy and bethought himself what was to be done; he resolved at first never to quit his wife; but, suspecting the king's designs, he set out from Portugal towards Castille, where he was well received by king Henry and appointed of his household, which appointment he held during his life, and was continued in the same by his successor don John.

"The king of Portugal, to gratify his foolish passion, sent for the lady and her husband; but the knight was gone. He then sent for the bishop of Coimbra, who was chancellor of the kingdom and of his council, and told him his intention of marrying Leonora d'Acunha. The bishop was silent through fear, knowing the violence of the king's haughty temper; but sir Fernando Audère, who was the king's bosom friend and counsellor, in order to please the king, said, 'Bishop, you may very well do it, and my lord will make atonement once for all.' The bishop united them, and they lived together. This lady was crowned queen of Portugal with as much pomp and magnificence as ever queen of Portugal was; and the king begot on her the lady Beatrice, now queen of Spain. True it is that king Fernando, in his lifetime (it was before the earl of Cambridge came with his army to Portugal), summoned all the nobles, prelates, principal citizens of his realm to Lisbon, and made them all swear obedience to his daughter Beatrice, then only five years old; and pledge themselves that they would acknowledge her as heiress of the kingdom after his decease. He made them take this oath, as he had ordered, whether they would or not. The greater part knew well this daughter was a bastard, and born in adultery; for the husband of her mother, don Lorenzo d'Acunha, resided in Castille, and has outlived the king of Portugal. I believe,

my lord, that, had this child been a boy, the commonalty would have been more inclined towards him; for they declare they would rather die than live under subjection to Castille: Portugal and Castille can never be thoroughly united, for the natives of both countries hate each other, and carry on their wars with as much bitterness as the English and Scots."

The duke of Lancaster was much delighted with this conversation, and with Lawrence Fongasse's manner. He said,—"Lawrence, at the time you were talking of, where was don John, the present king?" "By my faith, my lord," answered the squire, "he was in Portugal, at the head of a noble establishment of gentlemen, who bear an order of chivalry from beyond sea. There are full two hundred knights of this order, who are dressed in white mantles with a red cross on them; he is the chief, and called the Master of Avis. The king gave him this appointment, but thought nothing more about him; nor, indeed, did he any way concern himself, or intermeddle with the affairs of Portugal, nor ever form any intrigues for the crown. Certainly, had the king guessed that he could have been what he is now, the love he bore the lady Leonora and her daughter would have made him put him privately to death: but, seeing him live quietly with his brother knights, without interfering in anything else, he suffered him to go on without interruption.

"With regard to the quarrel between the Castillians and Portuguese, if I say the truth, I must own the Castillians have been alone to blame." "How so?" asked the duke. "I will tell you," replied the squire. "When they saw the king of Portugal give his daughter in marriage to the king of Castille, it seemed to them as if he had done so by way of buying a peace for them, and that we were afraid of them. Upon this they grew proud and arrogant, and made use of such speeches as follow, which the Portuguese were forced to hear: 'Oh now, ye Portuguese, who are as savage as beasts, the time is coming when we shall have a good bargain of ye, for ye are our slaves. We will treat you like Jews, who only exist by our having granted them a truce, and ye shall be like them subjected to us. This ye cannot deny, since our king of Castille will become yours also.' With such like speeches did the Castillians show their rancour, whenever any of the two nations met, during the reign of don Fernando; and this caused so great a hatred of the Portuguese to the Castillians, that when our king lay at the point of death, the citizens of the principal towns murmured much, and said, 'It were better to suffer anything than be under the subjection of Castille.'

"After the death of Fernando*, who was buried in the church of St. Francis, by the religious of that order in Lisbon, the chief towns and castles had closed their gates. The Lisboners, being acquainted with the intentions of the other three towns, Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique, sent for don John, the present king, and said to him,—'Master of Avis, we will make you our king, although you be a bastard: we think the lady Beatrice, your niece, and queen of Castille, is more of a bastard than you; for the first husband of the lady Leonora is now living. Since the crown is fallen between two bastards, we will choose the one who will be to our greatest advantage: the more sensible part of the nation is inclined to you; for never shall a woman bear the crown of Portugal, nor will we ever be under the obedience of Castille. We had rather give up all to you, that you may defend us, than have the Castillians our masters. Accept, therefore, this crown as our gift, for we will have it so.' The master of Avis did not, however, accept it at this, nor at a second offer; but replied,—'My good people, I know well your affection for me: you offer me the crown and realm of Portugal—a noble offer—by declaring I have a better right to it than my niece Beatrice the queen of Castille; in truth she is a bastard, the mother's first husband being now in Castille; but there is one point you have forgotten, which is, that you alone cannot act in this matter: it is necessary that the nobles of the kingdom join you.' 'Ha,' said the Lisboners, 'we are sure of them; for several have opened to us their minds on this subject, as well in this city, as in those of Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique.' Don John replied,—'Well, be it so, then; I am willing to comply with your desires. You know that the lady Leonora, who styles herself queen of this country, is in the town, and with her her grand adviser, don Fernando Audère, who will want to preserve the crown for the queen of Castille and her descendants; for he broke off her marriage with the son of the earl of Cambridge, to give her to the king

* He died 22nd Oct., 1383.—Ed.

of Castille, and patch up a peace. He will send, or perhaps has already done so, to the king of Castille, to hasten hither with a sufficient force to overpower us. I know that don Fernando has in part acted as I say, and he will still more exert himself on the day of the obsequies of my late king and brother, which will shortly be performed in this town, when all the nobility of the kingdom, unless they send excuses, must be assembled.' Those present answered, that he did not surprise them by what he had said, for they well knew it was so; but, should they hear don Fernando say anything contrary to his interest, they would that day provide a remedy against it. Upon this the meeting broke up.

" Not long after, the obsequies of the late king were performed in the church of the Franciscans at Lisbon, where he lies, and the ceremony was attended by great numbers of the nobility, according to the invitations they had received from the queen, and don Fernando Audère who governed her. The grand master of Avis was present, and many from the towns of Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique, who had assented to what had been proposed at Lisbon. When the ceremony was over, don Fernando Audère entreated the nobility, who had assisted in behalf of the queen, not to leave Lisbon for a day or two, that he might have a conference with them, on the means he should use to send to king John of Castille, as his queen was now become the legal heiress of Portugal. Many of the nobles paid no attention to what he said; for they were afraid of the people then present, as they had heard them declare they would only have the master of Avis for their monarch; and this likewise was heard by don Fernando. He begged the nobles to support him steadily in his attempts to bring the people to his way of thinking; but they all left him. As soon as the funeral was ended and the queen had returned to her palace, they called for their horses, which the majority mounted, and set out from Lisbon. Some few attached to the grand master might remain, but they retired to their houses, and kept within, expecting the event to happen which I am about to relate.

" The citizens of Lisbon, Coimbra, Ourique, and Oporto, after the funeral, went to the cathedral, which is dedicated to St. Dominick, instead of going to their homes, and the grand master with them, where they held a short conference. ' My good people,' said don John, ' If you wish to have me for your king, which I think my just right, and are resolved to persevere in it, you must now bestir yourselves, and begin by acting to show your strength. You have seen how Fernando Audère is working on the nobles to send for the king of Castille, to whom he says the crown of Portugal now belongs in right of my niece; but I maintain that it shall, if you assist me, be mine; for I have a much better claim to it in every way. I am a man, and the son of the good don Pedro who so gallantly reigned over you. My niece, the queen of Castille, it is true, is daughter to don Ferdinand, but not in legal marriage.' The Lisboners replied,—' What you say is true: we will have you for our king; no one else; and we will make you such, let who will urge us to the contrary. Now, swear before us that you will be good and merciful, and maintain strict justice, without flattering the strong more than the weak; and that you will defend, with heart and hand, in conjunction with our aid, the rights and privileges of Portugal.' The king replied,—' My good people, I now heartily swear to follow what you have said; but let us hasten to the mint, where John Fernando Audère resides with Leonora d'Acunha; for I must have him put to death, as he has acted contrary to our interests, in supporting the claims of others than those you wish well to.' ' We will do so,' they answered; ' for in truth he has behaved to you like a rebel, and shall die for it, that those who are your enemies may take example.'

" On saying this, the Lisboners left the church of St. Dominick, in the whole about fifteen hundred, headed by their new king, and marched through the town towards the mint, where the queen and Fernando Audère, with their attendants, lived. On their arrival, they broke open the doors, and entered the lady's apartment by force. Leonora, much alarmed on seeing this crowd enter her chamber, threw herself on her knees before don John, and with uplifted hands begged his mercy, for that she was not guilty of any misdeeds; and, as for the crown or inheritance of Portugal, she had never made any claim to them, as many present knew, if they would be pleased to remember. ' I entreat, therefore, you and all the company to recollect, that it was contrary to my will and wish that don Ferdinand exalted me to be his

wife and queen of Portugal.' 'Lady,' replied don John, 'fear nothing, for not the least harm shall be done you: we are not come hither with such intent, but to seek that traitor John Fernando Audère, and put him to death; and then the king of Castille may revenge it if he can, for he has been his advocate too long in this country.' Those who had been ordered to do so sought the knight, whom they discovered and slew: after this, no person was injured; but they all returned peaceably to their homes, and the king retired to the palace.

"After the death of Fernando, the lady Leonora, who had been queen of Portugal, was desirous of quitting Lisbon and retiring to her daughter in Castille; for she had been so much alarmed by the murder of Fernando, that she had almost died through fear. She would not therefore remain longer in Lisbon, where she had neither peace nor respect, but sent to ask leave of the king to depart, who readily granted her request, adding, she was in the right to go away. The lady set off with her attendants, and continued her journey until she came to Seville, where the king and queen of Spain resided. She found almost all the nobility of Spain assembled there in Parliament, on the subject of Portugal; for king John declared that kingdom was now fallen to him by the death of don Ferdinand, who had so settled it when he married the lady Beatrice; and, the states of the country having likewise agreed to it, he wanted their advice how to act.

"The lady Leonora was received with joy by the king and her daughter, and many inquiries were made relative to what was passing in Portugal. She told them truly everything she knew, and added, that the people would assuredly crown the master of Avis king, if not prevented; for that, don Fernando Audère having been always a zealous friend to the rights of Castille, they had murdered him. They readily believed what she said, as every appearance testified its truth. Some knights and barons of Portugal, from affection to the daughter of their late king, and to keep the solemn engagements they had entered into at her marriage, quitted their country, and joined the king of Castille at Seville, leaving behind their wealth and properties. Among them were, don Pedro Alvarez Pereyra, grand prior of St. John, don Henriquez Manuel, count of Cintra, Juan Texeda, chancellor to the queen, and about twenty more, which emigration at this time greatly weakened Portugal, and much pleased the king of Spain, who was strengthened thereby.

"The king of Spain issued a special summons throughout his realm for all persons capable of bearing arms, from the ages of fifteen to sixty, to hasten to Seville; for he was determined to enter Portugal with a force sufficient to conquer it and make it his own. His commands were obeyed; and there were assembled before Seville upwards of sixty thousand men of every description. Lorenzo d'Acunha, on hearing that his wife, whom the late king of Portugal had ravished from him and made his queen, was arrived in Castille, waited on some of the king's council by whom he was beloved, and asked their advice in the following terms: 'My lords and assured friends, have I any means to obtain possession of my wife, who has left Portugal and is now in Seville? I know that Ferdinand took her by force, and against her inclinations. He is, as you know, dead; and in justice, therefore, I ought to have back my wife; tell me, then, how I should act.' They replied,—'Lorenzo, there is not any chance of your ever having her again; for you would risk too much, and debase the honour of the lady, as well as that of the queen of Castille, and establish her bastardy. You see that our king is determined to conquer Portugal, and add it to his crown, as appertaining to him in right of his queen. Take care not to muddle more by your claims what is already troubled enough, for you will be put to death if you persevere. You may judge yourself what may be expected, if you prove the queen a bastard, which we maintain in this country to be false, and that she was born in legal marriage by a dispensation in due form from the pope.' 'What had I best do, then?' said Lorenzo. 'The best way for you to act is to set out instantly for your estate in Portugal, and leave the lady Leonora with her daughter: we see no other means of safety for you.' 'On my troth, I believe you advise me like real friends,' answered Lorenzo. He only staid three days after this conversation in Castille, and having secretly packed up all his things, rode off in haste to Portugal, where he waited on the master of Avis, saying he was coming to serve under him, for he acknowledged him his king. Don John was rejoiced at this, made him governor of Lisbon, and restored to him all

his property. Thus, as I have related to you, my lord, was the fortune of Lorenzo d'Acunha restored to him."

The duke of Lancaster took great pleasure in this conversation with Lawrence Fongasse, for he spoke French well, and the matter concerned him nearly. He was anxious to learn as much as possible, and, with great kindness, said,—"Lawrence, speak out boldly: I have not these two years heard any foreigner so explicit, and all you say appears truth itself. Continue, therefore, I beg of you; for the king of Portugal writes me word, you are the only person who can give me the fullest information of what has happened in that country." "My lord," returned the squire, "there have been few deeds of arms done in Castille and Portugal but on occasions when I have been an actor in them; and, since it pleases you that I continue my narration, I will do so.

"King John of Castille assembled his forces as speedily as he could, and marched with a great power before Lisbon, prior to the coronation of the king, in order to alarm the inhabitants and make good his claim to the kingdom. He advanced to Santarem, which is on the borders, and halted there two days. The garrison and townsmen, alarmed at his numbers, opened their gates, and surrendered themselves to him. When he had taken possession and re-garrisoned the place, he marched to Leyria*, which is a very strong town, and surrounded it. Leyria was attached to the Spanish interest, for the town formed part of queen Leonora's dower; and, at the first attack of the king of Castille, it instantly surrendered. Having left there a strong body of men at arms, he advanced to Valenza d'Alcantara, and laid siege to it. He sent to tell the townsmen to humble themselves before him and receive him as their lord. The citizens replied, by advising him to march away to Lisbon, adding, that as soon as they should know he had gained that town by affection or force, they would send him the keys of Valenza. This answer being agreeable to the king of Spain, he marched away. Another town called Serpa, which the king wished to gain, made a similar answer. Other towns did the same, so that he took the road to Lisbon; for he imagined, if he could conquer that city, he would soon master the remainder of the country. Wherever the king marched, he carried his queen with him, to show the Portuguese that it was in her right he claimed the crown, and that he had a just cause for so doing. Don John of Castille arrived with his whole army before Lisbon, and by his manner of forming the siege plainly showed he would not break it up until he had it in his power. He menaced the master of Avis, who was within the town, that if he could take him, he would put him and all the other rebels to an ignominious death.

"The army of don John was very numerous; and the Castilians and the French, who had come to his assistance, had so closely surrounded Lisbon, that no one could come out or go in without danger of being taken. When any Portuguese were made prisoners by the Castillians in a skirmish or otherwise, their eyes were torn out, their legs, arms, or other members were cut off, and in such maimed state they were sent back to Lisbon, and bid tell their townsfolk that they had been so treated in despite of the Lisboners and their master of Avis, whom they were so eager to crown king; and that they would keep the siege until they had won the town by storm or famine, when they would show mercy to none, but put all to death, and give up the city to fire and flame. The Lisboners, however, did not revenge themselves so cruelly; for, whenever they made any prisoners, their king afforded them every comfort, and did not send them back with hurt of any sort. This made many of the army say, he was a gallant fellow thus to return good for evil.

"During this siege of Lisbon, which lasted upwards of a year, there were every week two or more skirmishes, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The town was besieged by sea as well as by land; and the besiegers had plenty of all things, for provisions came to them from different parts of Spain. The Spaniards made one course up to the very gates of Lisbon; when Lorenzo d'Acunha sallied forth out of the barriers with his pennon, having the arms of Acunha borne before him, accompanied by many gallant friends, and excellent deeds of arms were then done with lance and dart."

* "Leyria." Froissart calls it Tuy; but Tuy is a town of Spain, on the opposite side of the river Minho to Valencia. There must be some mistakes; for the king of Spain, on leaving Seville, marches to besiege Lisbon. He comes to Santarem; so far is well; but from thence he turns off to Leyria and Valenza d'Alcantara; and, when the battle of Aljubarota takes place, the Portuguese march from Guimareans to combat the Spaniards

"By my faith, Lawrence," said the duke of Lancaster, "of all the arms the Castillians and your countrymen use, I love the dart the best, and like to see it used: they are very expert at it; and I must say, that whoever they hit with it, unless strongly armed, he will be pierced through." "Indeed, my lord, you say truly: for I saw more bodies transfixed at these assaults than I ever witnessed before in my life. We lost one whom we much regretted. Lorenzo d'Acunha was struck with a dart that passed through his plates, his coat of mail, and jacket, though stuffed with silk, and his whole body, so that he was felled to the ground. The skirmish ceased on account of the dead knight; and thus was the lady Leonora made a widow, in one year, of both her husbands. Lorenzo d'Acunha was much lamented, my lord, for he was valiant in arms, and prudent in council. After his death, his cousin, called la Pouvasse d'Acunha, was appointed governor of Lisbon. He made three or four sallies on the Spaniards, in which he was victorious.

"The siege of Lisbon was continued to the great dismay of the inhabitants; for no succour seemed likely to come to them from any quarter. When their hopes began to fail of help from England, the king was advised to embark for that country, as their ambassadors had brought intelligence thence that assistance would be sent; and that your grace would bring reinforcements." "In God's name, that is very true," replied the duke of Lancaster; "for I was on the point of sailing, having everything prepared, when the war in Flanders broke out. The men of Ghent called on England for aid; and they had given to them all, or at least the greater part, of those troops which I was to have led into Portugal. The bishop of Norwich carried them with him beyond sea, and thus retarded the expedition to Portugal." "I vow to God, my lord," said the squire, "we in Lisbon thought that there had something happened in England to prevent your coming to us. We managed, however, as well as we could, and bore up against the power of the king of Castille, which was not small; for he has upwards of sixty thousand men on sea and land, and menaced daily to destroy us without mercy, and burn Lisbon to the ground. During this siege of Lisbon, a lord of our country, called d'Acosta, did us a notable piece of service, and gained by it great renown. He freighted and armed twenty galleys at Oporto with good men at arms and provision, with which he put to sea, and by the grace of God, having a favourable wind to second their exertions, passed through the Spanish fleet, consisting of one hundred great vessels, that were lying at anchor before Lisbon, so opportunely that, whether they would or not, he arrived in the port with all his galleys unhurt, carrying with him four of the enemy's vessels which he had conquered. The inhabitants were very much rejoiced at the success and the arrival of the lord d'Acosta."

"By my faith," said the duke, "this lord d'Acosta did you indeed a great service. Now, Lawrence, relate to me how this siege was raised, for I am well satisfied with your conversation." "My lord," replied the squire, "the siege lasted, as I have said, upwards of a year, for the king of Castille had sworn he would never break it up until Lisbon were under his obedience, or until some more powerful prince should force him to it. Considering what happened, the king of Castille religiously kept his vow of not breaking up the siege, unless forced to it by a more powerful lord, as I will explain. A most destructive pestilence burst out in his camp, so that persons died suddenly whilst in conversation with each other. Upwards of twenty thousand were carried off by this plague; which so much alarmed the king, that he was advised to break up the siege, and retire to Santarem or elsewhere, and disband his army until the disorder should be checked. He consented to this very unwillingly; for he had solemnly sworn he would never leave the place until he had won it by fair or foul means; but he was forced to it by the principal lords in his army, who pressed him to march to Santarem.

"My lord, we Portuguese have always thought, and have publicly said, that the Almighty, to afford us assistance, had, out of his grace, sent this pestilence among our enemies; for those in the city wherein we were inclosed never felt the smallest attack from any such sickness, nor did we lose a man. Our king, when he saw the Castillians marching away, made the townsmen and garrison of Lisbon arm, and, sallying out on horseback, fell on the rear of those who were not in good array, broke their ranks, killed and wounded great numbers, and captured many of their stores. He also issued a proclamation, that no

one, under pain of death, should touch or carry into Lisbon any of the provisions the Spaniards had left in their camp, but that everything should be burnt, that the town might not be infected. All the provisions and stores were given up to the flames; but, I believe, wherever any money and plate were found, better care was taken of them.

"The king of Castille, on his arrival at Santarem, which is on the borders of his realm, remained there for some time. He made the most earnest solicitations to France for succour, but more particularly to Gascony, Béarn, and the county of Foix, whither he sent three horses laden with nobles of Castille and florins, as an advance to knights and squires, for he well knew he could not by any other means induce them to quit their castles or country. The courage of the barons and knights of Portugal was much exalted when they found the king of Castille had retired from Lisbon, which he had besieged for upwards of a year *, but more especially the commonalties of Oporto, Ourique, and Coimbra. They took counsel together, and instantly determined to crown the master of Avis king; for they had, through their love and good pleasure, already raised him to that honour, saying it was the common wish of the country, and that God would that he should be crowned, for he had displayed his virtues to the Castillians. It was proclaimed throughout the country, that all interested should be at Coimbra on a certain day, when the master of Avis would be solemnly crowned king of Portugal. All those of his party, and, considering the size of the country, it was a numerous body, attended the coronation, which was performed by the bishops and prelates with great pomp, in the cathedral church of Coimbra, dedicated to St. Mary, on Trinity-day, in the year of grace 1384†. The king on that day created sixty knights, as well of his own as from foreign countries. There were magnificent festivals at Coimbra, which lasted for two or three days. The barons, counts, knights, and squires, who held fiefs of the crown, renewed their homage; and the king swore to govern the realm with justice, and to maintain all their rights. The people swore to obey faithfully the king and his heirs after him, whether male or female, and never to desert him until death. Thus passed the coronation of the king of Portugal.

"The king of Castille, on hearing that the Portuguese, and particularly the commons, had crowned the master of Avis king, and had sworn to him homage and fidelity, was more pensive than before; for he did not imagine they would have been in such haste to crown him, as he had in his army so many of the nobles of Portugal. He said to those near him, —'I see clearly that by fair or foul means I must conquer what is my own, if I wish to possess it; for there never will be any peace between Castille and Portugal until the Portuguese have made amends for what they have done.'

"After the coronation, the king went to Lisbon, where he remained, and attended diligently to the affairs of the kingdom, at the same time endeavouring to acquire the affection of his subjects. He sent knights and squires to all his garrisons on the frontiers of Spain, for the king of Castille was now returned to Seville. The king of Portugal ordered sir John Ferdinand Portelet, an able and valiant knight, full of enterprise, to Treutouse ‡, and with him two excellent knights, sir Vasco Martin d'Acunha, and his brother, sir Gil Vasco d'Acunha, and two hundred good men at arms well mounted. Sir John de Pereira was sent with fifty lances to the castle of Leyria, near Aljubarota; sir John Gomez da Silva, to Valença, which is opposite to the town of Tuy; this place had turned to the Spaniards when they marched to Lisbon, and it was a numerous garrison of Castillians and French. Sir Mondech Radigo was ordered to Serpa with fifty spears: to Oporto, Coimbra, and Ourique, the king sent none, for he knew the loyalty and attachment of those cities to his cause. Thus, as I tell you, were all the strong places garrisoned, and there were frequent skirmishes with one or the other; in which, as must happen, sometimes one side gained, sometimes another. There was, in particular, one celebrated skirmish between the garrison of Trancoso and the Castillians."

"Ah, Lawrence," interrupted the duke, "do not pass this over slightly, but tell me all

* It did not continue more than nine months. It was raised in the month of November of the same year in which it was begun.—Ed.

† 6th April, 1385.—Ed.

‡ "Treutouse." It is thus in all my copies, MS. and printed; but I cannot correct the mistake otherwise than by supposing it to mean Estremoy.

the particulars; for my greatest delight is the hearing of gallant deeds of arms." "My lord," replied the squire, "it is but right I should do so; for I well remember everything that happened, as I was banner-bearer on that day to John Ferdinand de Portelet, governor of Trancoso, who began the skirmish.

"You must know, my lord, that the king of Castille had placed good garrisons in all his towns on the frontier, who, by collecting at times together in one body, overran and much harassed the country. It happened that seven Spanish captains, of high birth and valour, assembled a body of three hundred lances, well mounted, with which they entered Portugal, and made a great booty of pillage and prisoners. They might have returned into Castille had they pleased, but their pride and presumption urged them to boast they would see what the garrison of Treutouse was made of. The whole country fled before them, so that the governor was apprised of the invasion. He called for his arms, on hearing the enemy were in the plain, and had his trumpet sounded to alarm the knights in the town. All armed in haste, and, mounting their steeds, sallied out of their place, when, on mustering themselves, they amounted to full two hundred spears. They drew up in good array, and showed plainly they were in earnest to meet their enemies. On demanding from the runaways, who were hastening to save themselves in Trancoso, where the Castillians might be found, they answered, not far off; as they were only marching at a foot's pace, on account of the quantity of booty they had with them. Sir John Ferdinand Portelet was rejoiced on hearing this, and said to his companions, the brothers d'Acunha,—'My lords, let us advance, I beg of you; for I will never enter town or castle until I have seen our enemies, to offer them battle; and by every means attempt to recover their pillage and the prisoners they are carrying away.' He then added, 'Lawrence, display my banner; for we shall speedily come up with the enemy.' I instantly obeyed this order; and, as we rode on at a good pace, we soon saw the dust the Castillians made. We took advantage of the sun being in our back, and overtook them.

"The enemy, perceiving us, halted and drew up in good array, placing their prisoners and plunder on one side. We were so near each other, that we could speak to them, and noticed three banners and four pennons; and we judged they were full three hundred, all well mounted. I will tell you the names of the captains: there were sir Juan Rodriguez, de Castanheda, a baron of Castille, sir Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz, sir Adiantado de Toledo, Pedro Soarez de Toledo, Adiantado de Caçorla, Juan Rodriguez Pereira, and Diego Eanes de Tavora.

"When we were thus near to each other, both parties dismounted, and the horses were given to the pages and varlets; but before any blow was struck, there was a parley held by the leaders of each troop; and, being present, I heard everything that was said. Sir John Portelet began by asking them why they had thus invaded Portugal? Sir Adiantado de Teledo replied that they had a right to invade any country they chose, to chastise rebels; for they had been commanded by their lord, the king of Castille, who was the true lord of Portugal, to enter that country, and plunder it; and, the inhabitants being rebels, they were carrying them away as prisoners. 'You shall not carry them away nor their property neither,' said sir John Portelet; 'for we will take them from you, as you have not any right thus to act. Do you not know that we have a king of our own, who has sworn to govern justly, and punish all thieves and robbers? I therefore order you in his name, to lay down all that you have pillaged in Portugal, or else we shall fight with you, having justice on our side.' Sir Adiantado de Toledo answered,—'As for our prisoners, we will not for certain yield them up; but in regard to other matters, we will consider of it.'

"The Castillian chiefs then withdrew to hold a consultation, and plainly showed, by what followed, that, although they had thus vauntingly advanced to Trancoso, they readily would have been excused a battle. After a short delay, they said that in regard to the cattle, they had determined to give them up, as well as the horses, and other things which would embarrass them on their return, but that they would keep the prisoners. 'Oh but,' replied the Portuguese, 'it shall not be so: for you must give up all, or fight.' The battle, upon this, commenced very sharply, for neither party spared itself: they were both active, and the field of battle was extensive. Javelins were thrown with such force, that whoever

they struck, unless well armed, was knocked down. Many gallant deeds were done; and sir John Fernando Portelet made good use of his battle-axe, as did the two brothers d'Acunha make great havoc with theirs. The Castillians, on their part, behaved admirably; and their fighting and pushing lasted upwards of three hours, without either side being shaken. It was wonderful how they could remain so long a time under arms, but their anxiety to leave the the field with honour supported them; and I must say, that both nations are hardy in fight, more particularly when they feel the necessity of it. They were so long and so equally engaged, that any one who had seen them would not have known which side would be victor. However, thanks to God, no banner nor pennon was damaged in our army; but those of our adversaries began to give way, which greatly encouraged our men, who were now as fresh as ever, and, shouting out 'St. George for Portugal!' broke through the ranks of the Castillians, and began to knock down on all sides. Such deadly strokes were given with battle axes and leaden mallets, that they were completely defeated. The pages, seeing the discomfiture of their masters, took advantage of their horses and galloped off. Of the seven captains only one escaped, and he was indebted for it to his good page, who, perceiving him hard pressed, brought him a horse, and, having mounted him, led him out of the battle, so that Adiantado de Caçorla that day received a most essential service from his page. All the rest were put to death, for quarter was shown to none. Thus were the Castillians defeated by sir John Fernando Portelet, though there were at least two to one more in numbers, on a Wednesday, in the month of October, near the town of Trancoso, in the year of our lord 1384.

"When all was over, and the field clear, our men mounted their horses, and gave liberty to all whom the Castillians had captured; they also allowed them to carry away as much of the plunder as they pleased; but the cattle, which amounted to more than eight hundred, were driven to the town, as a supply for the garrison. On re-entering Trancosa we were received with so much joy, that the inhabitants could not make too much of us, for having freed the country of its enemies. All who had heard of this battle praised us most highly for our valour.

"We had another successful engagement in the plains of Seville: but I will first relate the most brilliant success that has for these two hundred years ever happened to a king of Portugal, and which our king had about four months ago, when the enemy were upwards of four to one, all of them excellent men at arms and of high renown, which makes our victory the more glorious. But I fancy, my lord, you have heard enough of this battle before; and, being now sufficiently tired, I had better end the conversation." "Oh, by no means," replied the duke: "continue your narrative, for I shall cheerfully listen to you. In truth, I have in my household a herald called Derby, who was, as he says, present at this battle, and tells us that our countrymen performed wonders; but I doubt it much, for I cannot conceive that any numbers could have been there, as my brother Cambridge, when he left Portugal, brought back all the English and Gascons which had accompanied him. There are many heralds such liars, they exaggerate or depreciate according to their affections or dislikes; and, since these boasted exploits cannot have been forgotten, I shall thank you to be particular about them, whenever you speak of that part of the battle." "On my troth," answered Lawrence, "there were not with our king, at the battle of Aljubarota, more than two hundred foreigners, including English, Gascons, and Germans. The ablest captains among them were two Gascons and a German from the Duchy of Gueldres, whose names were, Sir William de Montserrand, and Bernardon, Gascons, and Albert the German. There were a few English archers; but I never heard any name of note except of two squires, Northbury and Hartsel, who assisted at the council whenever the king had it assembled."

"Now relate to me how this famous battle was fought," said the Duke. "Willingly," replied the squire, "for it was for this I was sent hither. I have already told you, that before the coronation of our king at Coimbra, the king of Castille had raised the siege of Lisbon, on account of the great mortality in his army, and had retired to Santarem. He was greatly mortified when he heard of the coronation of king John, in opposition to his claim on Portugal in right of his queen, and was advised to send everywhere for men at arms,

especially to France, as the French had before been their allies in the wars of his father the late king. His council said; My lord, you only want one successful battle over the Portuguese to have them under your subjection; for that kingdom is, as you know, much divided in regard to the person to whom the crown belongs. You have now with you its principal nobles, who have acknowledged your right, which is assuredly of great importance to your war. If you march to combat this bastard of Portugal, whom the commonalty have crowned king, before he be reinforced by the English you will conquer him, and the country be your own; for it is not of that extent but we can soon overrun it. The king of Castille sent envoys to France, Poitou, Brittany, Normandy and many other places where he thought it probable men at arms would come to serve him, but more particularly into Béarn, whence indeed numbers of gallant knights and squires did come. From that country there were more than from any other; and the army amounted, when at Santarem, to upwards of seven hundred lances and thirty thousand Spaniards, all well mounted, and eager to do us mischief.

"News was soon carried to Portugal of the great power the king of Castille had collected, and that he intended to renew again the siege of Lisbon. The king held a council to consider how he should act, when the nobles declared for marching to meet their enemies, and not shutting themselves up in any town of the kingdom; for if they were inclosed, they must remain so, and the Castillians in the mean time would overrun the country at their ease, and in the end starve them into submission. But if they marched, and posted themselves advantageously to wait the enemy, it would be the most advisable; 'for,' added they, 'we know, my lord, that you will never enjoy peaceably the crown we have placed on your head before you have had a battle, and have once or twice defeated your adversary, the king of Castille, and all the force he can bring against you. If we gain the victory, the kingdom is yours; and, should we be overthrown, it will still remain in suspense. It is by far more honourable to seek our enemies than wait to be sought for; and many are the instances where the first have had the advantage over the latter. We therefore advise you to send to all from whom you expect assistance.' 'You say well,' replied the king, 'and I will follow what you recommend.' He issued his summons for his subjects to meet him at Oporto on a fixed day. But you must know that those to whom he had thus written neither obeyed nor paid any attention to his orders; for the country were not unanimous in their choice of a king, and thus dissembled to see which of the two kings would be victorious. Indeed, some of the nobility had even joined the king of Castille, thinking his the juster cause. Notwithstanding this, the king of Portugal assembled all the forces he could muster, at Coimbra. To say the truth, those of the highest birth and of the greatest weight in Portugal were attached to him through personal affection: he had full five and twenty hundred knights and squires, and about twelve thousand infantry. He appointed the count de Novaire constable, and sir Aleyne Pereira* marshal of the army, both of them able and valiant knights, who knew well how to lead an army to battle.

"They left Coimbra and took the road towards Aljubarota at a gentle pace, on account of their heavy baggage following them. They sent forward their scouts, to observe the disposition of the enemy's army. Sir John Fernando de Portelet had not joined the king, but remained in the castle of Ourem, five leagues from Aljubarota, not knowing, I believe, that an engagement was so near at hand. I can readily suppose the king of Castille had early notice of our march, which gave him and his army, as they showed, much pleasure. He was advised to hasten to meet us and give us battle, especially by the Gascons, who were eager for it, and requested to lead the van, which they obtained. Sir William de Montferrand, who was on our side with forty lances, had told us truly when he said, 'Be assured you will soon have a battle, since you have Gascons opposed to you; for they like nothing better.' The king lodged on the morrow with his whole army at Leyria, two leagues from Aljubarota, where, on the next day, we came and fixed our quarters. The Castillians followed us and encamped on the spot we had left; for they well knew by their scouts our line of march.

'My lord, the Portuguese have always had great confidence in God, and in the good

* Sir Alvaro Pereira, brother to the Constable Nuño Alvares Pereira.—Ed.

fortune which would attend them at Aljubarota; and it was for this reason they had now there encamped themselves." "Aye," said the duke, "pray tell me why." "Willingly," answered the squire. "In former days, Charlemagne, who was king of France and emperor of Germany and Rome, and a great conqueror, overthrew, at Aljubarota, seven infidel kings, slaying upwards of one hundred thousand of these unbelievers, as it is fully related in all our old chronicles*. By this defeat, he won the city of Coimbra and all Portugal, which he turned to the Christian faith: and in honour of this victory over the infidels, he erected and endowed a large monastery for black monks, the revenues of which they were to receive as long as they should reside in Portugal.

"There was also another celebrated battle at this place, about two hundred years ago, which was won by the brother of a king of Castille, called the count of Portugal†: for at that time there were no kings of Portugal. There fell out a deadly hatred between these two brothers, caused by a dispute in the division of the countries; so that there was not any chance of peace without the event of a battle being first tried. The Portuguese were as warm in the matter as the count, and declared they would rather be put to death than become subject to Castille. They therefore marched, in battle-array, to meet the king at Aljubarota. The king of Castille came thither in such force that his army amounted to more than ten times the Portuguese, whom he held in the utmost contempt. The battle took place on the plains of Aljubarota, and was very bloody; but, in the end, the Portuguese gained the day, defeating the enemy and making their king prisoner. By this capture, the count of Portugal obtained whatever terms of peace he desired, and the boundaries of the two kingdoms were firmly established. The Portuguese, sensible that their victory was owing to God's mercy, in enabling so few to overcome such numbers, were desirous to illustrate their country, and had their count crowned king by the nobles and prelates, in the city of Coimbra. They carried him in triumph throughout the kingdom, with a crown of laurel on his head, as a token of victory, like to that which kings were used to wear in former times; and ever since that day Portugal has had its king: and know, my lord, that the Portuguese, sooner than be under the subjection of the Castillians, would look for the most distant relation of any of their kings who had died without issue.

"When king John of Portugal was arrived at Aljubarota, all these old stories were told him. While the constable and marshal were arranging their men, Sir John Fernando de Portelet arrived with his forty lancemen, having left the castle of Ourem that morning. His coming gave pleasure to all; and he was posted in the division near the king's person. When our army was drawn up in proper array, and we were waiting for our enemies, whose numbers and state the scouts had been sent to observe, the king advanced to the centre, and, having ordered silence, said—'Gentlemen, you have crowned me your king: now shew your loyalty; for, since I am on the plains of Aljubarota, I will never retreat until I have combated our enemies.' The army unanimously answered,—'My lord, we will remain steady to you, and, be assured, will never turn our backs.' The two armies approached, for the Castillians were desirous of battle, as they plainly shewed. Our scouts were ordered to examine them narrowly, as to number and order, that we might take measures accordingly. They were more than three hours returning; and we began to fear we had lost them. At last, they came back with particular accounts of the enemy's strength. They said there were in the van battalion at least seven thousand men armed from head to foot, in the handsomest manner possible; in that of the king, thirty thousand horse, and all well armed. When our men and their leaders heard the numbers of the enemy, and how they were marching, the van battalion being two leagues in advance of the main body with the king—for the Gascons and foreigners were not on good terms with the Castillians—they resolved to keep in a compact body within their intrenchments, and to form two wings with the men at arms, who amounted to about twenty-five hundred, in the rear of the wings. You would there, my lord, have witnessed a fine order of battle, and men showing great

* This is a mistake. Charlemagne never approached Aljubarota. The exploit of Alphonso Henriquez, the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, who defeated five Moorish Kings at the battle of Ouriqua, is probably the origin of this story. —Ed.

† Count Henry of Burgundy married Theresa, natural daughter of Alphonso VI. king of Castille and Leon.

courage. The king commanded, under pain off death, that no one should be ransomed, if the day were ours, but that all should be put to death. This was wisely done; for our lords said, that if we occupied ourselves in making prisoners, we should think of nothing else, and risk the loss of the day: it will be much better to combat vigorously, than attend to the dictates of avarice by making prisoners, and sell ourselves like men whose all is at stake.

"Our enemies now were advancing in as close order as possible just before us. They dismounted, and, driving their horses away, laced their plates and helmets very neatly, and, with vizors down and presented lances, marched to us very boldly: in good truth, there were the flower of chivalry and squireship, as was very apparent. Between us was a ditch, not so wide but a knight could leap over it, which was of some advantage to us; for our wings lanced very sharp darts as the enemy attempted to pass it, which wounded several so sorely, they were checked in the attempt. When they had all crossed it, the battle raged; for they imagined the king of Castille, with the main body, were close behind them; but it was not so, and they were all slain before his arrival. The manner of this happening was as follows:

"They were surrounded, as it were, by those called the commonalty of our country, who, coming on their rear, attacked them sharply with axes, whilst our men at arms, that were quite fresh, charged them in front, and drove them back into the ditch they had crossed. In less than half an hour the business was over, and all this body, of four thousand good men at arms, were put to death: none were ransomed; for whenever any of ours wished to show quarter to his prisoner, he was slain while in his hands. Thus did this slaughter befal the van battalion: not one escaped. Shortly after, the king of Castille and his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, well mounted, came up; but it was now night, and they were ignorant of the loss of their van. They were desirous of displaying their horsemanship, and, by way of gallantry, more than five hundred leaped over the ditch; but, my lord, not one of them ever returned back again. Among them that were thus slain were some of the highest rank, the most anxious for deeds of arms, and several of those noblemen who had left Portugal to serve under the king of Castille. Our men, on seeing the enemy thus defeated, advanced, and crossed the ditch, now nearly filled with water, from the number of bodies which had choked up the current; they then mounted their horses and pursued the enemy, who had taken flight; but it lasted not long, for it was soon so dark they were afraid of following them rashly, lest they might fall into some ambuscades: besides, they were not so well mounted as the Castillians. Had it been otherwise, they would have suffered more, and their king been either slain or made prisoner; but the obscurity of the night, and the badness of our horses, saved them.

"I will now mention those who fell in this battle: and, to begin with the Portuguese who had changed sides, don John Alphonso Tello, the grand prior of St. John in Portugal, don Alvares his brother, with several more. Of Spaniards, don Pedro of Arragon, son to the constable; don Juan, son to don Tello, and don Fernando, son to don Sancho, both brothers-in-law to the queen; Diego Manrique, president of Castille; the marshal Carillo; the admiral Juan de Fovar, Pedro Alvarez Pereira, grand master of Calatrava; the grand master of St. James, with others. Of French, sir John de Ris; sir Geoffry de Ricon; sir Geoffry de Partenay; sir Espaignolet d'Espaign; sir Reginald de Soulier, surnamed Limousin, marshal of the king of Castille's army. From Gascony and Béarn lay dead, the lord de Béarn; the lord de Mortan; the lord de Brignolles; sir Raymond d'Eurach; sir Berchand de Varuge; sir John Asolme; sir Raymond de Valentin; sir Adam de Mourasse; sir Meuvent de Sarement; sir Peter de Sarembière, and many more, to the amount, in all, of upwards of twelve hundred gentlemen, knights, and squires. I will now name the most conspicuous of our party: first, the count de Novaire, constable of Portugal; Galopes Portelet; Peter Portelet, and Agalip Fernando Portelet his brother, who was by the king's side, at his bridle; le Pouuasse d'Acunha; Egeas Toille de Podich d'Assue; Vasco Martin de Melx; his son Vasco Martin, who was killed that day by a dart passing through his body. There were also among the dead, Gousselenas de Merlo; Alve Porie, marshal of the army, an excellent knight; Radighos Pereira; John James de Salve; John Radigos, cousin to the king; Daminondesque; Radigo; Radiges de Valeronceaux, and Mendignes de Valconsiaux."

He was here interrupted by a burst of laughter from the duke; and Lawrence asked, "My lord, what makes you laugh so heartily?" "Why, have I not sufficient cause? for I never in my life heard such a catalogue of strange names as you are repeating." "On my faith," replied the squire, "these are all proper names in my country; and we have some you would think more strange." "I believe it," said the duke; "but, Lawrence, what became of the king of Castille after this defeat? Did he never attempt to rally his men? Did he shut himself up in any of his towns? Did not the king of Portugal pursue him?" "Ho, my lord, we remained that night on the field of battle, and until noon the next day, when we marched to Leyria, and from thence to Coimbra. The king of Castille fled to Santarem, where he entered a barge, and, followed by fourteen others, embarked on board a large vessel, and went by sea to Seville, where the queen was. His army was dispersed in all directions, so that it was impossible to rally them, for their loss had been great. They will be long before they recover it: indeed they never will, unless succoured by the king of France *. It is to counterbalance this alliance that the king of Portugal and his council have sent us hither, to renew and strengthen our connexion with the king of England and your lordship." The duke said, "Lawrence, you shall not leave this country without having satisfactory answers to carry back; but tell me about the engagement you hinted at, which the Portuguese had with the Spaniards near Seville; for I love to hear of feats of arms, though I am no great knight myself."

"After the glorious victory which king John had gained at Aljubarota, he returned in triumph to Lisbon, not hearing of the Castillians or French collecting in any bodies to continue the war. The king of Castille, with his queen, left Seville, and went to Burgos, and the remains of his army shut themselves up in different castles and towns. The garrisons of both sides frequently made war on each other. It chanced that the count de Novaire†, constable of Portugal, entered Castille, not far from Seville, having with him about forty spears: he intended riding to Valverde, having heard there were in that town two hundred men at arms. When arrived at the barriers, he made a display of his strength, as a signal that he wished for battle; but those within remained still, and seemed to pay no attention to him, though they were secretly arming and preparing themselves.

"Our people having paraded before the place some time in vain, turned about and began their retreat homeward at a foot's pace. They had not marched a country league before they saw the whole garrison of Valverde following them full gallop. They were led by a gallant man at arms, Diego de Padilla, grand master of the order of St. Jago, who brought them handsomely to the charge. The constable and his men instantly dismounted, and gave their horses to the pages and varlets: having grasped their spears, they drew up in a line. The Castillians, who were very numerous, wanted to capture their horses and varlets, saying, 'Let us seize their horses: we cannot more effectually distress them than to make them return on foot;' but the grand master would not consent. 'We will not do so,' said he: 'if we have the horses, we will have their masters also; for we will fight them; and therefore dismount: they cannot withstand our numbers.' While the Castillians were thus consulting,

* Don John, in commemoration of this event, founded the beautiful monastery and church of Batalha. It has been magnificently described by Mr. Murphy; and I copy a note from his publication, page 28.

"The following account is given of this battle by Emanuel de Faria, in his history of Portugal:—"The king of Portugal, understanding the approach of the Castillians, drew together his forces from Coimbra, Oporto, and other places, and marched out of Guimaraens to give them battle. On the morning of the 14th August, 1385, he entered the plains of Aljubarota, where he knighted several gentlemen. The Castillians at first intended to march directly to Lisbon; yet, after some consultation, they resolved to engage. The forces on both sides were very unequal: the Castillians are reported to have been thirty thousand strong, and the Portuguese but six thousand five hundred, besides having some local disadvantages. The sun was setting when these two unequal armies engaged. The Castillians, at the first charge, broke the van-guard of the Portuguese; but the king coming up, his voice and example so re-animated his men, that in less than an hour the multitudinous army were put to the route. The king of Castille, who headed his troops, being troubled with an ague, was forced to take horse to save himself. Most of the Portuguese who sided with Castille, and who were in front of the army, were put to the sword, for no quarter was given them. The royal standard of Castille was taken; but many pretending to the honour, it could not be decided by whom. The number of the slain is not exactly known, though very great on the part of the Castillians. Of their cavalry, three thousand are supposed to have perished, and many persons of distinction. This is the famous battle of Aljubarota, so called, because it was fought near a village of that name."

† Nunez Alvarez Pereira, who was only twenty-four years of age when he won the battle of Aljubarota.—Ed.

our men, without paying any attention to their horses, seeing a small brook in their rear, crossed it quietly, and posted themselves on its bank. The enemy, having observed this, repented not having instantly made the attack; but, thinking they could soon defeat them, they began the combat by lancing darts, and whatever else they could lay hands on, so that it lasted from noon to evening. The constable, seeing the enemy had expended all their artillery, and had not wherewithal to fight, crossed the rivulet, with his banner displayed, and attacked them with lances. They were soon broken and in disorder; for, being tired by the weight of their armour, they could not withstand our charge, nor, from weakness, assist each other. They were speedily vanquished: the grand master, with sixty more, were left dead on the field, and the rest took to flight. We recovered our horses, and many others which the Castillians had rode thither. What is your opinion, my lord? did not our men behave gallantly?" "That they did, by my faith," replied the duke. "By such feats of arms and conquests have the Portuguese entered the career of glory, since the accession of don John to the crown of Portugal. They say God is with them, and is their help in maintaining their rights. Indeed, my lord, they never fail declaring that God is on their side; for, ever since the death of king Ferdinand, in all matters of arms they have been concerned in, whether of consequence or not, victory has been for them. The count de Foix, who at this day is one of the most potent and wise lords, says, as we have been told by those from his country, that fortune sides with Portugal; and that, if his knights would have listened to him, they would never have left Béarn to fight against the king of Portugal.

"My lord, our king is wise and prudent; he fears and loves God, and has an affection for the church, which he exalts as much as in his power. He is frequently on his knees in his oratory and hearing divine service, and is very strict in never being disturbed whilst at prayer, whatever may be the business. He is a learned man, and understands some little of astronomy; but, above all, he will have justice administered impartially in his dominions, and the poor maintained in their rights. I have now, my lord, told you everything, according to your request, relative to our king and country, as I was charged to do when I left it; and you will give me such answers as may be agreeable to you." "Lawrence, I before told you, and I now repeat it, that your coming hither and your conversation have given me great pleasure. You shall not depart without having every point of your demands fully answered." "I thank you," my lord," replied the squire. Upon this, the doors of the apartment were thrown open, and wine and spices were brought in, of which the ambassadors having partook, they departed to their hôtel of the Falcon to repose themselves.

CHAPTER XXX. — THE AMBASSADORS FROM PORTUGAL RETURN WITH SATISFACTORY ANSWERS.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER EMBARKS ON AN EXPEDITION TO RECOVER CASTILLE.

Not long after this conversation, the duke of Lancaster had a conference with his brother, the earl of Cambridge, on the affairs of Castille and Portugal. The earl, who had been in the latter country upwards of a year, said, that during the reign of don Ferdinand, when he was in Portugal, the canon de Robersac, and sir William Windsor and other knights whom he had led thither, had told him of the murmurs of the common people relative to the succession, and on this account had pressed him to carry away his son. "In God's name," replied the duke, "the Portuguese squire has informed me most circumstantially of all this matter; and we cannot gain a more convenient entrance to Castille than through Portugal. Arragon is too distant; and, besides, the king of Arragon has always been more attached to France than to us. It is not right, since Portugal asks from us assistance, it should be refused."

A parliament was held at Westminster on this subject, when it was determined that the duke of Lancaster should have, at the public expense, a thousand or twelve hundred lances, all chosen men, two thousand archers, and one thousand lusty varlets, and that they should receive half a year's pay in advance. The king's uncles were well satisfied with this grant: in particular, the duke of Lancaster, to whom, as the matter more nearly concerned him, the

command of this army was given. To expedite the ambassadors' return to Portugal, who were impatient to set out, the king of England wrote very affectionate letters to the king of Portugal, declaring the strict union and intelligence he wished to subsist between the subjects of each kingdom. He made also magnificent presents to the grand master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, who were continually with the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge. The day on which they took leave of the king and his council, they dined with the duke of Lancaster and his brother, and had liberty to depart. I believe the duke mentioned in his letters to the king of Portugal, as well as to his ambassadors, his wish that seven galleys, and from eighteen to twenty large vessels, might be sent from Portugal to the port of Bristol, on the confines of Wales, where the duke and his army would embark.

The ambassadors, having promised this should be performed, took leave and set out for Southampton, where their vessel was waiting for them. Having embarked, they put to sea with a favourable wind, and, crossing the Spanish main, arrived in five days at Oporto, where fortunately the king was, and much rejoiced at their return. They related to the king all they had seen and heard in England regarding king Richard and his uncles, and, in confirmation, delivered letters from them. The king of Portugal, impatient for the aid of the English to retaliate on the Spaniards, did not delay calling his council, when it was resolved, that don Alphonso Vietat, high admiral of Portugal, should get ready seven galleys and eighteen ships, to sail to England, and bring back the duke of Lancaster and his army. Don Alphonso was soon ready, and, setting sail from Oporto with favourable winds, arrived in six days at Bristol, where he anchored.

The duke was much rejoiced on hearing of his arrival, for he was at the time in Wales, where the king and all his court were: he hastened his preparations, as his knights, squires, and archers were near Bristol; he having provided at Bristol two hundred vessels to transport them, under convoy of the Portuguese fleet, to the continent. It was intended by the duke that his duchess and daughters should accompany him to Castille and Portugal, where he proposed nobly marrying them; for he wished not to return very soon, and with reason, as he perceived affairs in England were badly managed, and the young king governed by wicked counsellors. This made him the more desirous of quitting the country. Before his embarkation, and in the presence of his brothers, he appointed his son, Henry earl of Derby, his lieutenant for whatever concerned him during his absence, and chose for him a set of able advisers. This Henry was a young and handsome knight, son of the lady Blanche, first duchess of Lancaster. I never saw two such noble dames, so good, liberal, and courteous, as this lady and the late queen of England, nor ever shall, were I to live a thousand years, which is impossible.

When the duke of Lancaster had arranged his affairs in England, and had taken leave of the king and his brothers, he came to Bristol, where he tarried fifteen days, until his horses, to the amount of more than two thousand, and his stores, were safely embarked, with ample provision of hay, straw, oats, and fresh water. The duke then entered a handsome galley, having, beside it, a large vessel for his household and the duchess, who had consented, with great courage, to accompany him on this expedition; for she expected, on her arrival in her native country, or at least before her return, to be queen of Castille. She had with her her own daughter Catherine, and two other daughters of the duke by his former marriage, called Isabella and Philippa. Isabella* was married to sir John Holland, constable of the army. The marshal of the host, sir Thomas Moreaux, was also married to another daughter of the duke of Lancaster; but she was a bastard, and mother to the lady Morielle, Demoiselle Marie de St. Hilaire de Hauman†. The lord Percy was admiral of the fleet.

Among the knights who followed the duke of Lancaster were sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Lucy, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord de Pommiers, sir Richard Burley, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, sir William Windsor, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Hugh Despenser, the lord

* Her name was Elizabeth. Sir John Holland was created earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter. She was, after his death, married to sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, but had no issue by him. By sir John Holland she had a son (John) who succeeded his father.

† I cannot explain who this lady is: nor can I find any where, but in Froissart, mention made of this natural daughter of John of Gaunt, nor of the marriage with sir Thomas Moreaux.

Stowe says, sir Richard Burghley was constable of the duke's army, and after him sir Thomas de la Molereaux.

Willoughby, the lord Bradeston, sir William Farrington, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Worcester, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Lewis Rochester, sir John Sounder, sir Philip Tickel, sir Robert Clinton, sir Hugh Calverley, David Holgrave, Thomas Allery, Hobequin Beaucester, and many others with pennons, without including the banners. There were more than one thousand lances of knights, squires, and good men at arms; two thousand archers, and one thousand stout varlets. It was the month of May when they embarked; and they had the usual fine weather of that pleasant season. They coasted the isles of Wight and Guernsey, so that they were distinctly seen from the Norman shores; and a fine sight it was, for there were upwards of two hundred sail. It was delightful to observe the galleys, which had men at arms on board, coast the shores in search of adventures, as they had heard the French fleet was at sea. In truth, they were out before they showed themselves on the coasts of Carentan; but, when they perceived them approaching, they retired into the port of Havre.

CHAPTER XXXI.—MANY FRENCH KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES OFFER THEIR SERVICES TO THE KING OF CASTILLE.

Nothing happens but what is known, more particularly if relating to deeds of arms; for knights and squires willingly converse on such topics. The news of the defeat of the king of Castille at Aljubarota was soon spread abroad, and was known in France; for those who had lost their friends or relations loudly lamented them. Castille alone offered a field for deeds of arms, as it was rumoured the duke of Lancaster, to support his claim on that crown, had assembled a large army, and would march thither or to Portugal, and without doubt there would be many battles. Some knights and squires, of the interior part of France, consulted together on this, and which was the best road to Castille. Several were of opinion, to march by land, to avoid the dangers of the sea, and of falling into the hands of the English fleet; but others said, the road by land was long, and the intentions of the king of Navarre were not quite clear; for he was not much attached to France: that nation, he said, had robbed him of his lands in Normandy: but I know not if his complaints were just. They were doubtful what road to take; for, should they go round by Arragon, they would never arrive at their journey's end. At length they resolved to embark from la Rochelle, where they freighted eighteen vessels, with their baggage and stores, but did not take many horses with them.

When all was ready, and the wind favourable, they put to sea, and made for the coast of Bayonne; for that was their line of direction. They were three hundred knights and squires who had volunteered on this expedition. Among them were the lord de Coursy, sir John Handoye, the viscount de la Verliere, sir Peter de Vellamines, sir Guy le Baveux, sir John de Châtelmorant, the lord de St. Liger, sir James de Fougeres, the lord de Bellanes, sir Tristan de Langurant, the lord Barrois des Barres, with many more. They arrived without accident, in the port of St. Andero, in Biscay, on the 4th day of May, 1386, where they rested themselves two days, and had their horses and baggage disembarked. When they had laden their horses, they inquired where they could find the king of Castille, and were told that he was then at Burgos, holding a parliament on the affairs of the nation. On leaving St. Andero, they followed the road to Burgos, and waited on the king, who was truly glad to see them, and asked the news from France, and which way they had come. They replied, "By sea from la Rochelle," and that it was rumoured in France the duke of Lancaster had raised a very large force of men at arms and archers, to lead into Castille or Portugal; that it was not known where he intended to land, but that the king of Portugal had sent to him many ships and galleys.

The king, on hearing this, became pensive, although it was what he expected, and did not at this meeting display his courage; for he perceived, from every appearance, he should have a severe war made on him. However, he entertained the knights very handsomely, and thanked them much for coming. Addressing himself to sir Robert de Baquemont, and his brother, sir John de Braquemont, he said, "I desired you both, when you left me last year,

that, on your return, you would bring me from Paris some tennis balls, that we might amuse ourselves at that game; but I believe it would have been better I had desired you to bring good helmets and armour; for I fancy we shall soon have much need of them." "Sire," replied the lord de Braquemont, "we have brought both; for we can neither fight nor play continually." In truth, the king of Castille showed great attention to these knights, feasted them well, and liberally supplied them with everything they wanted. Some of them having vows to perform, wished to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Saint Jago, since they were in the country; and all of them set out in company, having armed themselves as if they were going to battle: it was fortunate for them they had done so; and whoever had advised them showed great prudence, as you will see hereafter: but I must now return to the duke of Lancaster and his fleet, whom we left coasting Normandy.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IN HIS VOYAGE TO CASTILLE, ATTACKS THE FRENCH BEFORE BREST, AND FORCES THEM TO RAISE THE BLOCKADE.

JUST as pilgrim falcons, who have long rested hungry on their perch, are desirous of flight in search of prey, (if I may use the comparison) were those English knights and squires impatient to try their arms in the field. As they coasted Normandy, they said to each other, "Why do not we disembark in some of these Norman ports, where we shall meet with knights ready to offer us combat?" At last, these speeches reached the ears of the duke, who knew well, before he left England, that sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Malestroit, the lord de Cambor, Morfonace, with a number of other knights and squires from Brittany, had blockaded Brest, under the command of the constable; so that when he learnt the eagerness his knights expressed for some deeds of arms, he ordered his admiral, the lord Thomas Percy, and his constable, lord John Holland, to steer the fleet towards Brittany, for he wished to visit the castle of Brest and his countrymen who were within it. This order gave great joy to the English; and don Alphonso Vietat, who was admiral-in-chief, and well acquainted with these dangerous seas, took the lead, for the rest of the fleet to follow him. The weather was now delightful, and the sea so calm, it was a pleasure to be on it: the fleet advanced with an easy sail, and arrived at the mouth of Brest harbour, where, waiting for the tide, they entered it in safety. The clarions and trumpets sounded sweetly from the barges and the castle. Sir John de Malestroit and his companions were seated at table when the news was brought them of the arrival of the English fleet: they instantly leaped up and armed themselves. They knew that, as soon as the duke of Lancaster had landed, they should have an engagement; for the English were come to raise the blockade.

They were not long in making themselves ready, and amounted to about three hundred men at arms, knights, and squires. The English were rejoiced at finding themselves in Brest harbour, and that the Bretons were still guarding their blockhouse; for they were aware an engagement must ensue, and they were thirsty for battle. The duke of Lancaster and his men landed as near as possible to the castle, but left their horses and stores on board their ships. The ladies, however, went on shore to repose themselves. The first day they made no attack, only marched out of their quarters, when some of the lords fixed their tents and pavilions on the harbour side and near the castle, where they remained that day and the following night. On the morrow, the constable and marshal's trumpets sounded, for the army to make ready for an assault. When all were armed, they marched in good array towards the castle and blockhouse which had been raised in front of it. This was so solidly built, it would have lasted nine or ten years; for it was surrounded with ditches, and had walls, towers, and gates of strong timber.

The English knights, on their arrival, began to skirmish gallantly at the barriers of the blockhouse, and attempted to win them. The knights and squires within, and there were numbers of good ones, vigorously defended themselves; and, in order to gain more room, they took away the palisades, which was foolish enough, but they trusted to their skill and valour. Many were the fine deeds of arms and much pushing with lances, and those fared the best who could the longest hold their wind. The English, being so numerous, gave the

Bretons full employment, and, by dint of courage, won the barriers: within the court of the blockhouse were upwards of one hundred, so that the Bretons were on the point of losing everything. Sir John de Malestroit and the viscount de Cambor, seeing this, shouted their cry, and said, "How, gentlemen, shall we be thus overcome? Advance, advance, and push with vigour, for there must be no sham-fighting here: we have only the choice of death or victory." Upon this they rallied, and, placing the ends of their lances in the ground, made an obstinate resistance to those who had driven them within the barriers. Hard blows were given on each side; but the English, whether they would or not, were forced to retire, and were beaten back out of the court, so that during the day they could not regain it.

On the other side of the blockhouse was a stone tower situated on a rock, which the Bretons had garrisoned. A severe attack was made on it by the English; for, while the fight was going on at the barriers, they had crossed a narrow ditch, and, with pick-axes, advanced up to the walls, where they began to work and force out the stones. Those within defended themselves well with what they could lay hands on; but the archers shot so sharply that none dared show themselves unless strongly shielded. The pick-axe men continued their work, until the tower, which leaned much on that side (for they had undermined the foundation) opened in two parts. The garrison saved themselves in the ruins of what remained, for one half fell to the ground. On this, the English set up a grand shouting; but, it being now late, the trumpets sounded the retreat, as they imagined they had done enough for one day. When they marched away, they said to the Bretons, "Gentlemen, keep a good watch to-night, and stay where you are, for to-morrow we will visit you again: you see well what situation you are in, and that you have nothing to shelter you from us."

It was fully the intention of the English to return the next day and conquer the blockhouse with its garrison, for it was in their power; and in this idea they passed the night comfortably, as they had wherewithal so to do. There is an old saying, that "John is as wise as his master," which I repeat, because, if the English are subtle in war, the Bretons match them; for they were equally clear-sighted as to what was to their advantage, and what not. They saw, if they wished to avoid death or captivity, there was no time to be lost in packing up their baggage and leaving the blockhouse. They instantly made themselves ready, and, mounting their horses, rode towards Hennebon, which was four leagues distant. They acted wisely; for they were not afraid of a pursuit, as the English had not disembarked any of their horses.

Sir John de Malestroit and his companions arrived safely in Hennebon, the gates of which they found open, without any suspicion of the English being so near. On the morrow, the trumpets sounded for a renewal of the attack, and they were anxious to make up for their forced retreat of the preceding day; but news was brought that the Bretons had evacuated the blockhouse. The English repented sorely not having laid an ambush, to have prevented the loss of their prey. The lords sent varlets to destroy the blockhouse, and set it on fire. Thus was the siege of Brest raised by the duke of Lancaster. The duke, sir John Holland, and some of the other knights, went into the castle of Brest, carrying the ladies with them, where they had refreshments, and then returned to their quarters. On the morrow, being the third day, they had their vessels watered; and on the ensuing day they embarked, and continued their voyage.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER ARRIVES AT CORUNA IN GALICIA.—THE FRENCH, IN THE SERVICE OF SPAIN, ENTER THE CASTLE TO OPPOSE HIM.—THEY SHORTLY AFTER DEFEAT A PARTY OF HIS FORAGERS.

Before the duke sailed from Brest, he held a council to determine whether they should steer to Lisbon, Oporto, or Coruña. To this council the Portuguese admiral and his captains were called, and it lasted some time. Don Alphonso Vietat said, that he had been ordered to England for their service by the king of Portugal, by whom they would be made heartily welcome, should they land in his country; for he was expecting them, and would be much gratified by their coming. Upon this, they determined to make for Oporto, which is but

thirty leagues from Lisbon; but they altered their mind, saying it would be more honourable to land on the enemy's coast, and that by so doing they should the more alarm them. They then steered for Coruña, and, having a favourable wind, were not more than five days sailing thither from Brest: they cast anchor in the road, to wait for the tide, as it was too low water when they arrived to approach near the shore.

I will now speak of the French knights, sir Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, the brothers de Braquemont, and the rest, who had set out on a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella. After they had made their offerings and prayers to the shrine of St. James, and were sitting at their inn, news was brought by those who were guarding the coasts, that the English fleet was in sight, and showed a disposition to land at Coruña. Before their baggage was unloaded, or the saddles had been taken from their horses, they mounted them again, saying, they must hasten back to Coruña, to defend the port; for, should the English unfortunately gain the castle and town, they would be masters of the whole country. Some of the knights borrowed horses at St. Jago, and made such dispatch as to arrive at Coruña that night, though it was fourteen country leagues distant, and a difficult road to find. They got there very opportunely, just as the English fleet was entering the harbour. The garrisons in town and castle were well pleased at the coming of the French knights, whose baggage and armour followed in the course of the night. It was a fine sight, on the morrow, to view all the ships and galleys enter the port laden with men at arms and purveyances, with trumpets and clarions sounding; and those signals were answered, by way of defiance, by the trumpets and clarions of the castle. The English from this knew there were good garrisons in both town and castle, and that the French had possession of the castle.

The lords and their men disembarked on the shore, but did not approach the town, as it was too well fortified, and seemed filled with men at arms. They, however, took up their lodgings in some huts of fishermen and seafaring men on the outside of the walls. They were forced to build other huts, as they were so numerous; and the four first days after their landing they were thus employed, as well as in clearing the vessels of their stores and purveyances, which were in great quantities, and in disembarking their horses. They had been fifteen days on board; and though they were plentifully supplied with hay, oats, and fresh water, yet the rolling of the sea had as much affected them as it had done their masters, which made it needful to walk them about and take every care of them. When the ships had been entirely cleared, the duke was asked his pleasure concerning them. He replied, "Let all the sailors be well paid, and take the ships for their pains: I shall dismiss them, for I wish all the world to know that I will never recross the sea to England until I be master of Castille or die in the attempt." These orders were obeyed; and the sailors being paid to their satisfaction, made sail, some to Portugal, Lisbon, Bayonne, Brittany, or England, as they pleased, but none remained behind. The duke of Lancaster and his army were lodged in huts covered with leaves, or in such houses as they met with, and remained before Coruña upwards of a month amusing themselves; for the chief lords had brought hounds for their pastime, and hawks for the ladies. They had also mills to grind their corn, and ovens to bake; for they never willingly go to war in foreign countries without carrying things of that description with them.

The foragers went daily in search of what forage they could find: for, as they were in a poor deserted country, it was not very plentiful, which forced them to seek it at a distance. The French knights at Coruña were eager to meet their enemies; and having learnt how foolishly unguarded the foragers were, said, they would some day or other catch them, and make them pay, once for all, for what they had pillaged. They armed themselves, to the number of about two hundred, and, mounting their horses, were conducted by guides, at night-fall, through woods, and over mountains, until they came to a mountain, called in that country Espinete, by break of day, where they halted; for they had learnt that the English foragers were out in that part. The foragers had been absent from their army two days, collecting as much as they could carry, and were on their return to Coruña; but their only road lay over this mountain of Espinete. The instant they came there, the French knights rushed upon them, shouting out, "Les Barres for the Barrois!" The foragers were thunderstruck; for the greater part were unarmed: there might be six score archers, who

gallantly drew themselves up in array, and wounded, with their arrows, both horses and riders. When they had expended their arrows, they flung down their bows, and defended themselves as well as they could with the other arms they had: some fled and hid themselves, in hopes of escaping. Why should I make a long story? Of the three hundred foragers, full two hundred were slain: the rest saved themselves, as well as they could, among bushes and racks, where no horse could venture. The runaways fled to Coruña and related their misfortune, and how sir Barrois des Barres and his company had discomfited them.

The army was much surprised at this; and sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal, had five hundred, or more, instantly armed and mounted, when, taking the pennon of St. George, he galloped off with them towards the mountain of Espinete, to meet the French. When there arrived, he only perceived the slaughtered foragers; for the French had returned by the road they had come; but had they not had good guides, they would never have found it through the inclosures. The English, on their return, when within half a league of their army, saw the French re-enter the castle of Coruña, which vexed them much: but help it they could not. The army blamed the marshal for having suffered the foragers to go without an escort of men at arms, when the enemy was so near, and in such numbers. The constable and duke of Lancaster were so sharp with him, he was quite ashamed: he said, that they had been caught, to be sure, this once, though they had foraged ten times before without any interruption. "Sir Thomas," said the duke, "be more cautious in future; for such things may fall out in one day or hour as may not happen again in a century."

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AFTER REMAINING BEFORE CORUNA UPWARDS OF A MONTH, MARCHES HIS ARMY TO SANT JAGO, WHICH SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

When the duke of Lancaster had remained before Coruña upwards of a month, as I have before said, and when his men and horses were quite recovered, he was advised to march towards St. Jago, where there was a richer and more open country for his cavalry. The army dislodged from before Coruña, and marched in three battalions. The marshal led the van, of three hundred lances and six hundred archers; then marched the duke with four hundred spears, accompanied by all the ladies. The rear was composed of four hundred lances and seven hundred archers, accompanied by the constable sir John Holland. They marched very slowly, and were three days in going from Coruña to St. Jago. You must know, that the province of Galicia was much alarmed at the arrival of the duke of Lancaster; for they remembered his power well. When the marshal and the van came before the town of St. Jago de Compostella, where the body of St. James reposes, and which many make such long journeys to visit, he found the gates shut, as might have been supposed. There was no other garrison but its inhabitants; for the French knights refused taking upon them the defence of it, to the last extremity, as it was not strong enough to withstand the force under the duke of Lancaster. The marshal sent forward a herald, to hear what the townsmen would say. The herald found at the barriers the captain of the guard, called don Alphonso Sene, and said to him, "A few paces hence is the marshal of my lord of Lancaster's army, who would wish to speak with you." "I am very agreeable to it; let him advance, and I will parley with him." The herald returned to the marshal with this answer.

The marshal left his army, with only twenty lances, and rode to the barriers, where he found the captain and some of the townsmen waiting. The marshal dismounted, with twelve others, among whom were the lord Basset and sir William Farringdon, and addressed him as follows: "Captain, and you men of St. Jago, the duke, and duchess of Lancaster your queen, (she being the eldest daughter of Don Pedro, your late king) send me to know how you mean to act: to open your gates and receive them as your legal sovereigns, as good subjects ought to do; or force me to assault your walls, and take your town by storm. But know, that if you suffer the place to be stormed, all within shall be put to the sword, that others may take warning." The captain replied,—"We wish to follow the dictates of reason, and acquit ourselves loyally towards those to whom we owe obedience. We know well that

the duchess of Lancaster is daughter to Don Pedro of Castille; and if that king had reigned peaceably in Castille, she was heiress to his crown; but things are altered; for the whole kingdom turned to the obedience of his brother, king Henry, by the success of the battle of Monteil: we all swore fidelity to him; and he was acknowledged king as long as he lived: after his decease we all swore obedience to don John, his son, who reigns at this moment. Tell us how those of Coruña acted; for it is impossible but that, during the month you lay before that place, some negotiations and treaties were concluded." Sir Thomas Moreaux answered,—"You speak truly: we have had indeed negotiations with those of Coruña, otherwise we should not have marched hither, though that town is double the strength of yours. I will tell you what they have done: they have entered into a composition with us, by declaring they will act in the same manner as you do; but, if you force us to the assault, they will not follow that example. If Galicia surrender to my lord duke and his lady, they will surrender also; for which they have given us such pledges as are satisfactory."

"Well," replied the captain, "we will agree to this: there are many large towns and cities in the realm: ride on, therefore, and leave us in peace; for we will act as they shall, and give you good security for our performing it." "Oh, this will never do," said the marshal: "such a treaty will by no means please the duke and duchess; for they are resolved to reside in this town, and keep their state as monarchs should in their own kingdoms. Answer me briefly what you mean to do: surrender, or have yourselves and town destroyed?" "My lord," said the captain, "allow us a little time to consult together, and you shall be speedily answered." "I consent," said the marshal. The captain then withdrew into the town, and assembled the inhabitants at the usual place where public meetings were held, and related to them the conversation that had passed between him and the marshal. I believe the townsmen at last consented to receive the duke and duchess as their monarchs, and to entertain them as such in their town as long as they might please to reside there, if don John, king of Castille, did not, with his power, attack them. But if it should happen that after they had made St. Jago their residence for a year, or a longer time, according to their pleasure, and should depart from the country, for England, Bordeaux or Bayonne, or wherever else they may prefer, the duke must engage to leave behind a sufficient force of men at arms to defend them against their enemies, otherwise they would surrender the town to don John of Castille, and hold themselves acquitted of allegiance to the duke. Sir Thomas Moreaux cheerfully accepted these terms, and told them they had well spoken, and to the purpose, and that the duke and duchess wished for nothing better. The marshal returned to his division, and to the duke and duchess, who were waiting for him on the plain; to whom he related all that had passed, and the treaty he had concluded, to which they assented, saying it was well done.

The army was advancing gaily in battle array towards the town of St. Jago: when about two French leagues from the place, they were met by a long procession of the clergy, bearing relics, crosses and streamers, and crowds of men women and children, and the principal inhabitants carrying the keys of the town, which they presented on their knees, with much seeming good will, to the duke and duchess, (but whether it was feigned or not, I cannot say) and acknowledged them for their king and queen. Thus they entered the town of St. Jago, and rode directly to the church of St. James, where the duke, duchess, their children and attendants, kneeling, offered up their prayers to the holy body of St. James, and made rich gifts at the altar. It was told me that the duke, duchess, and the ladies, Constance and Philippa, were lodged in the Abbey, and there held their court. Sir John Holland and Sir Thomas Moreaux, with their ladies, were lodged in the town: the other barons and knights as they could, and the men at arms on the plains round the town. Those who could not find houses, built themselves huts covered with boughs, of which there were plenty in the country, and made themselves comfortable with what they could get. Meat and strong wines were in abundance; of which the archers drank so much that they were for the greater part of their time in bed drunk; and very often, by drinking too much new wine, they had fevers, and in the morning such headaches as to prevent them from doing anything the remainder of the day; for it was now the vintage.

CHAPTER XXXV.—THE FRENCH KNIGHTS LEAVE CORUNA AND JOIN THE KING OF CASTILLE. —THEY ACQUIRE MUCH WEALTH BY PLUNDERING THE COUNTRY, IN ORDER TO FRUSTRATE THE ENGLISH.

Sir John de Châtelmorant, le Barrois des Barres, and the other French knights who had guarded Coruña, hearing that the duke of Lancaster had been peaceably received in St. Jago, held a council on what they should do, saying,—"It does not signify for us to remain here any longer, since we shall meet with no fortunate adventures: let us march to Burgos, where the king is, and learn from him what his intentions are: perhaps he may be going to meet the English; for, if he allow them quietly to establish themselves, by degrees they will be lords of Castille. It will be more for our honour to go to him than to stay here." They accordingly made preparations, and leaving the castle, procured guides to conduct them to Burgos; otherwise they would probably have fallen in with their enemies. They rode through Biscay, and skirted Galicia to Leon, where the king and queen at that time resided. When these knights waited on the king, he received them very kindly, and inquired from them the news, although he knew enough. They told him of their opportune arrival at Coruña, as the English fleet was entering the harbour, wherein they found seven galleys and ships of Biscay, laden with wine, of which the English took advantage; for the merchants were soon eased of the whole. "It is thus in war," replied the king: "they were unwise, when they heard the English fleet were at sea, not to run somewhere else for safety." "In God's name, sir," returned the knights, "they had come thither for security: they said, their cargoes of wine were for Flanders, and having heard from the sailors of Saint Andero that the English were in the bay of Biscay, and that the king of Portugal had sent them large ships and galleys, it was natural to conclude they would have steered for Portugal; but they did the contrary, as it appears, and, landing at Coruña, have entered Galicia." Upon this the king said,—"Now, you knights from France, who are so well acquainted with arms, and know more about warlike matters than my subjects, from being so long trained to them, what are your opinions of the English? how do you think they will act this season?" "By my faith," replied some (for all gave their opinions) "we can but ill judge what they will do, for the English are very reserved; and we can only guess how they will act, or whither they will march. We must suppose that the duke of Lancaster will remain all the ensuing winter in St. Jago, and his army thereabouts; whence he will overrun Galicia, conquer some small forts, and lay in stores of provision, until the return of summer, when treaties will be formed between him and the king of Portugal, for them to act in concert. Perhaps a family-alliance may take place; for you will observe that the duke has brought with him his daughters, those that are married as well as the others: now, as there are two unmarried, we imagine the king of Portugal, your adversary, will have one of them." "What would you advise me to do?" said the king. "We will tell you, sire," replied the knights;" order all your strongest castles on the borders of Galicia to be well guarded, and destroy the smaller ones. We learn that it is the custom of this country to fortify churches and towers, whereto the inhabitants of the flat countries carry their wealth and stock. This will turn out to their destruction and the confusion of your kingdom; for when the English take the field, these churches and towers will prove no obstacle to them: on the contrary, they will be recruited from the victual they will there find, and continue the war with more vigour, and conquer the remainder. We therefore advise you to destroy all suchlike forts, while you have time so to do, and to give up all, that is not secured in large and strong towns, by Michaelmas, or at the latest by Andrew's day, to your men at arms; for it is better they should have the advantage and profit than your enemy. We advise you, in particular, to send some well-informed ambassadors to the king of France, and to his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, that they may be made acquainted with the real state of your country, and that by the return of summer, or sooner if the season will permit us to take the field, you may wage such a war as was never before made in Castille. Write pressing letters to the king and his uncles, that they may assist you in this necessity with such numbers of men at arms that you may resist your enemies and preserve your kingdom. There is a strong connexion between you and the king of France, which

was first made by your predecessor and father; and you may be assured, that in your distress neither the king nor realm of France, which can do no more than England and Portugal united, will desert you. Believe us, that as soon as the king and his council shall learn your situation, they will take such steps as will prevent you from receiving any loss in this war; for know, that those French knights and squires, who are desirous of glory, will, at the slightest word, hasten hither to seek it; for at this moment they know not where to employ their arms. We mention this, because there is now a peace between the French and Flemings, and a truce with the English and French on the other side the Loire until St. John the Baptist's day ensuing. You will therefore see men at arms, knights and squires, fly hither from France as well to advance their own honour as to see this country and meet the English. But, sire, we particularly recommend the destruction of these small forts, if you wish to preserve your country."

The king replied, "You have advised me loyally, and I shall instantly follow your counsel, and order, without further consultation, all such forts to be demolished as are not tenable, and make you a present of whatever may be found in them." The knights said, he had well spoken, that they would attend to that business, and assist him in defending and preserving his realm. This gift of the king of Castille to the knights from France and those about his person was worth to them two hundred thousand francs, especially to those first-comers, who had thrown themselves into Coruña when the duke of Lancaster had arrived, and pursued his march to St. Jago.

All the small forts, churches, and towers, which had been embattled in Castille, were abandoned and destroyed, and the poor peasants disappointed in their expectations of having therein deposited their wealth and stock in safety; for the knights and squires went thither with their men, and seized on all the wines, corn, and cattle, and drove them to their quarters; but the gold and silver which they found, and the sums they made the peasants pay for their ransoms, or to have their stock back again, went into their own purses, unknown to any one but themselves. Some of the poorer squires, more bold and cunning than the rest (for there are always some of that sort), who had left their homes miserably mounted or on foot, were so active that they had now fine coursers and genets for pleasure, with five or six silver girdles, and purses with a thousand or two of francs in them. Thus did these companions, who first entered Castille, make fortunes which the flat countries paid; for every place was rifled and devoured even by their own countrymen, who would not that their enemies should be any gainers by their invasion. When it was told in France how poor knights and squires were enriching themselves in Castille, where they spared neither the lands of friends nor those of their foes, their companions were more eager than ever to leave France, in the hopes of being sharers with them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—GREAT PREPARATIONS ARE MADE THROUGHOUT FRANCE FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.—THE DEATH OF FRANCIS ATREMEN.

The king of France, his uncles, and council, had been well informed of the intended expedition of the duke of Lancaster before he had sailed from England (for fame spreads all things abroad), and that it was meant against Castille. It was for this reason the duke of Burgundy had concluded so easily a peace with the Flemings, and in order that the king of Castille might have assistance; for the king of France was bound to aid him, as he had always succoured France, when called upon, with men and ships. Add to this the great desire the young king of France had ever shown to invade England with a powerful army and navy. In this he was joined by all the chivalry of the realm, but especially by the duke of Burgundy, the constable of France, and the count de St. Pol, although he had married king Richard's sister, as well as by the lord de Courcy.

These lords said, "Why should not we, for once, make a visit to England to see the country and its inhabitants, and learn the way thither, as the English have done in France? This year, therefore, 1386, we will go thither, as well to break up the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and force him to return home, as to give alarm to the English, and see

how they will behave." Greater armaments were made in France than had hitherto been done. Heavier taxes were imposed on all the towns and country than for one hundred years, and such sums had never been raised, nor were ever greater preparations made by sea and land. The whole summer, until September, was employed in grinding flour, and making biscuit in Arras, Bethune, Lille, Douay, Amiens, St. Omer, and in all the towns near to Sluys; for it was the plan of the king to embark at Sluys, sail for England, and destroy the whole country. Many of the rich men of France were forced to pay a third or fourth of their property, in order to build vessels of a sufficient size; and the poorer sort were taxed as much as they were worth, to pay the men at arms. There was not a vessel of any size, from the port of Seville to Prussia, that the French could lay their hands on, but was seized, by fair or foul means, for the king of France. Provisions arrived from all quarters. Very great quantities of wine, salted meats, oats, trusses of hay, onions, verjuice, biscuit, flour, butter, the yolks of eggs in powder, and rammed in barrels, and every other necessary, were sent from Flanders; so that, in future times, those who have not been eye-witnesses will never believe the accounts.

Lords and knights, at great distances, were written to, to request they would accompany the king of France in this expedition; even as far as Germany, Savoy, and the lands of the count d'Armagnac. The earl of Savoy was retained with five hundred lances; as were also the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne; and, because these lords were so distant, they sent before them vast provision of stores: and it was wonderful to see the quantity of costly articles that came to Flanders, by land and sea, through Damme, Bruges and Sluys.

When St. John's day was come, all the great vessels in Holland, Zealand, Middleburgh, Dordrecht, Schoenhoven, Leyden, the Brille, and other places near the sea, were sought for, to carry this army from Sluys; but the Hollanders and the rest said, that if they wanted their vessels or their services, they must pay them down the sums agreed on, otherwise they would not stir. They were wise in so doing; for they were instantly paid, before they would leave their houses or harbours. Never, since God created the world, were there seen such numbers of large ships as filled the harbours of Sluys and Blanckenburgh: for, when they were counted, in the month of September, this same year, they were twelve hundred and eighty-seven ships. Their masts, on coming from sea, appeared like a thick forest.

The constable's ship was building at Treguier, in Brittany; and the constable had there constructed a town of frame-work, of large timber, which was to be put together, on their landing in England, for the lords to retreat to as a place of safety, and to be lodged therein, to prevent any danger that might arise from nightly attacks. This town was so constructed, that, when they dislodged, it could be taken to pieces, roofs and all; and many carpenters and other workmen, who had been employed on it, were engaged, at very high wages, to attend the properly taking it to pieces and erecting it again. I never heard the name of the duke of Brittany, nor had he laid up in Flanders stores of any kind, nor of the duke of Touraine, the king's youngest brother, nor of the count de Blois, as among the number of those who were to accompany the king on this occasion. But all could not go: it was necessary some should remain behind in France, to guard the realm.

Whoever had been at Damme, Bruges or Sluys, at this time, and had seen how busily all were employed in loading the vessels with hay in trusses, garlic, onions, biscuit in sacks, pease, beans, cheese-bowls, barley, oats, rye, wheat, wax-candles, housings, shoes, boots, helmets, spurs, knives, hatchets, wedges, pick-axes, hooks, wooden pegs, boxes filled with ointments, tow, bandages, coverlids for sleeping on, horseshoe nails, bottles of verjuice and vinegar, iron, stone-ware, pewter and wooden pots and dishes, candlesticks, basons, vases, fat pigs, hasters, kitchen furniture, utensils for the buttery, and for the other offices, and every article necessary for man or beast, would have been struck with astonishment. The eagerness and pleasure were so great in the beholding it, that, had any one had a fever or a toothache, he would have got rid of them by running from one place to another. The conversations which were overheard between the French showed they considered England would be ruined and destroyed beyond resource, the men put to death, and the women and children carried in slavery to France.

The king of England and his council were duly informed of these grand preparations; and

it was confidently affirmed and believed that the French would not fail to invade the country, as they had sworn they would do so. It is not strange that such formidable preparations should require the utmost attention, nor would it be matter of much surprise if the English were at first much alarmed; for, immense as these armaments were, they were greatly magnified; and it was not certain whether they were meant to invade England or attack Calais by sea and land; for the English knew well there was not a town the French were more desirous of regaining than Calais. On this account, great stores of corn and other grain, salted meat and fish, wines and brandies, were sent from England to Calais. Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmham, the earl of Angus, sir Walter Warren, sir Walter Paul, sir William Touchet, sir Lewis de Montalban, sir Colars d'Ambreticourt, were ordered thither to defend it, and with them five hundred men at arms and as many archers. The earl of Arundel and lord Henry Despenser put to sea with forty large ships, having on board three hundred men at arms and six hundred archers completely armed.

It was, on the other hand, reported in several places in France, Hainault and Picardy, that this armament was not destined for either England or Calais, but that, when it was completed, it would invest the town of Ghent. I was told, the men of Ghent were seriously alarmed; but they were to blame if they showed any fear; for the duke of Burgundy, their lord, wished them nothing but prosperity, although Francis Atremen, shortly after the peace, was slain at Ghent. The duke was no way implicated in his death, for he bore him no hatred, although, during the war of Ghent, he had performed many gallant deeds in the service of his townsmen, as have been truly related in this history. If Francis Atremen came to such an end, he has nobody to blame but himself; for, had he believed Peter du Bois, this misfortune would not have befallen him. Peter du Bois gave him notice what he might expect at the conclusion of the peace between the duke of Burgundy and Ghent, on their return to Ghent from Tournay. When Peter was making his preparations to accompany the lord Bourchier to England, he said, "Francis, what do you say? will you not go to England with us? for now is the time." "No," replied he, "I will remain in Ghent." "And how," said Peter, "can you suppose you will live there in quiet? for there are many who mortally hate both you and me. I would not remain there for any sum of money; for there is no dependance on the populace. Have you never heard how they murdered Jacob von Artaveld, who had done them much service, and given them such good advice, and had on all occasions assisted them? and yet, from the speeches of a linen-weaver they slew him, without any of the principal inhabitants interfering in his behalf. On the contrary, they dissembled, and in their hearts were rejoiced at his death. Now, Francis, just so it will happen to you, and to me, if I stay; but that I will not, so I bid you adieu." "It will not so happen," "replied Francis, "for my lord of Burgundy has pardoned all, and offers me, if I choose to reside with him, to be equerry of his stables with four horses at my command, and shews me, as well as the lord Guy de la Tremouille and the other knights of his household, every mark of affection." "In God's name," said Peter, "I do not speak of my lord of Burgundy, nor of his knights, for they are well inclined to keep peace, but of the Ghent men. There are some to whom you have not always behaved well: have you forgotten the lord de Harzelles, whom you caused to be assassinated, and such and such others? Know, that the revenge of their relations will fall on you within a short time, if you remain: take my advice: rather than live here, accept the duke's offer." "I will consider of this," answered Francis; "but I am determined not to go to England." Thus the conversation ended. Francis Atremen staid in Flanders, and Peter du Bois, as you have before heard, went with lord Bourchier to England. What followed you shall hear. Soon after peace had been proclaimed throughout Flanders, an edict was published in all towns dependant on the duke of Burgundy, forbidding any one whatever to wear armour or swords, or to have arms carried by their followers.

Francis Atremen, during the war of Ghent, had been one of its principal rulers, and one who had the most attention paid him. Whenever he walked the streets, he was followed by thirty or forty varlets, who were well pleased at any orders he chose to give them. He had kept this state so long, that he was loth to give it up, and was desirous of being followed by three or four armed with swords or defensive staves. When this proclamation of the duke

of Burgundy was made, he never imagined it any way concerned him, so much did he fancy himself in favour with the duke and the town: but he was mistaken; for seven or eight days after the publication of the edict, the duke's bailiff came to him and said,—"Francis, you seem suspicious and afraid of our lord's officers, or why do you now go armed through the town of Ghent, followed by your varlets, armed also with swords as in times of war? We are much displeased thereat, and command you, in the name of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, that you lay them aside." Francis, who in fact meant no ill, but kept up this state through pomp, replied,—"Bailiff, I shall willingly obey your orders, as is right; for, thank God, I bear no malice nor wish evil to any one; but I thought I was so well considered in the town, that I might have had my sword and armour borne after me without its being objected to." "You are mistaken," said the bailiff: "it is the townsmen, to whom you have done so many services, who have interfered, and tell me they are surprised how I suffer it; for it seems to them you want to renew a war, for which they have no inclination. I therefore beg of you, Francis, that you will so act, as that I may hear no more of it, for if you do not observe the edict, I shall look on you as an enemy to the duke and duchess of Burgundy."

The bailiff of Ghent departed. Francis Atremen returned to his house, and ordered his varlets to lay aside their arms. He became melancholy; and, for the greater part of the times he went abroad, it was alone, or having one varlet or a boy attending him. Not long after this conversation with the bailiff, a festival was kept at the monastery of St. Peter, without Ghent, whither Francis went alone, or only attended by a single varlet, neither having swords nor arms. He was watched, and followed by a bastard of the late lord de Harzelles, anxious to revenge his death, in which common fame reported Francis Atremen to have been strongly guilty. The bastard, having provided himself with arms, followed him out of the town, and when at a proper distance, and no one near, he called out to him, "Francis, you are a dead man: you put to death my father, and I will do the like to you." As Francis turned round, the bastard, who was a stout fellow, struck him so violent a blow on the head, that it split his skull to the neck and felled him dead. The bastard walked quietly away, for none pursued him, and no more was said. Francis Atremen came by his death for not following the advice of Peter du Bois. When news of this reached England, and came to the knowledge of Peter du Bois, he but slightly pitied him, saying, "Before I left Ghent, I truly told him what would happen; but he would not mind what I said, and has suffered for it. See if any one will meddle in the matter: certainly none of those who, during the war, seemed such warm friends to him, and honoured him so much. It was for fear of such events that I followed the advice of lord Bourchier, and came with him to England."

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE FRENCH PUT THEMSELVES TO USELESS EXPENSE ON THEIR MARINE. THE ENGLISH MAKE JUDICIOUS PREPARATIONS TO OPPOSE THEM.

We will return to the preparations going forward at Damme and Sluys, which were so formidable, that the like was never remembered in the memory of man, nor is there any written account of such. Money was no more spared than if it rained gold, or was pumped up from the sea. The great barons of France had sent their servants to Sluys to embark everything they might have occasion for in this expedition; for all were impatient to cross over; and the king, young as he was, showed greater impatience than any. Each lord strove to have his vessel the best supplied, and the most ornamented with painting and gilding, with their arms emblazoned on them and on the flags. Painters made a good harvest, for they were paid whatever they asked, and even with this there were not a sufficiency. The masts were painted from top to bottom; and some, by way of magnificence, were even covered with sheets of fine gold, above which were emblazoned the arms of the different lords to whom the vessels belonged. It was told me, particularly, that sir Guy de la Tremouille expended such sums in ornamenting and painting his own ship, that they amounted to upwards of two thousand francs. Their banners, pennons, and standards, were

so very grand, as to surprise all who saw them. No ornament or decoration could be imagined but these lords employed it on their vessels. The poor of France paid for all: the taxes were so grievous in that country, that the rich complained, and the poorer sorts ran away.

All that was going forward in France, Flanders, Bruges, Damme, and Sluys, was known in England, and with many additions to the real truth. The people in several places were exceedingly alarmed, and generally the priests made processions in many towns three times a week; where, with much devotion, they offered up their prayer to God, to avert this peril from them. There were upwards of one hundred thousand who were desirous the French should come to England, saying, to comfort the weak-hearted, "Let them come: by God! not a soul shall return back to tell their story." Such as were in debt, and had not any intention of paying, nor wherewithal to do so, were delighted, and said to their creditors, "Hold your tongues: they are coining florins in France, and we will pay you with them:" and thus they lived extravagantly, and expended largely, for credit was not refused them. Whenever they were asked to pay, they replied, "How can you ask for money? is it not better that we spend it, than that Frenchmen should find it and carry it away?" Thus were many thousand pounds sterling foolishly spent in England.

The king of England was during this time in Wales with the earl of Oxford, who governed England, for without his consent nothing was done. The king's privy council consisted of sir Simon Burley, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Michael de la Pole, and also the bishop of Norwich and sir William Neville, brother to the lord Neville. These counsellors did with the king as they pleased, and carried him whithersoever they liked; for neither had his uncles of Cambridge and Buckingham been able to retain any influence, nor could they act, without knowing whether it were agreeable to the above-named counsellors. All these discords were the topic of conversation in France, and incited them to hasten their preparations. They wished to force the duke of Lancaster to return from Castille, but would not on that account have given up their invasion. The lords, prelates, and citizens of the principal towns in England, having obtained exact information that the French were nearly ready to put to sea, held an assembly, in which they debated what was proper to be done. The king was written to by his uncles to return to London, as the whole country was much dissatisfied with him and his advisers. The king and his council, not daring to refuse, left Wales, where he and his queen had resided a considerable time. On his arrival at Windsor, he staid some days, and, there leaving his queen, came to his palace of Westminster. Those who had any business to transact went thither to the king; and before the parliament was holden, a council was called to consider how they might appease the great discontents which appeared in the country. In this parliament, which was attended by the king, his uncles, and all the nobles and prelates of the realm, the earl of Salisbury, a prudent and valiant man, spoke as follows:—

"Your majesty, and my lords present, need not be surprised if our adversary, the king of France, proposes to invade us; for since the death of the most potent and sagacious prince, Edward of happy memory, our sovereign lord, this realm has incurred several risks of being destroyed by its own subjects and the commotions of peasants. It is also perfectly well known in France that we disagree among ourselves, and are torn by faction, which makes them imagine their enterprise cannot fail of success. The danger is indeed great, for he must be weak who fears not his enemy. While we remained united, the king with the people, and the people with the king, we were victorious and powerful, and there were none able to do us any essential injury. It is therefore necessary (and never was anything in England more pressing) for us to act in unity, and reform what may be wrong, if we wish to preserve our honour, as well as for us to inquire into the state of our ports, that such defence may be made that the kingdom be not any way hurt, nor we accused of neglect by the country. This realm has been long in its flower; and you know that what is in flower has greater need of attention than if in fruit. We must therefore act as if it was in flower; for, since these last sixty years, those knights and squires who have gone out of it have acquired more renown than any others of what nation soever. Let us exert ourselves, that our honour be preserved untarnished as long as we live."

This speech of the earl of Salisbury was attentively listened to; and the lords said, it would be right to follow his advice. I will not longer dwell on what was debated at this meeting, for I do not pretend to know everything; but I do know, that after proper care had been taken, as I have already noticed, for the defence of Calais, all the coast of England, where it was thought the French would land, was well guarded. The earl of Salisbury, because his estate was in the Isle of Wight, which lies opposite to the country of Caux in Normandy, was ordered thither to guard and defend it with the men at arms and archers of that country. The earl of Devonshire was sent to Southampton with two hundred men at arms and six hundred archers, to guard that haven. The earl of Northumberland to the port of Rye, with the same number of men at arms and archers. The earl of Cambridge was sent to Dover with five hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. His brother, the earl of Buckingham, to Sandwich, with six hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. The earls of Stafford and Pembroke to Orwell, with five hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. Sir Henry and sir Faulx Percy to Yarmouth, with three hundred men at arms and six hundred archers. Sir Simon Burley was appointed governor of Dover castle only.

Every port and harbour from the Humber to Cornwall was well provided with men at arms and archers, and watchmen were posted on all the hills near the sea-coasts opposite to France and Flanders. The manner of posting these watchers was as follows: they had large Gascony casks filled with sand, which they placed one on the other, rising like columns; on these were planks, where the watchmen remained night and day on the look-out. They were ordered, the moment they should observe the fleet of France steering towards land, to light torches and make great fires on the hills to alarm the country, and the forces within sight of these fires were to hasten thither. It had been resolved to allow the king of France to land, and even to remain unmolested for three or four days: they were first to attack the fleet, and destroy it and all their stores, and then to advance on the king of France, not to combat him immediately, but to harass his army, so that they might be disabled and afraid to forage; for the corn countries were all to be burnt, and England at best is a difficult foraging country; by which plan they would be starved and easily destroyed. Such was the plan laid down by the council of England. Rochester bridge was ordered to be broken down, for a deep river runs under it, which flows through Sussex and Kent, and falls into the Thames, opposite the island of Sheppy. The Londoners would pull this bridge down, for the greater security of their town.

If the taxes were burdensome on towns and persons in France, I must say they were not much lighter in England, and the country suffered from them a long time afterwards; but they were paid cheerfully, that they might be more effectually guarded*. There were at this time ten thousand men at arms and one hundred thousand archers in England, although the duke of Lancaster had led so large a force to Castille. I will now speak a little of this duke, and of the interview between him and the king of Portugal, and then return to England, for the matter presses, and I wish to speak of each and of their respective transactions.

* The dissensions between the king and his parliament ran high at this period; the parliament refused to grant supplies, and the king declared that if they were denied he would apply to the king of France, to whom he would sooner be obliged than his subjects. An accommodation was at length effected. Richard consented to banish his favourite, the earl of Suffolk, and supplies were voted to maintain the war against the king of France; their administration was however confided to a body of thirty commissioners.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL, WHEN INFORMED OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S ARRIVAL AT SANT JAGO, WRITES HIM FRIENDLY LETTERS.—THE KING OF CASTILLE DEMANDS SUCCOURS FROM FRANCE.—THE TOWN OF ROUELLES IN GALICIA TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

You have before heard of the arrival of the duke of Lancaster with a large army at Coruña; how that city, but not the castle, had surrendered to him on terms similar to those which were imposed on the other towns in Castille, by which means the city was neither attacked nor hurt; you have also heard how he and his family had taken possession of Sant Jago de Compostella, where he intended to reside, until he should have some intelligence from the king of Portugal. Don John, as soon as he knew the duke to be at St. Jago, was much rejoiced, thinking that, when united, they could carry on an advantageous war against Castille. He ordered the most friendly letters to be written to the duke and duchess, and to be forwarded instantly by special messengers. The receipt of such letters gave much pleasure to the duke and duchess; for they had great dependence on the king of Portugal, and knew that, without his aid, they would never be enabled to do anything effectual against Castille. They, therefore, made rich presents to the messengers, and returned the warmest answers. The duke, in his answer, gave the king to understand, that he should have much pleasure if an interview took place between them, as he wanted to have some conferences with him.

While all these marks of affection were reciprocally tendered and received between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, the king of Castille was strengthening himself by every means in his power. He frequently stated his situation to the court of France, and was urgent in his demands for assistance to defend his realm; for he expected, when the season would allow, that there would be a vigorous war made on him, as the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster would then form a junction, and would be in such force as would overrun all Castille, unless he could raise an army to oppose them. The king of France and his council, in their answer, desired the king of Castille not to be uneasy; for, before the month of January was passed, they would give the English so much to do at home, as to prevent them from knowing which way to turn themselves; that when England should be completely destroyed, they would come to his aid by sea, through Galicia or Portugal; and if their enemies still remained in that country, they would drive them out of it in a handsome manner, and within the year put an end to all these wars. The king of Castille contented himself with this answer as well as he could: indeed, he could not help himself; for none came to him from France, excepting those who had defended the castle of Coruña. All knights and squires, however great their distance in the kingdom, hastened to Paris, Lille, and Douay: and the whole of that country, to the extent of fourteen leagues, was filled with men at arms and their followers. The multitudes were so great, that those who superintended the shipping, notwithstanding the number of vessels, declared they could not be all transported at once, by at least forty thousand men.

It was ordered that no one was to be received on board the transports but true men at arms: and no knight was to have more than one varlet, nor any great baron more than two squires. No horses were to be embarked but those of the principal lords; and this was so strictly observed at Sluys that the names of none were written down for the passage, nor received on board, but good men at arms. There was such a rascally crew in Flanders, in the country of Tournay, and in the castlewicks of Lille, Douay, and Artois, that they devoured and plundered everything, to the great loss of the poor inhabitants, on whom they lived, though they dared not complain for fear of their lives. They were more destructive than the English would have been if quartered in that country. The king of France and his lords had many fears; for, should they leave these scoundrels behind, they would unite and master the country; and this would have happened, had the invasion taken place, and been unsuccessful.

During the residence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster at St. Jago, several of their knights and squires made excursions into the country, and supported themselves in the best manner in which they were able, on whatever they could find. It fell out that sir Thomas

Moreaux, marshal of the army, in company with sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry, and William de Soumain, and about two hundred spears and five hundred archers, when in Galicia, came before the town of Rouelles, seven leagues from Sant Jago. He had heard that the townsmen would not acknowledge the duke of Lancaster for king; and had slain his foragers, who, on their return, had passed by their barriers. They had ruined their roads so much, that the only tolerable one was close to the town · and, when they found a good opportunity, they rushed out, and, like thieves as they were, murdered all passers, whether foragers or not. Complaints had been made of their conduct to the marshal, who was determined to apply a remedy, that being a part of his official duty. He and his companions dismounted, when near the town. The watch had before sounded his horn, which had prepared the inhabitants, and they had closed the gates and mounted the battlements; for it would not have fared well to any who had remained without the wall. The marshal, seeing from their appearance it must be assaulted, and having mused a while, said to sir John d'Ambreticourt and Thierry de Soumain,—"Mount your horses, and ride round the town to see where we may the best make our assault, and with the least loss of our men." Having mounted their horses, they soon rode round the place, for it was of no great circuit, and carefully examined every part of it. On their return to the marshal, who was waiting for them, they said,—"Sir, this town has but two gates: you are at one, and the other is directly opposite: these are the two places which seem to us easiest of attack; for the ditches round the town are deep, difficult of descent and ascent, on account of thorns and brambles." "I believe you are right," replied the marshal: "I will remain here with a part of our men, and you, Maubrun, shall take the other and commence the attack. I know not what may be the event, but I with joy see those fellows, who, from their battlements, observe all we are doing. Look at them, they are as sulky-looking as monkeys eating pears, which children want to take from them." His companions burst out a laughing at this expression, and casting up their eyes to see the villains (which they had not before thought of), went away with Maubrun and his pennon. They were about one hundred lances and three hundred archers, who advanced slowly to the opposite gate and halted.

Attacks were made on both gates with great gallantry; but the men of Rouelles, from their battlements, defended themselves with stones and darts, so that the archers and cross-bowmen were unable to act with success, and many were severely wounded. However, as the barriers were defenceless, for all had retired within the walls, the English destroyed the palisades and advanced up to the gates. They battered them so as to make them shake again; but the inhabitants, aware of the mischief which might ensue from their gates being forced, came down from the battlements, and placed against them faggots and large beams of wood. Women and others brought earth and stones, with which they filled casks, and these they arranged against the gates, closing up the whole of the entrances. While this was going on, others on the battlements, over the gateways, threw down large stones and bars of iron, so that none dared venture too near for fear of these things, which killed whomever they hit. Thus did these peasants hold out their town against the English, who suffered indeed no loss until night; but they were forced to retreat to a deserted village, a long league distant, to seek for lodgings, where they remained until the morrow. The spies sent after them brought back word that they had taken up their quarters at the village of Lyrias, but it seemed as if they would, on the next day, renew the attack. The townsmen, on hearing this, said among themselves, "The shortest follies are the best: we can never be blamed for surrendering to the duke of Lancaster or to his marshal, having, ourselves, held out one whole day against them, without advice or assistance from any gentleman whatever. This we cannot long persist in, and, having begun the attack, the enemy will, of course, renew it, since they know the way. It will, therefore, be better to surrender before they begin an assault; for, if we be taken by storm, we shall lose our lives as well as our money."

All agreed to this: and it was determined that, if the English returned on the morrow, they would go out to meet them, and surrender the town on having their lives and properties spared. In truth, the English made their appearance shortly after sun-rise, fresh and eager to renew the attack. When they were observed, four of the principal townsmen were sent out to conclude a treaty. As the marshal advanced under his pennon, casting his eyes

around, he perceived these four men, and said, "I believe there are some from Rouelles, who want to parley with us: make them come forward." This was done; and when they were near the marshal, they cast themselves on their knees, and said, "My lord, the inhabitants of Rouelles have sent us to parley with you; will you hear us?" "Yes," replied the marshal; "what have you to say?" "My lord, we come to offer the surrender of our town, if you will take us and all we possess under your protection; and we will acknowledge the duke and duchess of Lancaster for our sovereigns, in like manner as those of Coruña and Sant Jago have done." "I will take you, and all that belongs to you, under my protection," answered the marshal; "but I will not ensure your provisions, for men at arms must live." The deputies said, "that was reasonable; and the country abounded in provisions of all sorts; but wait here a moment, that we may return to the town and relate what you have said, for we will keep the agreement, and we trust you will do the same." "Yes, on my faith will I," replied sir Thomas; "but make haste back." Upon this the four men returned to the town, to relate how sir Thomas had agreed to accept their terms, except in the article of provisions. They said, "God grant it may be so; for you have succeeded better than we expected." They then disencumbered the gate of the casks, beams, and faggots, and opening it wide, advanced to the barriers with the keys in their hands. When the marshal approached, he and his companions dismounted; and the townsmen on their knees, presenting the keys, said,—"My lord, you are sent hither, we learn, by the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore offer you the keys, and surrender our town, as agreed on between you and our men" "Upon these terms I accept the keys," replied the marshal; and he and his men entered the town, where they quartered themselves here and there in the best manner they could. Sir Thomas Moreaux remained there the whole day. On the morrow, before his departure, he said to sir Thomas Maubrun de Linieres,—"I give this town up to you and your men: you will make a good garrison of it." "By St. George, and so I will," replied sir Maubrun; "for I like it well."

Sir Maubrun de Linieres remained in garrison in Rouelles, having under him sixty spears and one hundred archers. Sir Thomas Moreaux returned to the duke and duchess at Sant Jago.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—THE MARSHAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S ARMY ATTACKS AND GAINS BY TREATY THE TOWN OF VILLECLOPE IN GALICIA.—THE DUKE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL TO ARRANGE AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THEM.

Shortly after the marshal's return from Rouelles, he assembled a body of about three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and, thus accompanied, advanced into Galicia a long day's journey from Sant Jago, and came before a town called Villeclope, which was only defended by the common people of the place. The marshal not only examined it himself but made his companions do so, and then asked if they thought it might be taken by storm. After some consideration, they said that it could. Upon this they all dismounted, and gave their horses to the servants to be led to the rear. They divided themselves into three divisions and gave their orders like able men at arms. Sir Thomas Moreaux had the first: he gave the second to sir Evan Fitzwarren, and the third to sir John d'Ambreticourt. Each had under his command eighty spears, and seven score archers, which was thought sufficient for the attack of such a place.

They approached the town, entered the ditch, and gallantly made themselves masters of it, for it was dry, and ascended to the walls well shielded*: the archers were posted on the banks of the ditch, and shot so ably that scarcely any dared show themselves in its defence. Notwithstanding this, the townsmen fought valiantly, and they were very numerous: some lanced darts, others stones, and used long poles shod with iron, which gave such blows that on whomsoever they fell, unless well armed, he was severely wounded or slain. The knights and squires, eager for renown, were busily employed in loosening the wall with pick-axes and crowbars, which they had brought with them, and continued their work in spite of the

* Bien targés et pavissés.

stones and lime-pots thrown down on their pavisses and basnets. Many gallant deeds were done; and in particular by two squires from Hainault, Thierry and William de Soumain. They, with their assistants, made a breach in the wall, and fought hand to hand with those within. These two brothers gained seven lances, which were pushed at them through the breach, by wresting them out of the enemy's hands. They were under the pennon of sir Evan Fitzwarren.

Sir John d'Ambreticourt made no ooy's-play, but showed himself a true knight: he posted himself at the foot of the walls, and his pennon, with his arms of two hamets gules on a field ermine, fixed in the ground before him: he had a pick-axe in his hand, labouring with all his might to batter the wall. One may be surprised the townsmen were not frightened when they saw themselves thus attacked on all sides; but it lasted not long, for there were too many able men employed, and, perceiving what must happen, they resolved to surrender. The bailiff of the town, through whose means the place had held out for the king, came forth, and, having demanded who was the commander, said,—"My lord, order a cessation of arms, for the inhabitants wish to enter into a treaty with you." The marshal replied, he would cheerfully do so, and sent a herald round the ditches, who thus spoke to the English,—"Cease assaulting until you shall hear the trumpet of the marshal, for there is a treaty going forward with the townsmen." On this speech of the herald, the attack was suspended, and the assailants reposed themselves: indeed, many had need of it, for they had laboured hard and were much fatigued. The townsmen, by their bailiff, said they were willing to yield the town on having their lives and fortunes spared, as the other towns in Galicia had done. "Indeed!" said the marshal, "but you will not come off so cheaply; for you have given us much trouble, and wounded our men. You see plainly you cannot hold out longer, and you must purchase your peace from us, or we return to the attack, and take your town by storm." "And what is the sum you expect for our ransom?" "In God's name," said the marshal, "ten thousand francs." "You ask too much," replied the bailiff: "I offer you two thousand, for the town is poor, and has been heavily taxed." "I will not accept your offer," said the marshal; "but take time to consider of it, and do not let the place be lost for three or four thousand francs, for all must be ours. I am already blamed by my companions for having entered into any treaty with you: therefore make haste, and either pay a handsome ransom or take the consequences." The bailiff returned to the town, and, calling the inhabitants together, said, "What will you do? If you suffer the English to renew the attack, they will storm the town, put us all to death, and plunder our wealth. They demand ten thousand francs, and I have offered two, which I know is too little, and they will never take them: we must increase our offer two or three thousand more." Some, who were much alarmed for their lives and fortunes, said—"Bailiff, do not fail making a bargain with them; for, sooner than they shall renew the assault, we will give four thousand francs." "It is well said," answered the bailiff, "and I will again treat with them."

On this, the bailiff came again to the marshal, who was waiting for him; and a ransom was agreed on, which, if I recollect, was six thousand francs. The gates were thrown open to the army, who quartered themselves in the town, and refreshed themselves there two days. The marshal gave the place as a garrison to sir Evan Fitzwarren, who had under him two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers; he held the place upwards of eight months: but the ransom-money went to the duke of Lancaster, the marshal retaining one thousand francs.

After this surrender of Villeclope, the marshal returned to Sant Jago, which was his head-quarters, for the duke was desirous of having him near his person. At times, he marched to the borders of Castille, to alarm the French; but in general the English did not quit Galicia, whither the king of Castille sent none to oppose them; for he was advised not to attack them with a large army, but to harass them from his garrisons, and to wait for succours from France. The duke's counsellors said to him as follows: "My lord, it is necessary that you and the king of Portugal should have an interview to confer together. You write to each other, but that is not enough; for the French are a subtle race, and see farther into affairs than most other nations. Should they, underhand, make a peace between

the king of Portugal and the king of Castille, who has at his court, as we have been informed, several of the great barons of Portugal, either by a marriage or otherwise, so as to prevent you from having any assistance from him, what would become of you? You would be in a much worse condition than ever in this country, and the Castillians would not care any thing for us, for you know they are the falsest and most gloomy people in the world. Do you imagine the king of Portugal has not thoroughly examined everything that concerns him? and if the king of Castille would agree to a peace, allowing him for his life to reign in Portugal, and himself to be unmolested in Castille, we doubt not but he would turn his back on you, notwithstanding he has been so pressing to bring you hither. Thus will you be completely ruined. You are well acquainted with the present state of England, that it has enough to do to make head against its old enemies the French and Scots. Make the most, therefore, of the men you now have, and push on the war vigorously; for, if you expect any reinforcements from England, you will be disappointed. You were two years in obtaining what you now have, and the king, your nephew, does not feel for the interests which made you quit the country. He is young, and confides in young counsellors, which has thrown England into much peril. Have an interview, therefore, with the king of Portugal as speedily as may be, and talk to him yourself; for you will gain more in one conversation than by four months' writing."

The duke of Lancaster treasured up these words; for he knew they were the truth, and that they had loyally advised him. He answered, "What would you have me do?" "We wish you would send five or six of your knights to the king of Portugal, and we advise that a baron, at least, be of the number, to remonstrate with him on public affairs; and let it be suggested that you are very anxious to have some personal conferences with him. Those whom you send will, of course, act with prudence; but, by all means, let them press for an immediate interview." The duke consented to this proposal; and the lord Poinings, a great baron in England, sir John Bancel*, sir John d'Ambreticourt, and sir John Sounder, bastard brother to the constable of the army, were ordered to go to Portugal. These lords made themselves ready to set out from Sant Jago, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers; but just as they were on the point of departure, having received their credential letters, there arrived from Portugal a knight and squire, attended by twelve lances. The knight's name was Vasco Martin d'Acunha, and the squire Fernando Martin de Merlo: they were both of the king's household, and the nearest about his person. They were comfortably lodged in Sant Jago, and presented to the duke and duchess, by each of whom they were most graciously received. They delivered their letters to their graces, which being read, they found, that in addition to the strong expressions of friendship and affection, the king of Portugal had sent two handsome ambling white mules, which gave them much pleasure. The English embassy was not for this laid aside; it was only retarded four days. On the fifth day they set out, accompanied by the Portuguese; and the duke, as a token of friendship, sent the king of Portugal two such beautiful pilgrim-falcons as had never been seen, and six English greyhounds, excellently trained for hunting all sorts of beasts.

The English and Portuguese continued their journey through Galicia, without fear of the Castillians, for they were at too great a distance. On the road sir John d'Ambreticourt and Ferdinand de Merlo commenced an acquaintance; for the squire had, in former times, served with sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir John's uncle, and had even been with him when he died in Carentan. They continued in conversation until they arrived at the gate of Coimbra, where the king of Portugal resided. As they were riding gently together, behind the rest of their company, they met a herald and his servant from Coimbra, on the road to the duke and his lords at Sant Jago. He was attached to the king of Portugal, who, at the time of his coronation, had given him the name of Coimbra. The herald had already conversed with the lords who were advanced; and when don Ferdinand saw him, he said: "Here comes the king's herald, who has not been long in this country: I will inquire some news from him." When they met, the squire said,—"Where have you been for this year past, that I have not seen you?" "In God's name," replied the herald, "I have been in England to the king and his uncles, who have made me very rich. I went

* Q. if not lord Burnel. In the latest French edition it is *Buvrelé;* anglicè Beverly.—Ed.

thence by sea to Brittany, and was present at the marriage of the duke, and at the grand feasts he gave two months in the town of Nantes, on his union with the lady Jane of Navarre*. From thence I returned to Guerrande, and by sea to Portugal."

While he was thus speaking, the squire kept his eyes fixed on an enamelled scutcheon that hung on the herald's breast, on which were emblazoned the arms of the king of Portugal and other knights of Portugal. Pointing with his finger to a coat of arms, he said,—"Ah, here are the arms of a gallant knight of Portugal, sir John Portelet, which I am happy to see; for he is a valiant knight, and was once of great service to me, which I ought always to remember." When, taking out of his purse four florins, he gave them to the herald, who returned him thanks. Sir John d'Ambreticourt examined the scutcheon, and remembering the arms, told me some time afterward, that the arms were two chaudières sables on a field argent, with an endenture gules.

When the herald had taken his leave and departed, the squire thus spoke: "Sir John, you noticed those sable chaudieres, which the knight, to whom I am so much indebted, bore in his arms?" "Yes, I did," replied sir John: "but tell me the cause why you praise him so much: I shall willingly listen to you; for, as we ride on, we shall be at a loss for conversation." "That I will do," replied he; "for such a knight is worth talking of. A little before the battle of Aljubarota, as the king of Portugal was marching through the country from Coimbra, he sent me to seek some of his knights, that they might be present at the engagement. I therefore rode off, attended only by a single page. In my way, I fell in with twenty Gascon lances, and I was suddenly in the midst before I perceived them. when I was made prisoner, and asked whither I was going. I said, 'To the castle du Ront. †' 'What to do there?' 'To seek sir John Fernando Portelet; for the king wishes for his company at Aljubarota.' 'What! is not don Ferdando governor of Ront, with your king of Portugal?' 'No,' I replied, 'he is not; but he will hasten thither the moment he hears my message.' 'In God's name,' said they, 'he shall hear it; for we will ride thither.' On saying this, they turned about, and took the road to Ront. When they were within sight, the watch on the battlements sounded his horn, as a signal for the appearance of an enemy.

"Don Fernando asked from what quarter they were coming. 'From the side of Oporto,' replied the watch. 'Ah, ah,' said he, 'they must be Castillians seeking adventures, and on their road to Santarem. I will go and look at them; for they may possibly tell me some news, and where the king is.' Having ordered his horse to be saddled, and his pennon to be unfurled, he set off on a gallop, with only nineteen more, to meet the enemy, who had formed an ambuscade. The Castillian party had sent one of their men to scour over the plain, mounted on a genet, which being perceived by don Fernando, he said to a squire, 'Gallop thy genet, and see who that fellow is prancing on the plain.' The squire, sticking spurs into his horse, soon came up with the horseman, who suffered himself nearly to be overtaken; for his orders were to return instantly to the ambuscade, if followed by any one. When they were hard by, the whole party sallied forth and pursued the squire, who, being well mounted, had turned back. In the chase, they shouted 'Castille!' which convinced don Fernando, who had halted under his pennon, to wait for his squire, whom they were closely pursuing, that they were enemies; and he said,—'I am now sure they must be Castillians: let us shout "Portugal!" for I am resolved to meet them.' At these words he grasped his spear, and came on full speed up to them. The first whom he met he struck to the ground, and the second shared the same fate. Of the twenty-five spears, ten were already lying on the ground; the remainder took to flight; and of them several were likewise slain or wounded. All this I witnessed with great pleasure; for I saw in it my deliverance, and in a few minutes was left alone. I then advanced towards don Fernando, who, on seeing me, recollected me; for I had been formerly acquainted with him, and asked from whence I came, and what I was doing there: I then related to him my adventure, and how the Spaniards had taken me. 'And where is the king? Do you know nothing about him?' 'On my troth, sir, to-morrow he will give battle to the king of Castille; and I was

* On the decease of the duke of Brittany, she was queen of England, by her marriage with Henry IV.

† "Castle du Ront."—Q. if not Ourem

sent to tell this to such knights as were ignorant of it.' 'To-morrow!' said don Fernando. 'Yes, on my faith; and, if you doubt me, ask these Castillians whom you have taken.'

"He went to his prisoners, and inquired from them if there were certainly to be a battle on the morrow. They said, that in truth there would be a general engagement on the morrow between Castille and Portugal, and that each side was making every exertion. The knight was well pleased at this intelligence, insomuch that he said to them, 'For the good news you have told me, I give you all your liberties, but surrender to me my countryman.' Thus did I regain my freedom; and, don Fernando having taken leave of those who captured me, they went their way. We returned to Ourem, where the knight made himself ready, and set off together about midnight. The distance from Ourem to Aljubarota may be about six leagues: but, to avoid the Castillians and their parties, we lengthened our road. We heard, long before we saw the armies drawn up, that there was to be a battle; and, when we approached, we saw the king of Portugal in array, and the king of Castille opposite to him. At first, the knight could not distinguish the Portuguese from the Castillians, but said, 'I should imagine the largest army must be that of Castille.' We rode so near that we plainly distinguished the enemy drawn up in battle array: some put themselves in motion, in pursuit of us; but I fancy they were foreigners, from Gascony. Don Fernando, observing them, said, 'Here are our enemies: let us hasten away.' The enemy advanced full gallop, shouting, 'Castille, Castille!' but our men, seeing our situation, came to our assistance: the main body, however, did not take any step in consequence. The king received don Fernando with great joy, and he was posted at the bridle of the king's horse, for he was one of our bravest knights. I feel myself under the greatest obligation to him for having delivered me from the hands of mine enemies; otherwise I should not have been present at this famous battle of Aljubarota. Now, did he not do me a great service?" "On my faith, that he did," replied sir John; "and, from what you have said, he must be well acquainted with his business." "Ay, that he is," answered the squire. Upon this, they rode on a little faster to overtake their companions; and they all arrived that night at Coimbra.

CHAPTER XL.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—A MARRIAGE IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE KING AND THE LADY PHILIPPA, DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE.

The king of Portugal was well pleased at the arrival of the English knights, and commanded that they should be comfortably lodged. When they were ready, don Martin d'Acunha and don Fernando Martin de Merlo, who were acquainted with the king's habits, introduced them to him. He received them very graciously; and after some conversation, which they knew well how to keep up, they presented the falcons and greyhounds. The king cheerfully accepted them, as he was fond of the chase. They returned the king thanks, on the part of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, for the handsome mules he had given them. The king replied, these were trifles, merely tokens of affection, such as lords desirous of maintaining love and friendship ought to make each other; but he should soon offer more splendid presents. Wine and spices were now brought, of which the English knights having partaken, they took leave of the king and returned to their lodgings, where they supped. On the morrow, they dined at the palace, and the lord Poinings and sir John Bancel were seated at the king's table. Sir John d'Ambreticourt and sir John Sounder were at another table with the great barons of the kingdom, among whom was Lawrence Fongasse, squire of honour to the king, who was well known to these knights, having been acquainted with them in England; on which account he made them the best cheer in his power, and this he knew well how to do.

The dinner the king of Portugal gave to these knights was very handsome and well served: when over, they adjourned to the council-chamber, and the knights, addressing themselves to the king, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire spoke as follows: "Sire, with all the compliments the duke of Lancaster has charged us to pay you, he

ordered us to say that he is very desirous of having a personal interview with you." The king replied, he was equally anxious for it, and added, "I beg of you to hasten everything as much as possible, that we may have a conference together." "That will be very proper," said the barons of Portugal; "for until you meet you will never understand each other. You may then confer on the most effectual means of carrying on the war against the king of Castille." "That is true," answered the knights. "Be speedy about it, then," said the king: "for, if the duke wishes to see me, I want also to see him." They then entered on other conversation; for the council was to determine when and where this meeting should take place, and inform the English knights of it. This was done. It was agreed the king of Portugal should go to Oporto, and the duke of Lancaster advance along the borders of Galicia; and somewhere between them and Oporto the meeting was to be held. When the English knights had remained three days at Coimbra, they departed and followed the same road back to Sant Jago, where they related to the duke and duchess all that had passed. They were, with reason, well satisfied with it, for their affairs seemed now likely to be attended to.

When the day of meeting approached, the duke of Lancaster left his army, under the command of his marshal, at Sant Jago, and, attended by three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and sir John Holland, (who had married his eldest daughter,) with many knights, rode towards the frontiers of Portugal. The king of Portugal, hearing that the duke was set out from Sant Jago, left Oporto with six hundred spears, and went to a town called in that country Monçao, the last town of Portugal on that side. The duke came to a town on the frontiers called Melgaço. Between Monçao and Melgaço runs a small river through meadows and fields, over which is a bridge called Pont de More *.

On a Thursday morning, the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had their first interview at this bridge, attended by their escorts, when they made acquaintance with each other. On the king of Portugal's side had been built a bower, covered with leaves, in which the duke was entertained at dinner by the king. It was a handsome one; and the bishop of Coimbra, the bishop of Oporto, as also the archbishop of Braganza, were seated at the king's table with the duke, and a little below him were sir John Holland and sir Henry Beaumont. There were many minstrels, and this entertainment lasted until night. The king of Portugal was that day clothed in white lined with crimson, with a red cross of St. George, being the dress of the order of Avis, of which he was grandmaster †. When the people had elected him their king, he declared he would always wear that dress in honour of God and St. George, and his attendants were all dressed in white and crimson. When it became late, they took leave of each other, with the engagement of meeting again on the morrow. The king went to Monçao, and the duke to Melgaço, which places were only separated by the river and meadows. On the Friday, after hearing mass, they mounted their horses, and rode over the Pont de More, to the spot where they had met the preceding day. The house which had been erected for this occasion was the fairest and greatest that had been ever seen there. The king and duke had each their apartments hung with cloth and covered with carpets, as convenient as if the king had been at Lisbon or the duke in London.

Before dinner, they had a conference on the state of their affairs, how they should carry on the war, and when they should commence it. They resolved to order their marshals to continue their attacks during the winter, which the king was to pass in Portugal, and the duke at Sant Jago; and it was settled that, early in March, they would unite their forces, and march to combat the king of Castille, wherever he might be, and whoever he might have with him; for the English and Portuguese, when united, would be full thirty thousand men. When this had been determined, the king's council introduced the subject of a marriage with their king; for the country was very desirous he would marry, as it was now time; and by it they would be much strengthened; and they thought he could not make a better choice for himself, nor one more agreeable to them, than by intermarrying with the house of Lancaster. The duke, who saw the attachment the king and the

* "Pont de More."—Q.

† Froissart mistakes the colour of the cross: it was green, and borne on the left side.

Portuguese had for him, and that he had need of their assistance, as he was come from England to Portugal to regain his kingdom of Castille, replied with a smile, addressing the king: "Sir King, I have at Sant Jago two girls, and I will give you the choice to take which of them shall please you best. Send thither your council, and I will return her with them." "Many thanks," said the king: "you offer me more than I ask. I will leave my cousin Catharine, of Castille; but I demand your daughter Philippa, in marriage, whom I will espouse and make my queen." At these words the conference broke up, as it was dinner-time. They were seated as on the preceding day, and most sumptuously and plentifully served, according to the custom of that country. After dinner, the king and duke returned to their lodgings.

On the Saturday after mass, they again mounted their horses, and returned to Pont de More in grand array. The duke this day entertained at dinner the king and his attendants. His apartments were decorated with the richest tapestry, with his arms emblazoned on it, and as splendidly ornamented as if he had been at Hertford, Leicester, or at any of his mansions in England, which very much astonished the Portuguese. Three bishops and one archbishop were seated at the upper table; the bishops of Lisbon, of Oporto, of Coimbra, and archbishop of Braganza. The king of Portugal was placed at the middle, and the duke somewhat below him: a little lower than the duke, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire. At the head of the second table was the deputy grandmaster of Avis: then the grandmaster of St. James, in Portugal *, and the grandmaster of St. John, Diego Lopez Pacheco, Joao Fernandez Pacheco his son, Lopo Vasquez d'Acunha, Vasco Martin d'Acunha, Lopo Diaz d'Azevedo, Vasco Martin de Merlo, Gonzalves de Merlo, all great barons. The abbot of Aljubarota, the abbot of Saint Mary, in Estremadoura, sir Alvarez Pereira, marshal of Portugal, Joao Rodriguez Pereira, Joao Gomez de Silva, Joao Rodriguez de Sa, and many other Portuguese knights, were there seated; for not one Englishman was at the table that day, but served their guests. There were numbers of minstrels, who played their parts well; and the duke gave them and the heralds one hundred nobles each

When this festival was ended, they took a most friendly leave of each other, until they should meet again. The king returned to Oporto, and the duke to Melgaço, from whence he journeyed towards Sant Jago. The count de Novaire escorted him with one hundred Portuguese lances, until he was out of all danger, when he took leave and returned to Portugal. The duchess was very impatient for the duke's return, to hear how the conferences had passed; of course, you may suppose, she received him with joy. She asked what he thought of the king of Portugal. "On my faith," replied the duke, "he is an agreeable man, and has the appearance of being a valiant one, and I think he will reign powerfully; for he is much beloved by his subjects, who say they have not been so fortunate in a king for these hundred years. He is but twenty-six years old, and, like the Portuguese, strong, and well formed in his limbs and body to go through much labour and pain." "Well, and what was done in regard to the marriage?" said the duchess. "I have given him one of my daughters." "Which?" asked the duchess. "I offered him the choice of Catharine or Philippa; for which he thanked me much, and has fixed on Philippa." "He is in the right," said the duchess; "for my daughter Catharine is too young for him."

The duke and duchess passed the time as well as they could: winter was approaching, though in Galicia the severity of that season is scarcely felt; for it is always there so warm, that some fruits are eatable even in March, and beans, peas, and grass, are high and flourishing in February. Their hay-harvest is over before Midsummer-day; and, by that time, their corn is, in several places, completely ripe.

* Rodriguez de Vasconcellos.

CHAPTER XLI.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S MARSHAL GAINS FOR HIM SEVERAL PLACES IN GALICIA.—THE CONDUCT OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.

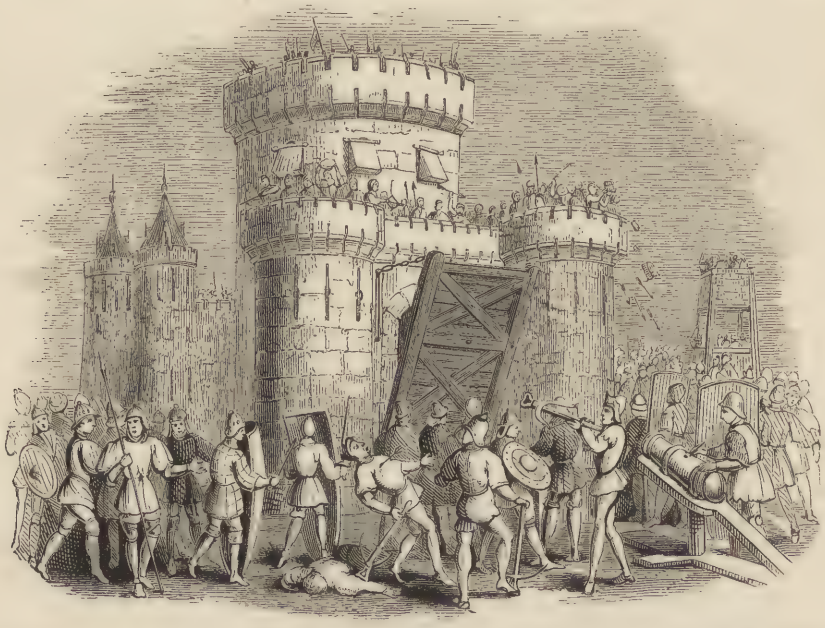
NOTWITHSTANDING the duke of Lancaster lived quietly at Sant Jago with his duchess and children, it was not so with his army; for the commanders made frequent excursions over the country, conquering towns and castles, of which, for a time, they held possession. I will faithfully narrate the manner in which they did this, and the names of the towns they gained; for I was told all the particulars of the campaign by those English knights who had been actors in these conquests; but more particularly by that gallant knight of Portugal whom I have before mentioned, who, in the most friendly manner, entered into all the details at Middleburgh, in Zealand, where he was, on his way to Prussia. I have already told his name, but I will repeat it: he was called John Fernando Portelet, who informed me as follows:—

"When the duke of Lancaster was returned to Sant Jago, from the frontiers of Portugal, Sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of his army, said to him, that he was unwilling to remain in idleness; and that, since they were in an enemy's country, he would make some excursions to conquer towns or castles, and employ the army, who were very anxious for it. He gave his orders accordingly, and declared he would penetrate into Galicia farther than he had hitherto been, and would not leave town nor castle behind him, without their submitting to the duke. He began his march from Sant Jago, with six hundred lances and twelve hundred archers, and took the road to Pontevedra, a good town of Galicia, which held out for the king of Castille. The townsmen were well aware of the intended attack; for all the inhabitants of the flat countries fled before the English, to different towns, to save themselves and fortunes. When the marshal came before the place, the inhabitants were in deep consultation, whether to surrender or to defend themselves, but they were not unanimous. The lower sorts of inhabitants wanted to surrender instantly: the bailiff (who had been ordered thither by the king to guard and defend it), with those who were the richest, wished to hold out; for they said, that an instant surrender would not redound to their honour nor profit. They were still in debate, when the watch sounded his horn, to announce the arrival of the English. This broke up the assembly; and every one ran to the battlements, armed with stones, darts, and javelins, with a full determination to defend the place, and not to surrender it until pushed to extremities.

"When the marshal and his companions arrived at Pontevedra, theydismounted and gave their horses to their servants. They drew up their men for instantly attacking it. The archers were ranged around the walls with bows bent for shooting; and men at arms, well armed and shielded, descended into the ditch. On the marshal's trumpet sounding, the assault commenced; and those who were in the ditch scrambled up to the walls, with pick-axes and iron crows to undermine them. The townsmen showered down on them stones and flints, to their great annoyance: they would have done more, if the archers had not made such good use of their bows: few, after some time, dared to show themselves on the bulwarks, for they killed and wounded many. The bailiff of the town was so severely struck by an arrow, which pierced his helmet and head, that he was forced to be carried to his house. The ill-intentioned in the place were not sorry at this, because he would not consent to a surrender. This accident, however, did not cause the defence to be weakened; on the contrary, they were the more active; and the attack continued until night, when the enemy sounded a retreat. Many were wounded on each side. The English returned to their quarters, fully determined to renew the attack on the morrow, and to gain the place by capitulation or storm.

"During the night, the inhabitants held a meeting, and said: 'We are mad, thus to suffer ourselves to be killed and wounded for nothing. Why do not we act like the other towns which have surrendered? They have yielded themselves up to the duke of Lancaster and the lady Constance, daughter to king don Pedro, on condition that, if the rest of the towns in Spain acknowledge him for king, they will do the same: in which they have acted wisely, for they have remained unmolested.' 'In God's name,' said others, 'we wanted to

do so, but our bailiff persuaded us to the contrary, for which he has paid severely; for there is a great chance if he will ever recover from the wound in his head.' 'Let us go,' said some, 'and speak with him, and ask how we had best act now; for the English will certainly return to-morrow, and conquer us by fair or foul means.' This proposition was adopted, and twelve of the principal townsmen went to the bailiff's house, whose name was, I believe, Diantale de Léon. They found him lying on a couch, his wound having been just dressed; and, as it had so lately happened, he did not suffer much from it, and made good cheer to those among them whom he knew, and had come to see him. He inquired how the attack had been carried on, and if they had well defended themselves. They said,—'Tolerably well; and, thanks to God, no one, excepting himself, of any consequence, had been hurt; but to-morrow will be the day, for we are assured we shall be very hard pushed; and such ignorant and simple persons as ourselves will never be able to withstand their attacks. We therefore come to you for advice how to act. The English menace us greatly; and, should they win the place by storm, they will put all to the sword, and plunder the town.'



Attack on the Fortifications of Pontevedra. Composed from Harleian MS., 4425, and MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

"'In the name of God,' replied Diantale de Léon, 'you can never be blamed for surrendering; but treat prudently, and manage by all means to avoid being taken by storm. Offer to put yourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster on the same terms with those of Corunna, for no Englishman ever entered that town. They sent out to them provisions for money; and, if you will follow my advice, you will do the same. I believe they will be glad to accept your submission, for there are many other towns in Galicia to conquer, and they will not hold out for trifles.' 'You say well,' replied the townsmen, 'and we will do as you advise.' They then left him, and passed the night as well as they could. By sun-rise, on the morrow, they had properly instructed seven of the principal inhabitants, whom they sent out of the town to treat with sir Thomas Moreaux: they met him on his march to renew the attack. They cast themselves on their knees, and, having saluted him, said,—'My lord, we are sent hither by the inhabitants of Pontevedra, who offer to place themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on

the same terms which those of Corunna have obtained. This they have ordered us to tell you, and also that you may have provision in plenty on paying a fair price. It is the wish of those who have sent us, that you push them no farther, and that neither yourself nor any from you enter the place armed and by force; but that if you or any others be desirous of courteously entering the town, they shall be welcome.' The marshal had with him one who understood perfectly the Galician tongue, who repeated to him in English all that had been said. The marshal replied,—'Return quickly to your town, and let those who have sent you come to the barriers. I will grant them a respite until to-morrow at sun-rise, should we not make a satisfactory agreement.' They promised to comply with his command, and departed. When arrived at the barriers, they found there the greater part of the townsmen waiting, to whom they told all that had passed between them and the marshal; adding, 'The marshal will soon be here himself: therefore, if you do not think yourselves of sufficient consequence to parley with him, hasten those hither whom you may wish for.'

"As the principal inhabitants were at the barriers, they saw sir Thomas Moreaux, with about forty lances, advancing, who on his arrival dismounted and his companions likewise. He addressed them as follows: 'You, the inhabitants of Pontevedra, have sent to us seven of your brother townsmen, and persons in whom I am satisfied you have confidence: they have told us that you are willing to submit yourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms which those of Corunna have obtained, but that you wish to have no other governors but yourselves. Now tell me, I beg of you, what sovereignty my lord would have if he had not his own officers in the town? When you pleased you would acknowledge him for your king, and when you pleased disavow him. Know, that it is my intention, as well as that of those around me, to give you a wise, valiant and prudent governor, who will defend you and do ample justice to all alike, and I mean to thrust out the officers of the king of Castille: let me hear, therefore, if you consent to these terms, for such are our fixed resolutions.' They requested leave to consult together, and having done so, replied: 'My lord, we have the fullest confidence in you, but we are afraid of pillagers; for we have formerly been so ill treated by persons of that description, when sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the Bretons first came hither: they left us not a rag, and we are in dread of the like happening again.' 'You need not,' said sir Thomas, 'for no pillager shall ever enter your town. You shall lose nothing by us: all we want is your obedience.' This speech settled the business, and sir Thomas and his company entered the town, his army taking up their quarters in tents and huts without the walls. The inhabitants sent them twenty-four horse-loads of wine, as much bread, and poultry in abundance for the principal officers.

"The marshal remained the whole day in Pontevedra, to arrange a government for the duke of Lancaster. He appointed an honest Galician governor, who had followed the duchess to England, with whom the inhabitants were satisfied. On the morrow, he returned to his army, and in a council determined to march against another town that was rebellious, called Vigo, six leagues distant from Pontevedra. They instantly began their march; and, when within two leagues of the place, they sent forward to know if they would surrender, as Pontevedra and other towns had done, which, if they refused, they might rest assured they should be attacked in the morning. The inhabitants paid no attention to this menace, and said, that they had often had assaults, but had never been the worse for them. When this answer was carried to the marshal, he swore by St. George they should be attacked in earnest. 'What! are the scoundrels so proud to send me such an answer?' They passed the night comfortably with what they had brought with them, and on the morrow by sunrise were on their march to Vigo. It was near ten o'clock when they came before the town, and each party made preparations for the attack and defence. Vigo, though not a large town, is sufficiently strong; and had there been within it some knights and squires, who understood their profession, I do not believe the English would have gained it so easily as they did; for the moment the inhabitants felt the arrows of the English and saw many killed and wounded by them, for they were badly armed, they were panic-struck, and said,—'Why do we let ourselves be killed and wounded for the king of Castille? We may as well have the duke of Lancaster, who married the daughter of don Pedro, for our king, as the son of don Henry of Transtamare. We must know, that if we be taken by storm, our lives will be forfeited

and our town plundered, and there does not seem succour coming to us from any quarter. A month ago, we sent a remonstrance to the king of Castille at Burgos on our situation, and the peril we should be in, if the English marched hither, as we heard they intended doing. The king indeed spoke to the French knights who are with him on the matter, but no orders were given for any men at arms to be sent hither as a garrison, any more than to other parts of Galicia, which plainly showed it was indifferent to the king whether we were won or not. He told our envoys to return and do as well as they could. This proves he does not wish us to be slain, nor the place taken by storm.'

" On saying this, some of the townsmen mounted over the gateway, and from a window made signs they wished for a parley, to treat of peace. They were observed; and the marshal, going thither, asked what they wanted. They said; ' Marshal, order your men to retire: we will submit ourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms as those of Coruña and other towns have obtained; and if you want provisions, you shall courteously have them from us; but we will not suffer any one to enter the town by force of arms. This is our proposal, and by this we mean to abide.' The marshal was advised to answer,—' I agree to your terms; but I must appoint an able governor, to counsel and defend you, should there be any need of it.' They answered, they would also admit of this. Thus was the treaty concluded; and, on the assault ceasing, the army retreated from before it into the plain. The marshal, sir Evan Fitzwarren, sir John Abuurelle *, the lord de Pommiers, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, entered the town to refresh themselves, where they remained the whole day. Those without the walls received bread, wine, and other provision from the town in abundance.

" After the conquest of Vigo, where the lords had availed themselves of the opportunity to refresh themselves at their ease, for it is situated in a rich country, and had nominated as governor an English squire called Thomas Albery, a prudent and valiant man, to whom they gave twelve archers for his defence, they marched from thence, skirting the mountains and borders of Castille, towards the large town of Bayona. When they had advanced within two leagues of the place, they halted and took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they dislodged and marched in battle-array to Bayona. When near, they formed themselves into two divisions, and sent forward a herald to learn the intentions of the inhabitants, whether they would surrender without being assaulted. The herald had not far to go; and, when arrived at the barriers, he found plenty of common people there, though badly armed, to whom he delivered his message; for he well understood their language, being a Portuguese. His name was Coimbra, and attached to the king of Portugal. ' You men of the town,' said he, ' what are your intentions? Will you suffer yourselves to be attacked, or will you surrender quietly to your sovereigns, the duke and duchess of Lancaster? My lord marshal and his companions send me hither to know what you mean to do.' Upon this they collected together and began to talk aloud, saying,—' What shall we do? Shall we defend ourselves, or surrender?' An old man who had learnt experience, from having seen more than they had, addressed them,—' My good sirs, in our situation we must not hold long councils; and the English are very courteous in thus allowing us time to deliberate. You are aware that we have not any hopes of succour; for the king of Castille, who knows our situation well, and has done so since the arrival of the duke and duchess at Coruña, has not provided any resources for us, nor does he seem inclined so to do. If we, therefore, allow ourselves to be attacked, the town is so large and ill fortified, we cannot guard the whole; and the English are subtle in war: they will exert themselves to conquer us, in hopes of plunder; for they are, like all men at arms, eager to enrich themselves; and this town is supposed to be more rich than in fact it is. I therefore think it most advisable that we quietly submit to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and, by not foolishly resisting, lose more, but obtain peace on advantageous terms. This is the advice I give you.' They replied, they would follow it; and, as he was a man of consideration in Bayona, they requested him to answer the herald. ' I will cheerfully do so; but we must give him some money, which will bind him to our interests, and induce him to make a favourable report to his lords.' On this he advanced to the herald, and said: ' You will return to your lords, and

* I imagine this must be intended for sir Hugh lord Burnel. See *Dugdale*

assure them we are willing to put ourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, in the same manner other towns in Galicia have done, or may do. Now, go and do our business well, and we will give you twenty florins.' The herald was delighted on hearing this speech, and the promise of twenty florins; and said, 'Where are the florins?' They were instantly paid down, and he set off, gaily, to rejoin the English army.

"The marshal and his companions, on seeing him return, asked what news he had brought. 'Do the townsmen mean to surrender, or wait the attack?' 'By my faith, my lords,' replied the herald, 'they have no such intentions. They desire me to inform you, they are willing to submit themselves to the duke and duchess, on similar terms to those which other towns have obtained; and if you will go thither, they will gladly receive you.' 'Well,' said the marshal, 'it is better we thus gain the place than by assault; for our men, at least, will neither be wounded nor slain.' The marshal and his army marched at a foot's-pace to the town, where he dismounted, and went to the barrier and gate. There were numbers of people assembled, but their whole armours were not worth ten francs, to see the English; and the person who had given the answer to the herald was there also, to conclude a treaty. The moment the herald perceived him, he said to the marshal,—'My lord, speak to that elderly man who is bowing to you, for he has the greatest weight in the place.' The marshal advanced, and said,—'Now, what have you to say? Will you surrender yourselves to my lord, the duke of Lancaster, and to his duchess, as to your legal sovereigns?' 'Yes, my lord,' replied the old man: 'we surrender ourselves to you, and acknowledge them for our lords, as other towns in Galicia have done; and, if you and your companions please to enter the town, you are welcome; but on condition that, should you want provision, you do not seize it, but loyally pay for whatever you may take.' 'I agree to this,' said the marshal; 'for we only desire the love and obedience of the country; but you must swear, that should the king of Castille come in person, or send hither any troops, you will defend yourselves boldly against him and all his allies.' 'We willingly swear this; and should he come himself, or send any troops, we will shut our gates against him or them, and inform you of it. Should you prove the strongest, we will remain steady to your interest; for you will never find any deceit in us.' 'I am satisfied,' answered the marshal, 'and do not require more. Before the expiration of the year, the dispute will be decided; and the crown of Castille, Cordova, Galicia, and Seville, will fall to the strongest; for, by the end of August, there will be such numbers of men at arms in Castille as have not been seen for these hundred years.' 'Well, my lord,' answered the elder, 'let happen what may, and the right fall where it ought, we of Galicia venture to wait the event.'

"Upon this, the holy sacrament was brought, and those who governed the town swore upon it to behave loyally and faithfully, like good subjects, to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and to acknowledge them as their sovereigns, in the same manner as other towns had done. The marshal, in the name of the duke of Lancaster, received them as his subjects, and swore to defend and govern them in peace and justice. When all this had been done, the barriers and gates were thrown open, when all entered who chose, and lodged themselves where they could. They remained there four days, to recruit themselves and horses, and also to wait for fair weather; for, during these four days, it rained incessantly, and the rivers were much swelled. There are, in Galicia, many rivers which are so greatly increased by the mountain-torrents, that they are very dangerous to pass. While waiting for a change in the weather, they held a council, whether they should march for Betancos or Ribadavia, which is a strong town, and inhabited by the most insolent and treacherous people in all Galicia. On the fifth day, the English dislodged from Bayona, and took the field. The weather was now temperate, and the rivers, to their great joy, reduced to their usual size. They rode towards Ribadavia without any opposition; and, as no one came out against them, they thought themselves lords of Galicia. They arrived near the town, with a large train of baggage, horses and victuallers, and encamped in a grove of olive trees on a handsome plain, about half a league from the place. They resolved to send a herald to parley with the townsmen, before they made any preparations for the attack; for the marshal well knew they were the falsest and worst people in all Castille,

extensive as it is; and that they paid no regard to the king, nor to any one but themselves, depending on the strength of their town.

"The herald, before he set out, was charged to learn their intentions; but, when he came to the barriers, he found them and the gate closed. He shouted and called, but received no answer whatever. He saw, indeed, several pass backwards and forwards on the battlements; but for all he could do, not one would come and speak with him, though he remained an hour thus bawling to them. Finding he could not obtain a hearing, he said to himself,—'I fancy these men of Ribadavia have had some communication with those of Bayona, who are vexed they should have given me twenty florins for so little trouble, and want to make me here pay for it. By holy Mary! I believe they wish to keep me until it be late, and then seize and hang me.' On saying this, he remounted his horse, and returned to the marshal and his army. On his arrival, he was asked what news, and whether the inhabitants of Ribadavia would surrender as the other towns had done, or force them to the attack?' 'By my troth,' replied the herald, 'I know not what they mean to do; for they are so proud, that though I bawled to them for an hour, they never deigned to give me any answer.' Sir John Burnel then said, 'Hast thou seen no one? Perhaps they are fled, and have left their town for fear of us.' 'Fled!' replied the herald: 'begging your pardon, my lord, they disdain to do such a thing as fly; and before you conquer them, they will give you more plague than all the other towns in Galicia together. Know that there are plenty of men within it; for I saw them when I called out "Listen to me, listen to me! I am a herald, whom my lord marshal has sent hither to parley and treat with you;" but they gave me no answer, only staring at me, and bursting out in laughter.' 'Ah, the insolent scoundrels!' said the marshal: 'by St. George, they shall be well punished for this; and, unless my lord of Lancaster shall order otherwise, never will I quit this place until I have reduced it under his obedience. Let us now eat and drink to refresh ourselves, and then march to the assault; for I will see this town nearer, and what is its strength, that makes the scoundrels thus insolent, and induces them to hold us so cheap.'

"When they had finished their repast, they mounted their horses, and, with trumpets sounding, rode gently on, for the weather was as sweet as in the month of May. On coming before the place, some knights and squires, to make a display, galloped up to the barriers, where they found a large body of cross-bowmen drawn up in front of the gate, who, by their shooting, killed and wounded many horses. The archers then advanced, and, posting themselves on the banks of the ditch, and at the barriers, attacked the cross-bowmen. The assault was severe, and lasted a considerable time; for the town was tolerably strong, and difficult to be conquered. One side is situated on a perpendicular rock, impossible to be mounted: the other, indeed, is on the plain, but surrounded by wide ditches, which, though not filled with water, cannot easily be crossed. The knights and squires, however, did cross them, and ascended the banks to the walls, with targets on their heads, to defend themselves from the arrows, or whatever might be thrown down from the battlements. The archers shot so well, that scarcely any dared show themselves; and this attack was long continued, many on each side being killed or wounded. Towards evening, it ceased, on the trumpets sounding the retreat; and the English returned to their camp, where they made themselves comfortable, and attended to their wounded. Thierry de Soumain was so badly wounded in the arm, at the barriers, by a bolt from a cross-bow, that it was necessary to have it forced through the arm: he was upwards of a month unable to use it, and obliged to bear it in a scarf.

"While the marshal of the duke of Lancaster's army was thus overrunning and turning Galicia to his interest, the duke and duchess, with their children, resided quietly at Saint Jago. They heard frequently from the king of Portugal, as a continual intercourse was kept up between them on their mutual affairs. King John of Castille held his court at Valladolid, attended by the French knights, whom he frequently consulted on the state of his kingdom; for he was perfectly acquainted with everything that was passing around him. He said to them,—'My fair sirs, I greatly marvel that no succour comes to me from France, to assist me in my distress; for my country will be lost, if no reinforcements arrive to prevent it. The English keep the field; and I know for truth, that the duke

of Lancaster and king of Portugal have had an interview, and that the last is to marry one of the duke's daughters, for she has been betrothed to him; and, as soon as this marriage shall have taken place, you will see them unite together and enter my kingdom, and, when united, they will prove too much for me.' The French knights, to comfort him, replied, 'Do not be uneasy: if the English gain on one side they lose on another. We have certain intelligence, that the king of France, with upwards of an hundred thousand armed men, has at this moment invaded England, to conquer and destroy that whole country. When that shall be accomplished, and England reduced to a state of subjection from whence it can never rise, the king of France and his army will embark on board their navy, which is so considerable, and disembark during the course of the summer at Corunna. He will re-conquer in one month more than you have lost during the year, and surround the duke of Lancaster in such manner that you will see him fly to Portugal. Thus will you be revenged of your enemies; for be assured, that if France were not at this moment occupied with the conquest of England, you would have had, some time since, three or four thousand lances from thence. The king of France, his uncles and council, have a great affection for you, and are very anxious to put an end to your war. Never mind if the English keep the field, and borrow from you a little of your kingdom: before St. John's day shall come, they will be forced to restore the whole of it back to you.'

"Such were the conversations that frequently passed at Valladolid between the king of Castille and his council, with the French knights. The king, having such an opinion of them, believed all they said, and took comfort. They indeed thought what they had said was truth; for they concluded the king of France had invaded England, according to the rumours spread throughout Castille. You must know that the duke of Lancaster did not hear from his people one quarter of what was told them by pilgrims and merchants from Flanders; and, though the king of Portugal wrote frequently to inquire after the duke's health, these rumours prevented him from hastening his preparations, and from demanding the lady Philippa for his queen. His council said, that as all the intelligence from France and Flanders agreed England to be in a most perilous state of being destroyed, neither the alliance nor marriage with the duke of Lancaster or his daughter would be of any advantage to him, and that he should dissemble his thoughts, but still preserve an outward appearance of great affection to the duke and duchess, by letters and otherwise, until he should see what turn affairs would take."

We will now for a while leave speaking of Spain and Portugal, and return to France.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO LILLE, WITH THE INTENT TO INVADE ENGLAND.—SIR SIMON BURLEY ADVISES THE REMOVAL OF THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET FROM CANTERBURY TO DOVER CASTLE, FOR FEAR OF THE FRENCH.

At this period, (1386,) the number of ships, galleys, and vessels of every description, which had been collected to carry over to England the king of France and his army, were so great, that the oldest man then living had never seen nor heard of the like. Knights and squires were arming on all sides, and, when they quitted their homes, they said,—"We will invade these cursed English, who have done such mischief to France, and now avenge ourselves for the losses they have caused us by the death of our fathers, brothers, or friends." It was twelve weeks before all the purveyances of the different lords were ready and embarked, so grandly had they provided themselves. The report was kept up for some time in Flanders, that the king would be there on the morrow, to hasten them. Men were continually arriving from Gascony, Armagnac, the Toulousain, Bigorre, Comminges, Auvergne, Berry, Limousin, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, Touraine, Blois, Orleans, Beauce, Normandy, Picardy, and from every province in France, who quartered themselves in Flanders and Artois.

When the middle of August came, which was the time fixed on for the invasion taking place, in order the more to hasten those from the distant parts of the realm; and, to show that the king was in earnest to embark, he took leave of queen Blanche, the duchess of

Orleans, and the other princesses. He heard a solemn mass in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, and it was his intention, when he should quit Paris, never to re-enter it until he had landed in England; and of this all the principal cities and towns were persuaded. The king of France went to Senlis, whither he was accompanied by his queen: the duke of Berry was in Berry, though his purveyances were collecting in Flanders and at Sluys, like the others. The duke of Burgundy was also in his own country, but he bade adieu to his duchess and children, and set off for Flanders, meaning to take leave of his aunt, the duchess of Brabant, in his way thither. On his departure from Burgundy, he travelled in great pomp and magnificence, attended by the admiral of France and the lord Guy de la Trimouille, unto Brussels, where the duchess and her ladies received him and his company with great joy. He tarried there two days, and then went to Mons in Hainault, where he found his daughter madame d'Ostrevant, duke Albert, and his son the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, who entertained them handsomely, and conducted the duke to Valenciennes, where he was lodged in the apartments of the count, and duke Albert at the hôtel of Vicongneras. The duke of Burgundy, on leaving Valenciennes, went to Douay and Arras, where the duchess was waiting for him. From Senlis the king of France came to Compiegne, Noyon, Peronne, Bapaume, and Arras; and there were such numbers of men at arms pouring into those countries from all quarters, that everything was destroyed or devoured without a farthing being paid for anything. The poor farmers, who had filled their barns with grain, had only the straw, and, if they complained, were beaten or killed. The fish-ponds were drained of fish, and the houses pulled down for firing, so that if the English had been there, they could not have committed greater waste than this French army did. They said, "We have not at present any money, but shall have enough on our return, when we will pay for all." The farmers, not daring to speak out, cursed them inwardly, on seeing them seize what was intended for their families; and said, "Go, go to England, and may never a soul of you come back

The king of France arrived at Lille, with his two uncles of Burgundy and Bourbon; but the duke of Berry still remained behind, in his own country, arranging his affairs. With the king were the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count d'Armagnac, the count de Savoye, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Geneve, the count de St. Pol, the count d'Eu, the count de Longueville, the lord de Coucy, sir William de Namur, and so many of the great lords of France that I can never name them. It was said that twenty thousand knights and squires were to embark for England, which was indeed a goodly company, with about the same number of cross-bows, including the Genoese, and twenty thousand stout varlets.

Sir Oliver de Clisson was still in Brittany making his preparations, and equipping his fleet at the port of Treguier, from whence he intended to embark his wooden town, that was to be put together, and erected on his landing in England, as you have before heard. The flower of Breton chivalry was to accompany the constable, such as the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Rays, de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Rochefort, de Malestroit, the viscount de Combor, sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Ancenis, and five hundred spears, all picked men. The constable had always declared, that no one ought to be employed on this expedition if he were not a good man at arms and such as could be depended on. He had said to the admiral,—"Be careful not to suffer any boys or servants to embark on board the fleet, for they will do us more harm than good." And the knights, unless they were of high rank, or had hired vessels for themselves, were not allowed to take with them more than one horse and one servant. To say the truth, their arrangements were very well made: and it was the opinion of many, that if the army could have been landed together at the place they had fixed on in Orwell bay, the whole country would have been thrown into confusion. Indeed, I believe there was little doubt of it; for the great lords, such as prelates, abbots, and rich citizens, were panic-struck, but the commonalty and poorer sort held it very cheap. Such knights and squires as were not rich, but eager for renown, were delighted, and said to each other,—"Lord, what fine times are coming, since the king of France intends to visit us! He is a valiant king and of great enterprise: there has not been such a one in France these three hundred years. He will make his people

good men at arms; and blessed may he be for thinking to invade us; for certainly we shall be all slain or made powerfully rich: one or other must happen."

If the preparations for this invasion were great in France, those in England, for its defence, were not less so, as I have before mentioned, and will therefore slightly return to it. The taxes in England were equally heavy with those in France; but though they were very oppressive, the common people said they ought not to complain, for they were raised for the defence of the country, and paid to knights and squires to guard their lands, and they were their labourers, who provided them with food, and the sheep from whom they took the wool; but, if England should be conquered, they would be the greatest losers. No one was exempted from the payment of these taxes, so that two millions of florins were raised for the defence of the country, and paid into the hands of the archbishop of York, the earl of Oxford, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Simon Burley, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and others of the king's privy council, who were appointed receivers and paymasters of the above sum, for the king's uncles were not consulted in the business. They would not interfere, nor by so doing throw the kingdom into trouble, but exerted themselves to the utmost in putting all the coast in a good state of defence; for they most assuredly thought the king of France would attempt to land his army in England during the course of the summer. The before-named receivers did in the king's name as they thought proper in respect to this tax; but the earl of Oxford was the most active, and made the greatest advantage of it. Everything was done by him, and without his consent nothing; for which, when this alarm was over, the people were much dissatisfied, and wanted to know what had become of the large sums that had been raised; and the principal cities and towns, urged on by the king's uncles, would have an account how they had been disbursed, as I will relate in proper time and place, for I wish not that anything should be forgotten in this history.

Sir Simon Burley was governor of Dover castle, and, from his situation, received frequent intelligence from France by the fishermen of the town, who related to him what they heard from the French fishermen, as they were often obliged to adventure as far as Wissan or Boulogne to obtain good fish. When the fishermen from France met them at sea, they told them enough, and more than they knew; for, though there were wars between France and England, they were never interrupted in their pursuits, nor attacked each other, but, on the contrary, gave mutual assistance, and bought or sold, according as either had more fish than they were in want of; for, if they were to meddle in the national quarrels, there would be no fishing, and none would attempt it unless supported by men at arms. Sir Simon learnt from the fishermen that the king of France was absolutely determined on the invasion; that he intended to land one division at or near Dover, and another at Sandwich, and that his forces were immense. He, as well as the rest of England, believed all this was true; and one day he set out for Canterbury to visit the abbey, which is very large and handsome; near it is Christ-church, which is also rich and powerful.

The abbot inquired, "What news?" and sir Simon told him all he knew, adding, "that the shrine of St. Thomas, so respectable and rich, was not safe in Canterbury, for the town was not strong*; and if the French should come, some of the pillagers, through avarice, would make for Canterbury, which they would plunder, as well as your abbey, and make particular inquiries after the shrine, and will take it away, to your great loss. I would therefore advise, that you have it carried to Dover castle, where it will be perfectly safe, though all England were lost." The abbot and all the convent were so much angered at this speech, though meant well, that they replied,—"How! sir Simon, would you wish to despoil this church of its jewel? If you are afraid yourself, gain courage, and shut yourself up in your castle of Dover, for the French will not be bold enough, nor in sufficient force, to adventure themselves so far." This was the only answer he had; but sir Simon persisted so long in his proposition, that the common people grew discontented, and held him for an ill-inclined person, which, as I shall relate, they afterwards showed more plainly. Sir Simon made but a short stay and returned to Dover.

* The walls of Canterbury were much out of repair; and there is an order now existing for their reparation, from the court of Chancery, in the 19th year of Richard II.—*Hasted's Kent.*

CHAPTER XLIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE VISITS HIS FLEET AT SLUYS.—THE KING OF ARMENIA CROSSES TO ENGLAND, TO ATTEMPT A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO KINGS.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES.

The king of France, to show his impatience for the invasion and his dislike of being at too great a distance, came to Sluys. The report was now daily current in Flanders and Artois, "The king will embark Saturday, Tuesday, or Thursday." Every day of the week they said, "He will embark to-morrow, or the day after." The duke of Touraine *, the king's brother, the bishop of Beauvais, chancellor, and other great lords, had taken leave of the king at Lille, and returned to Paris. I believe, indeed it was assured me for fact, that the duke was appointed regent during the king's absence, in conjunction with the count de Blois and other principal barons, who had not been ordered on the invasion. The duke of Berry was still behind, though he was advancing slowly, for he had no great desire to go to England. The king of France and duke of Burgundy were much vexed at his delay, and wished his arrival: however, the embarkation of stores continued at a vast expense to the great lords; for what was worth only one franc they were made to pay four; and those who were hoping speedily to cross over valued not their money in making preparations, but seemed desirous to rival each other in expense.



General View of Sluys.—From an old plan, in Flandria Illustrata, by Ant. Sanderus.

If the principal lords were well paid, those of inferior rank suffered for it, as there was a month's pay due to them, for which the paymaster of the forces was unwilling to account; and he and the clerks of the treasury told them to wait another week, and they should be satisfied. Thus were they put off from week to week; and when they made them any payments, it was only for eight days, when eight weeks were due. Some, who were so treated, became melancholy, and said the expedition would never succeed; and foreseeing what would happen, whenever they could amass any money, like wise men, set out on their return home. The poor knights and squires, who were not retainers on the great lords, had expended their all; for everything was so dear in Flanders, they had difficulty in

* Louis, count of Valois, the king's brother, did not enjoy the title of duke of Touraine till the return of this fruitless expedition. He was afterwards created duke of Orleans.—Ed.

procuring bread or wine. If they wished to pawn their wages or arms, they could not obtain a farthing for what, when new, had cost them large sums. There were such crowds at Bruges, Damme, Ardembourg, and particularly at Sluys, when the king arrived, that it was difficult to find any lodgings.

The lords de St. Pol, de Coucy, d'Antoing, and the dauphin of Auvergne, with other barons from France, remained at Bruges, to be more at their ease, and every now and then rode over to Sluys, to inquire from the king when they were to embark. They were told, within three or four days; or when the duke of Berry should arrive, or when the wind was favourable. There was always some delay; but the time passed, and the days became shorter and cold, with bad weather. Many of the lords were discontented they were so long in embarking, for their provision would be spoiled.

While they were waiting for the duke of Berry and the constable, the king of Armenia, who resided in France, on a pension from the king of six thousand francs, desirous to make a journey to England, in hopes of bringing about a peace, or at least a truce between the two kings, left his hôtel of St. Ouen, near St. Denis, and, with few attendants, travelled to Boulogne, where he hired a vessel, and, having a favourable wind, landed at Dover. He found there the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, with a hundred men at arms and two thousand archers to guard the place; for the rumour ran, that the French intended landing there, or at Sandwich. At this last place were the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. At Orwell, the earls of Oxford, Pembroke, and Nottingham, and sir Reginald Cobham, with three thousand infantry. The king and part of his council remained in London, where he had intelligence daily from the different ports. The king of Armenia, on his arrival at Dover, was very well received, and conducted by some knights to the uncles of the king, who entertained him handsomely, as they knew well how to do. At a proper opportunity they asked him whither he came, and what were the reasons of his visiting England. To these questions he answered, that, in hopes of doing good, he had come to wait on the king of England and his council, to see if, by any means, he could negotiate a peace between him and the king of France. "For this war," added the king of Armenia, "is not very becoming between them: the long continuance of it has greatly emboldened and raised the pride of the Turks and Saracens. No one now makes any opposition to them; and this has been the cause why I have lost my crown and kingdom; nor have I any chance of recovering them, until a firm peace be established in Christendom. I would willingly explain this matter, which so nearly touches every true Christian, to the king of England, as I have done to the king of France."

The English lords asked him, "if the king of France had sent him?" He said,—"No one had sent him: that he had come of his own accord, and solely with a view to do good, to see the king of England and his council, and to try if they would listen to terms of peace." They then asked "where the king of France was." "I believe he is now at Sluys; but I have not seen him since I took my leave of him at Senlis." "How can you then think of forming a treaty, when you have not been so charged by him? Should you enter into any terms with the king, our nephew, and his council, and the king of France, in the mean time, sail from Sluys, and disembark his large army in England, you would be much blamed, and your person run great risks from the people." The king of Armenia replied,—"I have the greatest confidence in the king of France, to whom I have sent messengers to entreat he would neither embark nor put to sea until I be returned to Sluys; and I am convinced he is so noble and considerate, that he will comply with my request. I therefore beg of you, through pity and love of goodness, to procure me an interview with the king of England, that I may speak to him, for I desire greatly to see him; or if you, who are his uncles, and the most powerful of his subjects, be authorised to give me answers to my demands, I hope that you will instantly do so." Thomas, earl of Buckingham, said,—"King of Armenia, we are solely ordered here by the king and his council, to guard and defend the frontiers, and we do not any way concern ourselves with the government of the realm, unless we be specially commanded by him. Since motives of goodness, or the appearance of them, have brought you hither, you are welcome; but you must not expect to receive from us any definitive answers to such demands as you may make; and, though we are not now of the king's council, we will have you conducted to London without danger

or expense." The king of Armenia replied, "That he greatly thanked them, and wished for nothing more than to see and converse with the king of England."

After having refreshed himself for one day at Dover, and held many conversations with the king's uncles, he set off, well escorted, to protect him on the road. He continued his journey until he arrived at London, where he was much stared at by the Londoners: the better sort, however, showed him every honour and respect. Having fixed on his lodgings, at a proper time and hour he waited on the king, who resided in a private manner at the wardrobe; but his council were in London, each at his own house; for the Londoners were so panic-struck, they thought of nothing but how to fortify their town. When the arrival of the king of Armenia was publicly known, the king's council assembled at the wardrobe to learn the news, and what could have brought that king, at this time of trouble and alarm, to England. The king of Armenia entered the presence-chamber, and the two kings having mutually saluted each other, the king of Armenia began his speech, by declaring, the causes for his coming were principally to see the king of England, which he had never before done; that he was much gratified in being in his presence, from which he flattered himself good would arise; and also to attempt to avert the great pestilence that was ready to befal England: not that either the king of France or his council had sent him thither, for he was come of his own free will, to endeavour to make a peace or a truce between the two crowns. He paid many compliments both to the king and to his council. He was briefly answered as follows: "Sir king, you are welcome to this country, for our king and selves are glad to see you. We must inform you, that the king has not all his council at this moment with him, but they will shortly assemble, as he had summoned them, and you shall then have an answer."

The king of Armenia was contented with this, took his leave, and returned to the house where he was lodged. Within four days, the king was advised what answer to make; I believe he consulted his uncles on the subject, but they were not present when it was given. The king went to Westminster, where his council was assembled, and thither the king of Armenia was invited. When in the presence, the king of England was seated, according to custom, then the king of Armenia and the prelates and lords of the council. The king of Armenia was desired to repeat what he had before told the king and a part of his council. He did so in an elegant harangue, showing how Christendom was too much weakened by the destructive wars of France and England, and that the knights and squires of the two countries thought of nothing but joining one party or other: by which the empire of Constantinople would be destroyed, where formerly the gentlemen of France and England used to take pleasure in seeking deeds of arms, and that his own kingdom was already lost. He therefore entreated, through the love of God, they would listen to some terms of peace between the two kings. The archbishop of Canterbury, who had beforehand been ordered by the king and council to deliver the answer, replied: "King of Armenia, it is not usual, nor has it ever been admitted, that in such weighty matters as are now in dispute between the king of England and his adversary of France, the king of England should have requests made him, with an army ready to invade his country. I will therefore declare our opinion, that you return to the French army, and prevail on them to retreat to France; and, when we shall be fully assured that every man has retired to his home, do you return hither, and we will then pay attention to any treaty you shall propose."

This was the answer the king of Armenia received. He dined that day with the king, who paid him every possible honour, and offered him handsome presents of gold and silver; but he refused them all, though he had need of them, and would only accept a single ring, worth one hundred francs. After the dinner, which was splendid and good, he returned to his lodgings, for he had received his answer, and on the morrow set out for Dover, making two days' journey of it. He there took leave of the English lords, and embarked on board a passage-boat to Calais, whence he went to Sluys. He related to the king of France and his uncles the journey he had made to England, and what answer he had received: but the king and his lords paid no attention to it, and sent him to France; for they were resolved to sail the first fair wind for England, after the arrival of the duke of Berry and the constable. Hitherto the wind had been unfavourable: it would never have served them to land in those parts they intended to attempt, but was very fair to carry them to Scotland.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE DUKE OF BERRY LEAVES PARIS FOR SLUYS.—THE CONSTABLE, AFTER SUFFERING MANY DELAYS FROM CONTRARY WINDS, AT LENGTH JOINS THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE duke of Berry arrived at Paris, and, after hearing mass at the church of Nôtre Dame, took his leave, making it to be understood that he would never return until he had been in England, although his intentions were quite the contrary; for, as the season was so far advanced, he had no desire to undertake it. On his road, he daily received letters and messengers from the king and the duke of Burgundy, to hasten him, and to say they were only waiting for his coming to embark. The duke of Berry continued his march, though by short days' journeys. The constable of France embarked at Treguier, a town on the sea-coast of Brittany, with a fine body of men at arms, and ample purveyances on board seventy-two large vessels. Some of them were freighted with the wooden town that was to be erected on their landing in England. The constable had a favourable wind when he left the harbour: but, when he approached the English coast, it became contrary, and the farther they advanced the more violent it blew. When opposite to Margate at the mouth of the Thames, the storm was so violent, it dispersed the fleet, whether the mariners would or not, and there were not twenty sail together. Some were blown into the Thames, where they were captured by the English; and among them was one that had two or three parts of the wooden town on board, and the workmen who were to erect it. They and the town were sent to London, which much pleased the king and the citizens. Seven other vessels of the fleet, laden with stores and provision, were driven on the coast of Zealand, and seized; but the constable and his lords, with much difficulty, arrived at Sluys, where they were joyfully received by the king and his barons. The moment the king saw the constable, he said,—"Constable, what say you? when shall we sail? I have for certain a great desire to see England. I therefore pray you to hasten the business, and that we embark as speedily as possible. My uncle Berry will be here instantly, for he is now at Lille." "Sire," replied the constable, "we cannot sail until the wind be favourable. This south wind, which is completely against us, has blown so long, that the sailors say they have never seen it so constant in one point as it has been for these two months."

"Constable," said the king, "on my faith, I have been on board my ship. I like the sea much, and I believe I shall be a good sailor, for I was not in the least sick." "In the name of God," answered the constable, "it was not so with me, for we were in great danger in our voyage from Brittany hither." The king would know how, and in what manner, which the constable related to him, adding, "By ill fortune and the storm which blew from the English coast, we have lost our men and vessels, for which I am exceedingly sorry; and if I could make up their loss I would, but at this moment it is not possible."

CHAPTER XLV.—THE LORD DE GUISTELLES APPEASES AN INSURRECTION OF THE MEN OF BRUGES AGAINST THE FRENCH.—THE INVASION OF ENGLAND IS GIVEN UP, ON ACCOUNT OF CONTRARY WINDS, THE NEAR APPROACH OF WINTER, AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY, WHICH CAUSES GREAT REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the king of France and his constable were thus conversing and arranging different matters, winter was begun, and the lords and army lay exposed to the cold, and to some danger; for the Flemings wished them away, more especially the lower sorts. They said, when among themselves, "Why the devil does not the king free us from them, by passing over to England? Are we not sufficiently poor without these Frenchmen adding to it?" Others answered, "You will not see them cross over this year. They think they shall instantly conquer England; but it will not be so: it is not so easy a matter, for the English are made of other stuff than the French. What can they do to England? When the

English invaded France, they shut themselves up in their castles and strong towns, and fled before them like larks before a sparrow-hawk."

It was more particularly in Bruges, where the greater resort of the French was, that the discontents were the highest; and the smallest trifle was sufficient to set them by the ears. At length it became serious, and was begun by a few French varlets, who had beaten and wounded some of the Flemings: the artificers then rose, and, having armed themselves, assembled in the market-place. Not one French knight or squire would have escaped death; for many of the Flemings had not forgotten the battle of Rosebecque, and were eager to revenge themselves for their fathers, brothers, or friends who had been there slain; but God, providentially for the French, sent thither the lord de Guistelles. When he learnt that the common people were arming themselves, and that others were running to their houses to do the same, he saw the town would be infallibly ruined: he therefore mounted his horse, attended by no more than four or five others, and rode up and down the streets; and, whenever he met any of the townsmen armed going towards the market-place, he said to them,—'My good people, what are you about? whither are you going? Would you ruin yourselves? have you not had enough of war? are you not every day prevented from following your trades? You may so act as to cause the complete destruction of Bruges; for do you not know that the king of France is now in the neighbourhood with his whole army?" Thus did the lord de Guistelles by his kind speeches calm them, and make them return to their homes; but this would not have been so easily done, had he not fortunately been in Bruges. The barons and knights of France were so much alarmed, they had shut themselves up in their quarters to wait the event.

On the arrival of the duke of Berry at Sluys, the king said to him,—"Ha, ha, fair uncle, though I was so anxious to see you, you have been long in coming: why have you made such delay, when we ought to have been at this moment in England, where we should have combated our enemies?" The duke laughed and made his excuses for the delay, but did not at first deliver his real sentiments: he wished to examine the state of the purveyances and the fleet, which made so beautiful a show in the road that it was delightful to see it. He had been at Sluys for more than seven days, and it was daily rumoured they were to sail on the morrow; but in truth the wind was quite contrary to sailing for England. As it was now St. Andrew's tide, the weather was hazy; and you may judge if this were a fit season for so many noble persons to put to sea as were now waiting to embark at Sluys, whose stores and provision were on board. Some of the young princes of the blood-royal, with a desire to display their courage, had indeed made a few cruises near the harbour, saying, that they would be the first to land in England, should none others venture thither. In this number were sir Robert and sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry de Bar, sir Peter de Navarre, sir Peter d'Albreth, sir Bernard d'Armagnac, with many more. These young lords, having once begun, were so impatient to sail in earnest, that a council was held, in the presence of the king, to determine how they should proceed. The duke of Berry broke up the whole; and gave such well-grounded reasons, that the greater part of those who were the most forward to embark were discouraged; and said it would be folly and madness to advise the king, who was then but a child, to put to sea in such weather, and to make war on a people and country, whose roads no one was acquainted with, and a country which was likewise disadvantageous for warlike exploits. "Now, suppose," said the duke of Berry, "we were all landed in England, we cannot fight the English unless they like it, and we dare not leave our purveyances behind, for whoever should do so would lose the whole. But if any one wished to make this voyage, though of no great length, he would do it in the middle of summer, and not in the heart of winter. Summon all the sailors who are here, and they will tell you that what I say is true; and that, notwithstanding the very numerous fleet we have collected, should we put to sea, of the fifteen hundred sail, there would never be three hundred together, or within sight. Now, consider what risks we may run; but I do not say this out of any desire to be excused from being of the party myself, but solely as I believe it sound sense, and that the council, and the majority of France, are of my way of thinking. I am willing, brother of Burgundy, that you and I undertake this expedition, but I will never advise the king to do so; for, should any accident happen to him, the

whole blame would be laid on us for having consented to it." "In God's name," replied the king of France, "I am resolved to go, should no one follow me." The lords laughed, and said the king has a strong inclination to embark.

It was determined in this council, that the invasion should be deferred to April or May; and that what stores could be preserved, such as biscuit, salted meat, and wine, should be put in warehouses: and regulations were made for the men at arms to return to Sluys in the month of March. All this was soon known; and thus was the grand expedition broken up, which had cost France one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. The council had ordered that the king should return to France, and the different lords to their homes; that all things should remain on the same footing on which they then rested until the spring, when every one should be prepared to obey the king's summons, and commence their voyage under more fortunate auspices than at this moment. It would have surprised any one to have seen the rage of the knights and squires on hearing these orders: more especially those who had come from distant parts, and had expended all their money, in the hope of amply repaying themselves in England. Among them were the count de Savoye, the count d'Armagnac, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, and a hundred great barons, who departed much discontented at not having seen England. The king was equally vexed, but he could not amend it. The army now separated, some pleased and others angry; but the servants of the principal lords staid behind, for the benefit of their masters, and to sell off their stores: in this, great losses accrued; for what had cost one hundred francs was disposed of for ten, and even under. The count dauphin d'Auvergne assured me on his faith, that for his stores, which had cost him ten thousand francs, he did not receive one thousand when resold: his servants, like those of others, suffered every thing to go to ruin.

When news of this reached England, those who were afraid of the French coming were greatly rejoiced; while others were sorry, for they expected to have made themselves rich from them. A grand feast was given in the city of London to all who had been appointed to guard the different harbours. The king kept his Christmas, in a solemn manner, at Westminster, and there created three dukes; first, the earl of Cambridge, duke of York; his brother, the earl of Buckingham, duke of Gloucester; the earl of Oxford, duke of Ireland*. These feasts were long and magnificently continued, and the people of England thought they had escaped from great danger; but others, who had not the same alarms, said, that the army and navy, which had been so pompously collected at Sluys, were only to frighten England, and force the duke of Lancaster to return from Galicia, where he was conquering towns and castles at his pleasure.

CHAPTER XLVI.—TWO CHAMPIONS TILT AT PARIS, FOR LIFE OR DEATH.

About this period, there was much conversation in France respecting a duel which was to be fought, for life or death, at Paris. It had been thus ordered by the parliament of Paris, where the cause, which had lasted a year, had been tried, between a squire called James le Gris and John de Carogne, both of them of the household of Peter, count d'Alençon, and esteemed by him; but more particularly James le Gris, whom he loved above all others, and placed his whole confidence in him. As this duel made so great a noise, many from distant parts, on hearing of it, came to Paris to be spectators. I will relate the cause, as I was then informed.

It chanced that sir John de Carogne took it into his head he should gain glory if he undertook a voyage to the Holy Land, having long had an inclination to go thither. He took leave of his lord, the count d'Alençon, and of his wife, who was then a young and handsome lady, and left her in his castle, called Argenteil, on the borders of Perche, and began his journey towards the sea-side. The lady remained, with her household, in this castle, living in the most decent manner. Now it happened (this is the matter of quarrel)

* Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, was created marquis of Dublin in 1385 and duke of Ireland in 1386.—Ed.

that the devil, by diverse and perverse temptations, entered the body of James le Gris, and induced him to commit a crime, for which he afterwards paid. He cast his thoughts on the lady of sir John de Carogne, whom he knew to be residing with her attendants, at the castle of Argenteil. One day, therefore, he set out, mounted on the finest horse of the count, and arrived, full gallop, at Argenteil, where he dismounted. The servants made a handsome entertainment for him, because they knew he was a particular friend, and attached to the same lord as their master; and the lady, thinking no ill, received him with pleasure, led him to her apartment, and shewed him many of her works. James, fully intent to accomplish his wickedness, begged of her to conduct him to the dungeon, for that his visit was partly to examine it. The lady instantly complied, and led him thither; for, as she had the utmost confidence in his honour, she was not accompanied by valet or chambermaid. As soon as they had entered the dungeon, James le Gris fastened the door unnoticed by the lady, who was before him, thinking it might have been the wind, as he gave her to understand.

When they were thus alone, James embraced her, and discovered what his intentions were: the lady was much astonished, and would willingly have escaped had she been able, but the door was fastened; and James, who was a strong man, held her tight in his arms, and flung her down on the floor, and had his will of her. Immediately afterward, he opened the door of the dungeon, and made himself ready to depart. The lady, exasperated with rage at what had passed, remained silent, in tears; but, on his departure, she said to him,—"James, James, you have not done well in thus deflowering me: the blame, however, shall not be mine, but the whole be laid on you, if it please God my husband ever return." James mounted his horse, and, quitting the castle, hastened back to his lord, the count d'Alençon, in time to attend his rising at nine o'clock: he had been seen in the hôtel of the count at four o'clock that morning. I am thus particular, because all these circumstances were inquired into, and examined by the commissioners of the parliament, when the cause was before them.

The lady de Carogne, on the day this unfortunate event befel her, remained in her castle, and passed it off as well as she could, without mentioning one word of it to either chambermaid or valet, for she thought by making it public she would have more shame than honour; but she retained in her memory the day and hour James le Gris had come to the castle. The lord de Carogne returned from his voyage, and was joyfully received by his lady and household, who feasted him well. When night came, sir John went to bed, but his lady excused herself; and, on his kindly pressing her to come to him, she walked very pensively up and down the chamber. At last, when the household were in bed, she flung herself on her knees at his bedside, and bitterly bewailed the insult she had suffered. The knight would not believe it could have happened; but at length, she urged it so strongly, he did believe her, and said,—"Certainly, lady, if the matter has passed as you say, I forgive you, but the squire shall die; and I shall consult your and my relations on the subject: should you have told me a falsehood, never more shall you live with me." The lady again and again assured him, that what she had said was the pure truth.

On the morrow, the knight sent special messengers with letters to his friends and nearest relations of his wife, desiring them to come instantly to Argenteil, so that in a few days they were all at his castle. When they were assembled, he led them into an apartment, and told them the reasons of his sending for them, and made his lady relate most minutely everything that had passed during his absence. When they had recovered their astonishment, he asked their advice how to act: they said, he should wait on his lord, the count d'Alençon, and tell him the fact. This he did; but the count, who much loved James le Gris, disbelieved it, and appointed a day for the parties to come before him, and desired the lady might attend to give her evidence against the man whom she thus accused. She attended as desired, accompanied by a great number of her relations; and the examinations and pleadings were carried on before the count to a great length. James le Gris boldly denied the charge, declared it was false, and wondered much how he could have incurred such mortal hatred from the lady. He proved by the household of the count, that he had been

seen in the castle at four o'clock in the morning: the count said, that he was in his bed-chamber at nine o'clock, and that it was quite impossible for any one to have ridden three-and-twenty leagues and back again, and do what he was charged with, in four hours and a half. The count told the lady he would support his squire, and that she must have dreamed it. He commanded, that henceforward all should be buried in oblivion, and, under pain of incurring his displeasure, nothing farther done in the business. The knight, being a man of courage, and believing what his wife had told him, would not submit to this, but went to Paris and appealed to the parliament. The parliament summoned James le Gris, who replied, and gave pledges to obey whatever judgment the parliament should give. The cause lasted upwards of a year, and they could not any way compromise it, for the knight was positive, from his wife's information, of the fact, and declared, that since it was now so public, he would pursue it until death. The count d'Alençon, for this, conceived a great hatred against the knight, and would have had him put to death, had he not placed himself under the safeguard of the parliament. It was long pleaded, and the parliament at last, because they could not produce other evidence than herself against James le Gris, judged it should be decided in the tilt-yard, by a duel for life or death. The knight, the squire, and the lady, were instantly put under arrest until the day of this mortal combat, which, by order of parliament, was fixed for the ensuing Monday, in the year 1387; at which time the king of France and his barons were at Sluys, intending to invade England.

The king, on hearing of this duel, declared he would be present at it. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the constable of France, being also desirous of seeing it, agreed it was proper he should be there. The king, in consequence, sent orders to Paris to prolong the day of the duel, for that he would be present. This order was punctually obeyed, and the king and his lords departed for France. The king kept the feast of the Calends at Arras, and the duke of Burgundy at Lille. In the mean time, the men at arms made for their different homes, as had been ordered by the marshals; but the principal chiefs went to Paris, to witness the combat. When the king of France was returned to Paris, lists were made for the champions in the place of St. Catherine, behind the Temple; and the lords had erected on one side scaffolds, the better to see the sight. The crowd of people was wonderful. The two champions entered the lists armed at all points, and each was seated in a chair opposite the other; the count de St. Pol directed sir John de Carogne, and the retainers of the count d'Alençon James le Gris. On the knight entering the field, he went to his lady, who was covered with black and seated on a chair, and said,—"Lady, from your accusation, and in your quarrel, am I thus adventuring my life to combat James le Gris: you know whether my cause be loyal and true." "My lord," she replied "it is so; and you may fight securely, for your cause is good."

The lady remained seated, making fervent prayers to God and the Virgin, entreating humbly, that through her grace and intercession, she might gain the victory according to her right. Her affliction was great, for her life depended on the event; and, should her husband lose the victory, she would have been burnt, and he would have been hanged. I am ignorant, for I never had any conversation with her or the knight, whether she had not frequently repented of having pushed matters so far as to place herself and husband in such peril; but it was now too late, and she must abide the event. The two champions were then advanced, and placed opposite to each other; when they mounted their horses, and made a handsome appearance, for they were both expert men at arms. They ran their first course without hurt to either. After the tilting, they dismounted, and made ready to continue the fight. They behaved with courage; but sir John de Carogne was, at the first onset, wounded in the thigh, which alarmed all his friends: notwithstanding this, he fought so desperately that he struck down his adversary, and, thrusting his sword through the body, caused instant death; when he demanded of the spectators if he had done his duty: they replied that he had. The body of James le Gris was delivered to the hangman, who dragged it to Montfaucon, and there hanged it. Sir John de Carogne approached the king and fell on his knees: the king made him rise, and ordered one thousand francs to be paid him that very day: he also retained him of his household, with a pension of two hundred livres a-year, which he received as long as he lived. Sir John, after thanking the king and

his lords, went to his lady and kissed her: they went together to make their offering in the church of Nôtre Dame, and then returned to their home.*

Sir John de Carogne did not remain long after in France, but set off, in company with the lord Boucicaut, sir John des Bordes, and Sir Lewis Grat, to visit the holy sepulchre, and the sultan of the Turks, whose fame was much talked of in France. Sir Robinet de Boulogne was also with him: he was squire of honour to the king of France, and had travelled much over the world.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE DEATH OF PETER, KING OF ARRAGON.—HIS SUCCESSOR, KING JOHN, DETAINS PRISONER THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX, WHO WAS NEGOTIATING, FOR THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, THE PAYMENT OF CERTAIN SUMS WHICH HE CLAIMED AS DUE TO HIM FROM ARRAGON.

About Candlemas of this year, (1387,) king Peter of Arragon lay on his death-bed. When he found there were no hopes of his recovery, he sent for his two sons, John and Martin,† to whom he said,—"My fair children, I leave you well established, and the affairs of my kingdom properly arranged. Live peaceably and lovingly and you will gain honour and renown. With regard to ecclesiastical matters, for my conscience' sake and greater safety, I have always been neuter: do you do the same, until the knowledge, which pope is the true one, shall be more apparent."

His two sons dutifully replied, that they would do so, and punctually obey whatever he should order. The king died soon after.‡ He was a valiant man in his time, and had considerably added to the crown of Arragon by the conquest of Majorca, which he kept. He was buried in the city of Barcelona, and there lies. When the death of the king of Arragon was known at Avignon, the pope and cardinals instantly sent off letters to the king of France, his uncles, and to the duke and duchess of Bar, who were his supporters and parents to the young queen of Arragon, the lady Jolante,§ and to the queen herself, and were so busy, that the whole court of Arragon acknowledged him as pope. The duke and duchess of Bar wrote pressing letters to their daughter, as did the king of France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who sent a cardinal as ambassador, to instruct the new king, his brother, and subjects. The cardinal, with the assistance of the queen, who paid too much attention to what her relations had urged, gained over the king, who had before determined to follow the example of his father in preserving a neutrality, and the whole kingdom to the obedience of pope Clement.

At the time of the late king of Arragon's death, the archbishop of Bordeaux was at Barcelona. He had been sent thither by the duke of Lancaster, and I will explain the cause of his journey. The late prince of Wales (who, though only duke of Aquitaine, was much feared by his neighbours, the kings of France, Arragon, Castille and Navarre, and even by the king of the Saracens, who had heard of his great prowess and renown) had entered into a treaty with the king of Arragon, which had been sworn to, and sealed by each party, as well as by the king of England, that neither the prince nor the king of England, nor their successors, would ever wage war against Arragon, so long as the king of Arragon and his heirs should serve the lord of Aquitaine with five hundred spears, against any enemy with whom he was at war; and that, if he chose not to send his men, he bound himself to pay a certain sum of money. Ten years of arrears were now due from Arragon: for the king had never paid anything, nor done any service to the king of England nor to

* This was the last judicial combat which took place in France under the award of parliament. The combat was claimed in England as late as 1819, by one Thornton. This man was tried for murder, and acquitted. The brother of the person murdered (a young girl) brought an appeal, and Thornton offered to justify himself by single combat. The appellant, however, withdrew his appeal, and an act was immediately passed to abolish the wager of battle.—Ed.

† Martin was king of Sicily, and on the death of John, killed by a fall from his horse in pursuing an enormous wolf, succeeded to the crown of Arragon. John did not follow his father's counsels with respect to the disputed tiara, but acknowledged Clement VII.—*Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

‡ The 5th January, 1387.—Ed.

§ The Lady Jolante was his second wife. He was first married to Jane, daughter of John, count d'Armagnac.

his deputies. When the duke of Lancaster left England, he brought with him letters-patent, sealed with the great seal of the realm, in the presence of the king and his council, appointing him lieutenant, for the king, over all the countries of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Aquitaine, giving him regal power to demand whatever might be owing from Arragon, and from all other parts dependant or allied to England. They also gave the duke power to retain, for his own use, whatever sums might be due, and to give receipts, which would be acknowledged as legal.

While the duke was at Saint Jago, he bethought himself of the king of Arragon, and that he was indebted to him a very large sum of arrears, by virtue of his commission, and that it would come now, with other aids, very opportunely, to carry on his war against Castille. During his residence at Saint Jago, he sent some of his council to Bordeaux, to the archbishop, and sir John Harpedon, the séneschal, ordering one or both of them to set out for Arragon, and remonstrate strongly with the king, on the large sums he had long owed the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine. The archbishop and séneschal, having weighed the orders from the duke, thought it best for the séneschal to remain at Bordeaux, and the archbishop to undertake the embassy. He therefore set out, but arrived in Arragon, unluckily, when the king was on his death-bed. When he was deceased, the archbishop followed the princes and council of Arragon to the interment at Barcelona, and then remonstrated so strongly, as it seemed to the council, that he was ordered to prison: though not closely confined, he was forbidden to leave the city of Barcelona.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MAKES WAR ON ARRAGON.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX IS RELEASED.—THE VISCOUNTESS OF CASTELBON, SUSPECTED OF HAVING ADMITTED THE ENGLISH INTO HER CASTLE, APPEASES THE KING OF ARRAGON, THROUGH THE INTERFERENCE OF THE COUNT DE FOIX.

When news was brought to Bordeaux of the imprisonment of the archbishop, the séneschal said, "I am not surprised at it: the archbishop is too hot-headed. I believe it would have been better had I gone thither; I should have spoken more calmly; and there is a method of urging claims suited to different persons. The séneschal sent information of what had happened to the duke of Lancaster, who was very wroth with the king of Arragon and his council, for having imprisoned such a person as the archbishop of Bordeaux when negotiating his business. The duke wrote orders for the garrison of Lourde instantly to invade Arragon, and attack Barcelona, where the archbishop was confined. The governor, John de Béarn, who styled himself séneschal of Bigorre, Peter d'Anchin, Ernaulton de Resten, Ernaulton de Sainte Colombe, and the whole garrison, were much delighted with these orders, and overran the kingdom of Arragon, as far as Barcelona, so that no merchants dared venture without its walls. In addition to this mischief, the principal towns of Arragon would not consent to the king's wishes of being crowned, unless he would first promise and solemnly swear that no taxes, pay for soldiers, or other impositions, should be raised in the country; and unless he would engage for a compliance with other demands, which the king and his council thought very unreasonable and unjust. He threatened to make war upon them, more particularly on those of Barcelona, who he said were too rich and presumptuous.

There was, at this period, in Languedoc, on the borders of Rouergue and Auvergne, towards Pesenas and Usès, a band of armed men, who called themselves Routes, that were daily multiplying to do evil. Four men-at-arms were their leaders, who made war on every man they met on horseback, caring not whom. Their names were, Peter de Montfaucon, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge, and le Goulet. These had under them full four hundred combatants, who ruined all the country wherever they haunted. They were mightily rejoiced when they heard of the archbishop of Bordeaux's imprisonment, of the duke of Lancaster's making war on the Arragonians, and that the king of Arragon was dissatisfied with his subjects in the principal towns; for such people always love mischief in preference to good. They therefore resolved to march towards the frontiers of Arragon

and surprise some fort, which the king or principal towns would negotiate with them to regain. They set out, and made for the castle of Duren,* which they had planned to surprise. This castle is in the archbishopric of Narbonne, between France and Arragon, and situated precisely on the limits of the two kingdoms. They arrived there by night-fall undiscovered, and, finding it weakly guarded, soon conquered it, to the great dismay of all the country, especially of Perpignan, which is but four leagues distant from this castle.

The garrison from Lourde, this same week, captured likewise a castle in Arragon, four leagues from Barcelona, called the old castle of Rolbais, belonging to the viscountess of Castelbon, cousin-german to the count de Foix. The lady was much surprised at this event, and went to her cousin, the count de Foix, to beg, for God's sake, he would get her castle restored to her; for those who had won it were from his country of Béarn. The count, in his answer, desired her not to be alarmed; for that her castle had been taken solely to harass Barcelona from thence, as the archbishop of Bordeaux was in confinement there for a trifling cause, and that she should have it again undamaged. The lady was satisfied with this answer, but kept it secret, and went to reside at another castle, near Roquebertin. Those of Duren, Rolbais, and the garrison from Lourde, kept up a severe warfare on the borders of Arragon. The king, indeed, winked at this, that the towns might be punished, but their discontents increased; for those of Barcelona, Perpignan, and other towns, could not carry on their commerce without being made prisoners, and ransomed. They determined to set the archbishop of Bordeaux at liberty, but, as was right, to consult the king on the subject. They, in consequence, negotiated privately with don Martin, the king's brother, who was very popular in the country, that he would interfere between them and the king, and obtain peace with those of Lourde and Rolbais. In order to encourage their loyalty, he engaged to do what they desired, and prevailed on his brother to give the archbishop his liberty, and send him back to the Bordelois.

Shortly afterward, by the count de Foix's exertions, the viscountess recovered her castle, and those who had captured it departed, in return for the service the count had done to the duke of Lancaster in the course of this year. The king of Arragon, seeing the viscountess so quickly regain her castle, sent for her, and, when in his presence, charged her with having admitted the English into her castle to make war on him, for which she had been very criminal. The lady clearly exculpated herself, saying,—"My lord, as God may help me and mine, and by the faith I owe you, when I heard of my castle being taken, I had never any connexion, nor entered into any treaty with the English. I instantly informed my cousin, the count de Foix of it, and begged of him, for God's sake, to aid me to recover my castle, as it had been taken by the garrison from Lourde, who are his subjects, and from Béarn. The count sent me word not to alarm myself, for that those who had conquered it had only borrowed it, to make a more effectual warfare on Barcelona." The king replied, "If you can prove this answer from the count de Foix, I will restore your castle." "That I can easily do," answered the lady. She informed the count, who at that time resided at Orthès, in Béarn, of this conversation, and entreated he would satisfy the king of Arragon. The count sent letters to the king of Arragon by one of his knights, called sir Cicart de Saurelin, to request he would hold his cousin excused, and allow her to possess her lands in peace, otherwise it would displease him. The king of Arragon acceded to this request, and having well entertained the knight, said to him, "The viscountess has acted prudently, in thus having her cousin the count de Foix make excuses for her."

CHAPTER XLIX.—THOSE COMPANIONS WHO HAD CONQUERED DUREN ARE DEFEATED AND SLAIN, BY A STRATAGEM OF RAYMOND DE BACHEZ, COUSIN TO THE KING OF ARRAGON.

Thus affairs remained: the viscountess de Castelbon had quiet possession of her castle; but the merchants were not the less harassed by the garrison who had come from Lourde. Those of Barcelona and its neighbourhood were frequently pillaged and made prisoners by

* "Duren." Q. if not Duiban.

them, unless they had entered into a treaty and paid composition-money for their safety. These compositions extended over many parts of Catalonia and Arragon; and the garrison of Duren was desirous of adopting the same plan, which they would have executed, or perhaps worse, had they not been checked. They had done more mischief to the country than those of Lourde; for they were poorer, and made no distinction whom they attacked, whether officers of the king and queen, or merchants. The king at length assembled his council on this business; for the great towns murmured, and said, that the king, who ought to have destroyed such wretches, supported them. These, and such description of speeches, when told to the young king, gave him much uneasiness, and he was vexed that his subjects should thus talk of him respecting Duren, because the crown of his father, who had been so greatly beloved, was but just fallen to him. He called to him a great baron of Arragon and his cousin, named sir Raymond de Bachez, and said, "Sir Raymond, ride towards Duren, and learn from those who have surprised it what they want in my country, and make some treaty with them, that you may get them out of it, by fair or foul means." The knight obeyed, and sent a herald to the garrison of Duren, to say he wished to negotiate a treaty with them. When Montfaucon and the other captains learnt that sir Raymond de Bachez wanted to treat with them, they thought they should obtain a large sum to deliver up the place, and said to the herald, "Friend, tell your master, Sir Raymond, from us, that he may safely come here, for we will not do him any injury." The herald returned with this answer to sir Raymond, at Perpignan, who instantly left the place, and on his arrival at Duren held a parley with them. He asked why they remained so long on the borders of Arragon: they replied they were waiting to join the army from France that was coming to the support of the king of Castille. "Ha, my gentlemen," said sir Raymond, "if you wait for that, you will stay here too long; for the king of Arragon will not allow you thus to plunder his country and its inhabitants." They replied, "that since the king would not suffer them to support themselves, he must prevent it, for live they would. If he would ransom the country, they would march away, but not otherwise." "And what do you ask?" said sir Raymond. "Sixty thousand francs: we are four of us, and each must have fifteen thousand for his share." "In God's name," said sir Raymond, "that is money enough; but I will report it to the king: it is better for him to pay you this sum, for the good of the country, than to allow you further pillaging." He added this to keep them in good humour, but thought the contrary to what he had said. On taking leave, sir Raymond told them they might expect the sum they had asked, and perhaps more. He then returned to Perpignan, where the king was, and related to him all that had passed. The king said, "You must at all events free the country from them, and pay the thieves; if I could get hold of them, I would hang them all, which is the only payment they deserve: but the place is so strong, it will be difficult to draw them out of it."

"Sir," replied sir Raymond, "I will manage it; only do not interfere. "Well," said the king, "do so: I will not meddle further in the business; but see that the country be delivered from them." Sir Raymond collected a body of men at arms, to the amount of five hundred spears, which he placed in ambush, and gave the command of them to a squire of Gascony, called Naudon Seighin, who was valiant and expert in arms. The ambuscade was about a short league from Duren, and sir Raymond ordered, that as soon as the garrison should have passed by, they should fall on them, and, if possible, put all to death. Sir Raymond wrote to the garrison, to desire they would mount their horses and advance to Perpignan, making a show of attacking the place, to alarm the inhabitants, otherwise he should never be able to raise their quota of the money he was to pay them. They were much pleased to receive such intelligence, believing it true, and, mounting their horses the same day the ambush was posted, rode for Perpignan, galloping up to the barriers. When they had done this, they began their retreat, thinking to return quietly home; but they had scarcely gone half-way before they met Naudon Seighin and his troops, who instantly charged them. They now perceived they had been tricked, and prepared to defend themselves: they fought well during the time the combat lasted; but that was not long, for there were among them numbers of pillagers badly armed, who were soon defeated. Among the slain were, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge, Guyot Moresque, John le Geulant, and

many more. Peter de Montfaucon, Amblardan de St. Just, and forty others, were made prisoners, and carried to Perpignan, where, as they passed the streets, the inhabitants came out of their houses, and hooted at them, as they would have done at a wolf. Le Goulant and Peter de Montfaucon were put in the pillory, and the rest thrown into a dungeon.

The duke of Berry, about this time, arrived at Carcassone, from a visit to Pope Clement at Avignon. Having there heard that Duren was regained, and the garrison slain or made prisoners, he instantly wrote to the king of Arragon, and to his cousin Jolante de Bar, to beg they would give up to him Peter de Montfaucon and his companions. His request was immediately complied with, and they were sent to the duke of Berry. They were indebted to him, or they would infallibly have all been put to death.

CHAPTER L.—AN ACHIEVEMENT OF ARMS, PERFORMED BEFORE THE SENESCHAL OF BORDEAUX, BETWEEN A KNIGHT ATTACHED TO FRANCE AND ONE ATTACHED TO ENGLAND.

At this period there was an achievement of arms performed by two knights at Bordeaux, in the presence of the séneschal, sir John Harpedon, and other noblemen. These knights were the lord de la Rochefoucault, son to the sister of the captal de Buch, and sir William de Montferrant, attached to the English interest. As this tilt was to be made before all the lords and ladies of Bordeaux, the count de Foix sent thither some knights of his household to advise and direct the lord de la Rochefoucault, who was the son of his cousin, and likewise different sorts of armour, daggers, battle-axes, and swords well tempered, although he had before properly provided himself with all things necessary. These knights armed themselves on the appointed day, and were attended by a numerous body of chivalry. The lord de la Rochefoucault was accompanied by two hundred knights and squires, all connected with him by blood; and sir William de Montferrant by as many, if not more. Among the number were the lords de Rohan, de l'Esparre, de Duras, de Mucident, de Landuras, de Curton, de Languran, de la Barde, de Tarbe, de Mont-croyat in Perigord, who had come from distant parts because he was their relation, and to be spectators of the feats of arms of two such valiant knights.

When they were mounted, and had their helmets laced on, their spears and shields were given them. They instantly stuck spurs into their horses, and met each other full gallop, with such force that the laces of the helmets burst asunder, and their helmets were knocked off, so that they passed each other bare-headed, excepting the caps which were under the helmets. "On my faith," the spectators said, "they have gallantly performed their first course." The knights now had their armour set to rights, and their helmets laced again, when they performed their second and third courses with equal ability. In short, they behaved, in every attack, most gallantly, and to the satisfaction of all present. The séneschal, sir John Harpedon, entertained at supper, that evening, all the lords and ladies in Bordeaux; and on the morrow the company departed, and went to their different homes. The lord de la Rochefoucault made preparations for his journey to Castille; for king John had sent to him, and the time was drawing nigh for him to set out. Sir William de Montferrant, when returned home, made also his preparations to cross the sea to Portugal; for that king had, in like manner, written to him.

CHAPTER LI.—SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON DELIVERS JOHN OF BLOIS, SON OF THE LATE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS, FROM HIS LONG IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND, AND GIVES HIM HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

In such a grand and noble history as this, of which I, sir John Froissart, am the author and continuator until this present moment, through the grace of God, and that perseverance he has endowed me with, as well as in length of years, which have enabled me to witness abundance of the things that have passed, it is not right that I forget anything. During the wars of Brittany, the two sons of the lord Charles de Blois (who, for a long time styled himself duke of Brittany, in right of his lady, Jane of Brittany, who was descended in a

direct line from the dukes of Brittany, as has been mentioned in this history *) were sent to England as hostages for their father, where they still remain in prison ; for I have not as yet delivered them from it, nor from the power of the king of England, wherein the lord Charles had put them.

You have before seen † how king Edward of England, to strengthen himself in his war with France, had formed an alliance with the earl of Montfort, whom he had assisted, with advice and forces, to the utmost of his ability, insomuch, that the earl had succeeded to his wishes, and was duke of Brittany. Had he not been thus supported, the lord Charles de Blois would have possessed seven parts of Brittany and the earl only five. You have read how, in the year 1347, there was a grand battle before la Roche-derrien, between the forces of the countess of Montfort, and of sir Thomas Hartwell and the lord Charles de Blois, in which the lord Charles was defeated, and carried prisoner to England. He was handsomely entertained there; for that noble queen of England, the good Philippa, (who, in my youth, was my lady and mistress,) was, in a direct line, his cousin-german. She did everything in her power to obtain his freedom, which the council were not willing to grant. Duke Henry of Lancaster, and the other barons of England, declared, that he ought not to have his liberty; for he had too mighty connexions, and that Philip, who called himself king of France, was his uncle: that as long as they detained him prisoner, their war in Brittany would be the better for it. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, king Edward, through the persuasion of that noble and good lady, his queen, agreed to his ransom for two hundred thousand nobles; and his two sons were to be given as hostages for the payment of this sum, which was very considerable to the lord Charles, but would not now be so to a duke of Brittany. The lords of those days were differently situated from what they are at present, when greater resources are found, and they can tax their people at their pleasure. It was not so then, for they were forced to content themselves with the amount of their landed estates; but now, the duchy of Brittany would easily pay for the aid of its lord two hundred thousand nobles within the year, or within two years at the farthest.

Thus were the two young sons of the lord Charles de Blois given up as hostages for the payment of his ransom. He had, afterward, in the prosecution of his war in Brittany, so much to pay his soldiers, and support his rank and state, that he could never, during his lifetime, redeem them. He was slain in the battle at Auray,‡ defending his right, by the English allies of the earl of Montfort, and by none others. His death, however, did not put an end to the war ; but, king Charles of France, ever fearing the effects of chance, when he saw the earl of Montfort was conquering all Brittany, suspected, should he wholly succeed, that he would hold the duchy independent of paying him homage for it ; for he had already held it from the king of England, who had so strenuously assisted him in the war. He therefore negotiated with the earl, which, having been already mentioned, § I shall pass over here : but the earl remained duke of Brittany, on condition that his homage should be paid to his own right lord, the king of France. The duke was also bound, by the articles of the treaty, to assist in the deliverance of his two cousins, sons of the lord Charles de Blois, who were prisoners to the king of England. In this, however, he never stirred ; for he doubted, if they should return, whether they would not give him some trouble, and whether Brittany, which was more inclined towards them than to him, would not acknowledge them as its lord.

For this reason he neglected them, and they remained so long prisoners in England, under the guard, at one time, of sir Roger Beauchamp, a gallant and valiant knight, and his lady Sybilla, at another under Sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt, that the youngest brother, Guy of Brittany, died. John of Brittany was now alone prisoner, and frequently bewailed his situation with wonder; for he was sprung from the noblest blood in the world, the advantages of which he had been long deprived ; for he had been thirty-five years in the power of his enemies, and, as he perceived no appearance of help coming to him from any quarter, he would rather have died than thus have existed. His relations and friends kept at a distance, and the sum he was pledged for was so great, that he could never have procured it, without

* Vol. i. chap. 74 † In chap. 78, and the following, vol. i. ‡ Vol. i, chap. 227. § Vol. i. chap. 229.

a miracle; for the duke of Anjou, in all his prosperity, though the person who had married his sister-german, by whom he had two fine sons, Lewis and Charles, never once thought of him.

I will now relate how John of Brittany obtained his liberty. You have before read of the earl of Buckingham's expedition, through France, to Brittany, whither the duke had sent for him, because the country would not acknowledge him for its lord. The earl and his army remained the ensuing winter, in great distress, before Nantes and Vannes, until the month of May,* when he returned to England. During the time the earl of Buckingham was at Vannes, you may remember, there were some tilts between knights and squires of France and those of England, and that the constable of France was present. There was much conversation kept up by him and the English knights; for he was acquainted with them all, from his childhood, having been educated in England. He behaved very politely to many of them, as men at arms usually do, and the French and English in particular, to each other; but, at this moment, he was the more attentive, as he had an object in view, which occupied all his thoughts, and which he had only disclosed to a single person, who was squire of honour in his household, and had served the lord Charles de Blois in the same capacity. If the constable had made it more public, he would not have succeeded as he did, through the mercy of God, and his own perseverance.

The constable and duke of Brittany had for a long time hated each other, whatever outward appearances they might put on. The constable was much hurt at the length of the imprisonment of John of Brittany, and at a time when he was rather on better terms with the duke, said to him,—"My lord, why do not you exert yourself to deliver your cousin from his imprisonment in England? You are bound to do so by treaty; for when the nobles of Brittany, the prelates and the principal towns, with the archbishop of Rheims, sir John de Craon, and sir Boucicaut, at that time marshal of France, negotiated with you for peace before Quimper Corentin, you swore you would do your utmost to liberate your cousins John and Guy, and as yet you have never done anything; know, therefore, that the country does not love you the more for it." The duke dissembled, and said, "Hold your tongue, sir Oliver: where shall I find the three or four hundred thousand francs which are demanded for their liberty?" "My lord," replied the constable, "if Brittany saw you were really in earnest to procure their freedom, they would not murmur at any tax or hearth-money that should be raised to deliver these prisoners, who will die in prison unless God assist them." "Sir Oliver," said the duke, "my country of Brittany shall never be oppressed by such taxes. My cousins have great princes for their relations; and the king of France or duke of Anjou ought to aid them, for they have always supported them against me. When I swore, indeed, to aid them in their deliverance, it was always my intention that the king of France and their other relations should find the money, and that I would join my entreaties." The constable could never obtain more from the duke.

The constable, therefore, when at these tournaments at Vannes, saw clearly that the earl of Buckingham and the English barons and squires were greatly dissatisfied with the duke of Brittany, for not having opened his towns to them, as he had promised, when they left England. The English near Hennebon and Vannes were in such distress, that they frequently had not wherewithal to feed themselves, and their horses were dying through famine: they were forced to gather thistles, bruise them in a mortar, and make a paste which they cooked. While they were thus suffering, they said; "this duke of Brittany does not acquit himself loyally of his promises to us, who have put him in possession of his duchy; and, if we may be believed, we can as easily take it from him as we have given it to him, by setting at liberty his enemy, John of Brittany, whom the country love in preference. We cannot any way revenge ourselves better, nor sooner make him lose the country. The constable was well informed of all these murmurs and discontents, which were no way displeasing to him: on the contrary, for one murmur he wished there had been twelve; but he took no notice of it, and only spoke of what he had heard to this squire, whose name, I think, was John Rolland.

It happened that sir John Charlton, governor of Cherbourg, came to château Josselin, where the constable resided, who entertained him and his company most splendidly; and to obtain their friendship, out of his special favour, escorted them himself until they were in

* In 1381.

safety. During the time of dinner, the before-mentioned squire addressed sir John Charlton, saying, "Sir John, you can, if you please, do me a very great favour, which will cost you nothing." "From friendship to the constable," replied sir John, "I wish it may cost me something: what is it you wish me to do?" "Sir," replied he, "that I may have your passport to go to England, to my master John of Brittany, whom I am more anxious to see than anything in the world." "By my faith," said sir John, "it shall not be my fault if you do not. On my return to Cherbourg, I shall cross over to England: come with me, therefore, and you shall accompany me, and I will have you conducted to him, for your request cannot be refused." "A thousand thanks; my lord, I shall ever remember your goodness." The squire returned, with sir John Charlton, to Cherbourg; when, having arranged his affairs, he embarked, and made straight for London, attended by John Rolland, whom he had conducted to the castle where John of Brittany was confined. John of Brittany did not, at first, recollect him; but he soon made himself known, and they had a long conversation, in which he told him, that if he would exert himself to procure his freedom, the constable would make the greatest efforts to second him. John of Brittany, desiring nothing more eagerly, asked, "By what means?" "I will tell you, my lord: the constable has a handsome daughter whom he wishes to marry, and if you will promise and swear, that on your return to Brittany you will marry her, he will obtain your liberty, as he has discovered the means of doing it." John of Brittany replied, "he would truly do so;" adding, "When you return to the constable, assure him from me, that there is nothing I am not ready to do for my liberty, and that I accept of his daughter and will cheerfully marry her." They had several other conversations together before the squire left England and embarked for Brittany, where he related to the constable all that had passed. The constable, eager to advance himself and marry his daughter so nobly, was not dilatory in searching out means to obtain his end. He considered to whom he should address himself in England; and, had he not made choice of the earl of Oxford, he would never have succeeded; but, notwithstanding this nobleman had the complete government of the king, matters were not instantly brought about; for as long as the duke of Lancaster remained in England, he never mentioned anything concerning it to the king. The earl of Buckingham, on his return from Brittany, irritated the king and his brothers so much against the duke that it was publicly said, the duke had acted treacherously towards him and his army; and they were so greatly angered, that John of Brittany was summoned before the king and council, when he was addressed as follows:—"John, if you be willing to hold the duchy of Brittany from the king of England, you shall have possession of it, and be married in this country as nobly as the present duke has been;" (for the duke of Lancaster was desirous of giving him his daughter Philippa, who was afterwards queen of Portugal.) John of Brittany replied, "that he would never consent to such a treaty, nor be an enemy to the crown of France: he would willingly accept of the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, but he must first have his liberty." On this, he was remanded to prison.

When the earl of Oxford, who now bears the title of the duke of Ireland, found the duke of Lancaster was landed in Castille, and all expectation of the connexion with John of Brittany broken off by his carrying his daughter with him, he resolved to solicit the king to give up to him John of Brittany, as a remuneration for past services, or for those he might perform. If he succeeded, he could then treat with the constable of France, who had offered him, as the price of his ransom, six score thousand francs to be made in two payments of sixty thousand each: the first to be paid at Boulogne on the arrival of John of Brittany in that town, and the second in Paris, which was the place he had fixed on himself. The duke of Ireland coveted the money, and was so pressing with the king that he gave up John of Brittany absolutely to his disposal; which surprised all England, and caused much talking, but there it ended. The duke of Ireland had John of Brittany conducted to Boulogne, where he found equipages ready which the constable had caused to be prepared for him. He set out directly for Paris, where he was kindly received by the king and his other relations. The constable was there waiting for him, and carried him to Brittany, where he espoused his daughter in conformity to their agreement.

When the duke of Brittany learnt that John of Brittany had obtained his liberty, and was returned to France, through the aid of the constable, he conceived a greater hatred

against sir Oliver de Clisson, and said,—"Indeed! does sir Oliver think to thrust me out of my duchy? He shows some signs of it by ransoming John of Brittany, and marrying him to his daughter. Such things are very displeasing to me; and, by God, I will tell him so some day when he little thinks of it." This, in truth, he did; for before the end of the year, he spoke to him very sharply on this subject, as you will hear in the course of this history. But we must now say something respecting the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and of an expedition which the English made against Sluys.

CHAPTER LII.—FRANCE MAKES PREPARATIONS TO ASSIST KING JOHN OF CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

You have heard how the grand armament of the king of France at Sluys was broken up, not indeed through the will of the king, who was eager to the last to pass over to England, and when he saw it could not be, was the most vexed of any. The whole blame was laid on the duke of Berry: perhaps he saw more clearly into this matter than others, and his advice of not attempting the invasion of England was for the honour and advantage of France; for, before anything of this sort be undertaken, the end of it should be considered; and the duke of Berry had remained so long in England as an hostage for king John, and had conversed so much with Englishmen, he probably foresaw the event would be unfortunate: but the principal reason for putting it off was the season of the year. It was, however, said, that the constable in the course of the summer, should lead thither six thousand men at arms and as many cross-bows, which he and the council thought would be fully sufficient to combat the English. The constable was supposed to know this from his having been educated in England.

On the return of the lords to France, it was considered who should be sent to the aid of king John of Castille, against the king of Portugal and duke of Lancaster: for it was clear there would be deeds of arms, as the English kept the field. None could be sent thither without much cost; for the distance was great, and there was not any money in the exchequer, nor in the hands of the receivers: the immense sums which had been raised from the people were all dissipated. Recourse was, therefore, had to a tax that should be instantly levied, and published as being for the assistance of the king of Castille, and the expulsion of the English from that country. This tax having been proclaimed, the king's commissioners came to the different towns, and said to the principal inhabitants,—"Sirs, this city, or this town, is taxed at such a sum, which must be instantly paid." "Very well," they replied, "we will collect it, and send the whole amount to Paris." "That will not do," said the commissioners: "we cannot wait so long, and shall act more expeditiously." On saying this, they ordered, in the king's name, which protected them from harm, ten or twelve of the richest inhabitants to prison, unless they should find the money. These, being afraid of the king's displeasure, soon brought the sum required, which they afterwards collected from the townsmen. The taxes were so frequent, that one was scarcely paid before another was called for. Thus was the noble kingdom of France governed, and the poor oppressed; which caused numbers to sell their houses and lands, and retire to Hainault, or the bishopric of Liege, where no such taxes existed.

The leaders of the troops destined to Castille were next thought of. The gallant duke of Bourbon was chosen commander in chief; but, before he left France, it was resolved to appoint two other commanders, to attend to the men at arms, and instruct those who had never been in Castille. The duke was to have two thousand lances, of knights and squires, for his rear-ward, of as good men as could be found. The two knights appointed to lead the van, and to command the first division, were sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac; and, on receiving their orders, they made every preparation suitable to their rank. Knights and squires were summoned, throughout France, to go on this expedition: and all the passes into Castille were thrown open, as well through Arragon as through Navarre. Many, therefore, came from all the different provinces of the kingdom, and took the road to Castille. Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac had the command of them, and set out in grand array.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE ENGLISH FLEET DEFEATS THAT OF SIR JOHN DE BUCQ, ADMIRAL OF FLANDERS FOR THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER DOING MUCH MISCHIEF TO SLUYS, AND THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY, RETURN TO LONDON.

WHILE these knights and squires of France were making themselves ready to march for Castille, and each, as soon as prepared, set off, more especially from the distant parts, as the journey was long; the English fleet was at sea, between the coasts of England and Flanders. The earl of Arundel was admiral of it; but he had under him the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham, and the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred men at arms and one thousand archers, and they were cruising about in search of their enemies. They received supplies of provisions from the English coast, the islands of Cornwall, Brittany, and Normandy; but were much vexed that the Flemish fleet had escaped into la Rochelle, and still more, that the constable of France should have passed Calais, from Treguier to Sluys, without their having met him. They were desirous of engaging him, though he had as many vessels as themselves; but he sailed through them in the night, with a favourable wind and tide.

The fleet, after this, anchored in Margate-roads, at the mouth of the Thames, to wait for the return of the Flemings from La Rochelle, which they knew would soon happen. The merchants from Flanders, Hainault, and several other parts, who had sailed in a body for fear of the English, having loaded their vessels again with wines, set sail from the port of La Rochelle, with a favourable wind, for Flanders and for Sluys, from whence they had come. They had passed the Ras-St.-Matthieu*, in Brittany, and coasted the shores of Normandy and England, until they came to the mouth of the Thames, where the English fleet were lying at anchor. The Flemings descried their masts; and those aloft said,—"Gentlemen, prepare yourselves, for we shall meet the English fleet: they have seen us, and will take advantage of the wind and tide to give us battle before night." This intelligence was not very agreeable to several of the merchants from Hainault and other countries, who having their goods on board, would have wished to have sheered off. However, as a combat was now unavoidable, they made preparations for it; and they had, of cross-bows and other armed men, upwards of seven hundred, under the command of a noble and valiant knight of Flanders, called sir John de Bucq, who was admiral of the Flemish seas for the duke of Burgundy, and who had done much mischief to the English at sea. Sir John de Bucq, having ably and prudently drawn up his vessels, said to their crews,—"My fair sirs, do not be alarmed, for we are enow to combat the English, should the wind be in our favour; but remember to make a running fight of it, and make for Sluys; if we can draw them on the Flemish coast, we shall have the best of the day." Some were comforted by these words, others not; but they continued their preparations for battle, and the gunners made ready their bows and cannons.

The two fleets now approached each other. The English had some light galleys in which they had embarked archers; and these galleys advancing, by dint of oars, began the combat with a shower of arrows, which were lost; for the Flemings sheltered themselves in their vessels, and were unhurt, while they sailed on before the wind. Some of the cross-bows, out of arrow-shot, let fly bolts, which wounded many, and prevented those in the galleys from being of any service. The large ships, under lord Arundel, the bishop of Norwich, and others, now advanced, and ran in among those of Flanders, but they had not any advantage; for the cross-bow men defended themselves gallantly, as their commander, sir John de Bucq, had advised them. He and his company were well armed, in a ship equal to any he might meet, and had their cannons on board, which shot balls of such a weight that great mischief was done. The Flemings, during the engagement, made as much sail as they could for Flanders; indeed, some of the merchant-ships had already gained the coast, and had run into shoal water, where the large ships could not follow them for fear of the sand-bank. This battle was very long and obstinate, for it continued three or four hours,

* Ras-St.-Matthieu, I suppose, must mean Ras-de-Blanquet, which is a narrow strait of the sea between Alderney and Cape la Hogue.

and many of the vessels were sunk by the large bolts of iron, sharply pointed, that were cast down from the tops, and drove holes through them. When night came on, they separated and cast anchor, to repair their damages and take care of the wounded; but, on the return of the tide, they set their sails and renewed the combat. Peter du Bois commanded a body of archers and sailors, and gave the Flemings enough to do; for, having been a sailor himself, he knew how to act, and was enraged at the Flemings, for having held out so long. The English continually gained on the Flemings, and, having got between them and Blanquenberg and Sluys, drove them to Cadsand, where the defeat was completed. They received no succour, for at this time there were neither men at arms nor vessels in Sluys fit for sea.

Indeed, a squire of Sluys, called Arnold le Maire, when he heard of the engagement, embarked on board a handsome sloop of his own, taking with him some serjeants, and about twenty cross-bows, and made sail for the fleet; but it was towards the end of the defeat, for the English had taken the greater part of the enemy's ships, with their admiral, sir John de Bucq, and all on board. Arnold le Maire, perceiving it was over, made his cross-bows shoot thrice, and then made off: he was chased as far as the harbour of Sluys, and there escaped, from the large vessels being unable to follow him, through the shoals and low water.

The inhabitants of Sluys were terrified when it was known that their fleet from La Rochelle had been conquered by the English, and every moment expected to be attacked. The inhabitants knew not how to act, whether to fly or embark on board their laid-up vessels, to wait the event and defend themselves. Had the English suspected the state of Sluys, they might have been lords of that town and castle, or had they followed the advice of Peter du Bois, who strongly recommended, when they were masters of the fleet, to make for Sluys, which they would be sure to gain. The English, however, thought they had done sufficient; and some said, "We shall commit a great folly if we enter Sluys; for those of Bruges, Damme, and Ardembourg, will shut us up in it, and we shall thus lose all we have won. It is much better that we keep our prizes, and make war with prudence." The English, therefore, did not disembark, but contented themselves with attempting to burn the vessels that were in the harbour. They selected the lightest vessels from those they had conquered, and filling and bedaubing them with pitch, oil, and other combustibles, let them float with the tide into the harbour of Sluys. These vessels burnt so clear and well, that the English hoped they would set fire to some large ships from Castille and other countries, indifferent to them which; but they did not the smallest damage to any. The English, by this victory, gained great wealth, especially in wine, as they captured more than nine thousand tuns, which caused wine to be as dear in Flanders and Hainault all that year as it was of course cheap in England. Thus it happens, one man's gain is another's loss. The English, however, did not sail from Sluys, but remained at anchor, and from the galleys and barges landed on the opposite side of the river to Sluys, at Tremue, which they burnt, with the monastery, and some other towns on the coast, whither they went along the sea-shore, or on the dykes, called Turnhout and Moerdyck. They made many of the countrymen prisoners, and lay thus at anchor upwards of ten days; during which time they formed several ambuscades between Damme and Sluys, and on the road to Coxye. Sir John de Launay, a man at arms from Tournay, was there made a prisoner, who, in company with the lord d'Estrinay and sir Blanquart de Coulonge, had set out full gallop, with forty lances, for Sluys, on hearing the English were on the coast.

It fortunately happened, that sir Robert Marchand, who had married one of the late earl's bastards, was at the time in Bruges: he instantly hastened to Sluys, and flung himself into the castle, which he found weakly guarded, and unprovided. But if the English had landed, and entered Sluys with the same earnestness they had done at Tremue on the other side of the river, they must have gained the castle; for so great was the alarm in the town that no one paid attention to anything, nor thought of defending themselves. Sir Robert Marchand encouraged them, by saying,—"You men of Sluys, what are you thinking of? It would seem from your appearance that you are defeated without striking a blow. Men of valour ought to show a good countenance as long as possible; and, should they be taken or slain

in their own defence, they will have the grace of God and praise of the world." Thus did sir Robert harangue those of Sluys; notwithstanding which, the whole country, as far as Bruges, was under the utmost alarm as long as the English remained on the coast; for they now daily disembarked, and foraged far in the country. Not having horses, they were always on foot: when their expeditions were ended, they slept on board, and on the morrow renewed their excursions to the east and west, without opposition. They burnt the town of Coxye, and another large village on the road from the coast to Ardembourg, called Hosebourg: they would have done more if they had known the state of the country. After staying as long as they pleased, and finding no attempt made to regain what they had won on sea and land, they set sail with a favourable wind for England, carrying with them more than two hundred thousand francs of wealth. Having entered the Thames, they landed at London, where they were joyfully received for the fine wines of Poitou and Saintonge they had on board, which were intended to have been drunk in Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Liege, and other places. They were dispersed throughout England, and the prices so much depressed from the quantity, a gallon was sold for fourpence. The English, who resided on the frontiers of Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, were too enterprising in their voyages to Dordrecht, Zuric-zee, Middlebourg, and the Brielle in Holland. Some of the merchants of Zuric-zee had, on board the fleet that was captured, much wine from La Rochelle, which was restored to them. The English were right in thus courteously treating them; for Zuric-zee would never join the French in their invasion of England, nor permit them to have any vessels or boats from thence, and this conduct acquired them the love of the English.

Sir John de Bucq was a prisoner at London, on his word: he was permitted to go anywhere about the town, but at sunset he was to return to his lodging; nor would the English ever listen to any ransom for him, though the duke of Burgundy would willingly have given in exchange a bastard brother of the king of Portugal, who had been taken at sea in coming from Middlebourg: had he been within the limits of Zealand, he would have escaped. I believe sir John de Bucq remained a prisoner in London for three years, and there died.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER TO CONCLUDE HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY PHILIPPA.—SIR BARROIS DES BARRES IS ORDERED BY THE KING OF CASTILLE TO THE CASTLE OF NOYA*.

It is time for us now to return to the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and to speak of the duke of Lancaster, as to the prosperity of his undertakings, for his concerns were not trifling; and likewise to mention the aid France sent king John of Castille, for otherwise his fortunes would have made a small figure: he would have lost this year his whole kingdom, if it had not been for the friendship of the king of France. Intelligence is soon spread abroad, and the king of Portugal was as quickly informed of what was doing in France, relative to the great armament that was to invade England, by his merchants on their return home, as the duke of Lancaster; for the king resided, at that season, at Oporto, which is one of the largest cities and the most frequented port of his realm. He was rejoiced to hear it was at an end, for he had been told England would be ruined; and this had made him hesitate as to the conclusion of his marriage, amusing the duke and duchess with fine words and compliments. When he learnt for certain, that the king of France and his nobles were returned home, he summoned his council, and said,—"My fair sirs, you know that the duke and duchess of Lancaster are in Galicia: you also know, a great affection subsists between us, and that we have had several conferences; in one of which it has been proposed by our councils, that I should take the lady Philippa to wife. I mean to persevere in this business, and to make an honourable demand of her, as is becoming two such princes as the duke of Lancaster and myself; for I will have her for my queen." "Sir," replied those to whom he addressed himself, "you are in the right, for so you have solemnly

* Noya is an ancient town in Galicia, five or six leagues to the westward of Saint Jago.

promised and sworn. Now, whom shall we send to conduct the lady hither?" The archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sâ were named; and as they were not present, they were sent for, and informed how they were to act. They undertook the business with pleasure, and were escorted going and returning by two hundred spears.

We will now speak of Sir Thomas Moreaux's siege of Ribadavia, and relate what happened there. I believe the inhabitants expected succours from the king of Castille and the French knights at Valladolid, otherwise they would not have held out; and I know not how such peasants, who had none but themselves to advise with, could so vigorously have opposed the flower of the English army, and how it happened that they were not frightened, for every day there were skirmishes and assaults. The bravest captains of the army said to Sir Thomas,—"Let us leave this town, and may lightning destroy it, and advance further into the country, towards Mamez *, Noya, or Betances †: we can at any time return hither." "By my faith," replied Sir Thomas, "such peasants shall never have it to say they have defeated me, were I to remain here these two months, unless the duke shall otherwise order." The marshal was thus obstinate in continuing the siege.

King John received frequent intelligence, at Valladolid, how the men at Ribadavia were defending themselves valiantly, and would not surrender. "In God's name," said Barrois des Barres, "I am much vexed I had not sent thither some Frenchmen, who would have greatly encouraged the inhabitants, and still more that I did not go myself, for I should then have acquired all the honour which these peasants will now have; and, if they had really told me it was a town of such strength, and that it required such a garrison, I would, without doubt, have reinforced it, and have personally risked the command; and God would have given me grace to guard and defend it, as he has done to these peasants." Such were the conversations that frequently passed between the king of Castille and the French knights, who were eager to be employed. They said to the king,—"It will be right, sir, that you send one hundred spears to the castles of Noya and Corunna, and they will defend those parts of Galicia situated between these two castles." "And whom can we send thither?" Several knights instantly offered their services, such as sir Tristan de Roye, sir Reginald and sir Lambert de Braquemont, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant, and sir Barrois des Barres, whom the king heard with pleasure, and said;—"My fair sirs, I give you many thanks for your willingness; but you cannot all go: some must remain with me in case of accidents; and for the present, I shall entreat sir Barrois des Barres, if he please to undertake this business." The Barrois was much delighted on hearing this, for he had too long remained idle, and replied,—"Sir king, I thank you: I will defend them to the utmost of my power; and, when I am once within them, I will never depart without your special order." "By God," said the king, "I believe we shall soon have news from France." The knights were ignorant of the decampment from Sluys, though the king knew it; for the duke of Bourbon had written to him the whole account, and what was going forward in France; how he was to come to Castille with three thousand spears; but that Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were first to clear the passes, with an equal number of lances. He asked the knights if they wished to hear news. "Ah, sire, tell us some from France, for we are very anxious to hear from thence." "Willingly," replied the king. He then told them that the duke of Bourbon was appointed by the king of France and his council, commander in chief of all the forces sent to Castille, which amounted to six thousand spears; that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were to lead the van, of three thousand knights and squires, and were then on their march; that the invasion of England was deferred until May, when the constable of France, the count de St. Pol, and the lord de Coucy, should there land, with four thousand lances. "What do you say to this?" asked the king. "What do we say, sire?" replied the knights, who were rejoiced: "we say that it is delightful news, and we cannot have better; and, in the course of the summer, many gallant deeds will be done in your country; for, if they have ordered six thousand, nine thousand will come. We shall certainly combat the English, who now keep the field; and, before St. John's day, we will shut them up." "On my faith," said each of the knights, "the three you have named are gallant men,

* "Mamez." Q. Muros.

† "Betances." Q. Betanços, or Entança.

especially the duke of Bourbon: and the other two are well qualified to command men at arms."

The news of this army coming from France was soon known in Valladolid, and throughout Castille; and that it had been ordered to arrive by the first of May, to the great comfort of all, and joy of the knights and squires.

CHAPTER LV.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER SENDS A REINFORCEMENT TO THE SIEGE OF RIBADAVIA.—ON THAT TOWN BEING TAKEN BY STORM, MAURES * INSTANTLY SURRENDERS.

Sir Barrois des Barres left the king of Castille in Valladolid, and accompanied by only fifty spears, rode towards the town of Noya. News was brought to sir Thomas Moreaux's army, but I know not by whom, that the French were on their march, to the amount of five hundred lances, to raise the siege of Ribadavia. Sir Thomas too easily believed this intelligence; for those who had told it affirmed it for truth, and that they had seen them on their march, on this side the river Duero, and encamped at Villalpando. The marshal was advised to let the duke of Lancaster have information of this, which he did, by sending to him sir John d'Ambreticourt, and a herald well acquainted with the roads in Galicia. He himself was always on his guard, lest he should be surprised in the night, and one half of his army was on duty, while the other half slept. When the arrival of sir John and the herald at Saint Jago, where the duke and duchess resided, was known, the duke said, "They have brought some intelligence," and, sending for them, asked the news. "Good news, my lord: the marshal sends me hither to know how you would wish him to act; for he has learnt for certain, that the French have assembled a strong body in Castille, and are on their march to cross the river, and engage with our men before Ribadavia. This is the news I have brought." "In God's name," replied he, "it is news enough, but we will soon provide a remedy." He looked at sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, his constable and admiral, and said to them: "Take three hundred spears and five hundred archers, and join our companions before Ribadavia, who are looking for the French coming to attack them." They replied, they would cheerfully obey, and, making themselves ready, set out with the above-mentioned force, and arrived before Ribadavia, to the great joy of their countrymen.

Sir John Holland said to the marshal,—"What do these fellows of Ribadavia mean? will they not surrender?" "No, by my faith," replied sir Thomas, "they are so presumptuous: notwithstanding they have seen all the neighbouring towns do so, they obstinately follow their own inclinations. They are but peasants; for not one gentleman is in the town." "Say no more," answered sir John: "before four days we will put them in such plight, that they will gladly surrender to any who will shew them mercy; but tell the admiral and me, are the French abroad?" "I was so informed," said sir Thomas, "and was assured there were upwards of five hundred in one body. This is very probable: for men at arms are continually coming from France to Castille. I afterwards heard, that only sir Barrois des Barres had entered the castle of Noya with fifty lances, and I know nothing more of them." The conversation now ceased; and the new comers were lodged among them as well as circumstances would admit, and were well served from the provision which had followed them. Four days after the arrival of sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, great preparations were made for a general assault; and a large machine of timber was built, and mounted on wheels, which could be pushed anywhere. It would contain, with ease, one hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers; but, for this attack, it was filled with archers only, and the ditches were levelled where it was intended to pass.

When the attack commenced, this machine was wheeled up to the walls by main force; and the archers, being well provided with arrows, shot vigorously on their enemies, who returned it by throwing darts and such other missile weapons, as was wonderful to behold. The roof of this machine was covered with strong ox-hides to shelter them from the effects

* "Maures." Q. Muros.

of the stones and the darts: underneath were men at arms well shielded, that with pick-axes worked hard, and with success against the walls; for the townsmen could not prevent them for fear of the archers, who gave them full employment. At length a large breach was made in the wall, and a considerable part thrown into the ditch; which when the Galicians perceived, they were so dismayed, that they cried loudly, "We surrender, we surrender!" No one made any answer; but the English laughed at them, and said, "These peasants have done us much mischief, and mock us by now offering to surrender, for the town is ours." Some of the English replied, "If you wish to say any thing to us, it must be in good French or English, for we do not understand Castilian," and kept advancing and slaying those who were flying before them. They killed them in heaps; and that day there were fifteen hundred put to death, including Jews, many of whom were resident in the town. Thus was Ribadavia taken by storm; those who first entered it gained great pillage, especially from the houses of the Jews, wherein they found more wealth in money than elsewhere. After the town had been plundered, the marshal was asked what he intended doing with it, and if they should set it on fire. "Oh, no," replied he, "we will keep it, and make it as strong as any town in Galicia."

After they had consulted whither to go next, they determined to march to Muros, another tolerably good town in Galicia. The garrison of Ribadavia, consisting of twenty spears and sixty archers, was put under the command of sir Peter Clinton, a valiant knight and expert man at arms. The army carried away much provision from the town, which was well stored, particularly in pork and wines: these last were so strong and fiery, they could scarcely drink them; and when any of the English drank too much, they were disabled for two days. On their departure from Ribadavia, they took the road towards Muros, and had their large machine taken to pieces and brought after them, for they found it had caused great alarm to many other towns.

When the inhabitants of Muros heard that the English were on their march to attack them, that Ribadavia had been stormed and numbers put to death, and that they had with them a devil of a machine, so great and wonderful it could not be destroyed, they were much frightened thereat, and were apprehensive what the English might do to them. They held a council, whether they should defend the town or not, and thought it would be more for their advantage to surrender; for, should the town be stormed, they would lose their lives and fortunes, and they saw no hopes of aid from any quarter. "Consider," said some of the most prudent, "what has been the consequence of the defence of Ribadavia, which was much stronger than our town; they held out for near a month, but no reinforcements were sent them. The king of Castille, as we understand, looks on all Galicia, as far as the river Duero, as lost, and you will never, this year, see any of the French enter it. Let us, therefore, handsomely surrender, without making any opposition, in the like manner the other towns of Castille have done." "It is well said," the hearers replied, and they unanimously agreed to adopt this opinion. "But how shall we manage it?" said some of them. "In God's name," replied those who proposed the surrender, "we will go out to meet the English, and present them the keys of our town; for they are a civil people, and will not hurt us: if we receive them kindly, we shall have their thanks."

Having determined on this plan, fifty of the principal inhabitants went out of the town as soon as they heard the English were approaching, and waited on the road, about a quarter of a league off. News was brought to the English army, that those of Muros had come out of their town, not in hostile array, but with the intention of surrendering and offering the keys of the place, which they had brought with them. Some of the lords rode forward to know the truth of it, but ordered the army to halt until their return. As they were advancing, the townsmen were told, "Here come three of the principal lords of England, sent by the duke of Lancaster to conquer the country: speak to them." On which, they cast themselves on their knees, and said; "My lords, behold the poor inhabitants of Muros, who are desirous to put themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore entreat you to receive us in your favour, for all we have is yours." The three lords, having consulted together, replied,—"Good people, we will return with you to your town, and enter it with part of our army, but not all, and there you shall take

such oaths as good subjects ought to their lord or lady." They answered, they would cheerfully do so. "Now, then," said the lords, "go back, and open your gates, for your surrender is accepted." They flung open the gates and barriers for the constable and other lords, who might amount to four hundred lances, but not more; the rest remained without the walls, but had much provision from the town, wherein the leaders were lodged, and where they made the townsmen take the usual oaths of obedience.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE LADY PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER IS MARRIED, BY PROCURATION, TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE CEREMONY IS AGAIN PERFORMED WITH GREAT MAGNIFICENCE AND FEASTINGS AT OPORTO.

On the morrow, after the surrender of Muros, when the knights were preparing for their march towards Betanços, a messenger from the duke of Lancaster arrived with letters, ordering them to return instantly, whatever might be their situation; for he was daily expecting the archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sâ, ambassadors from the king of Portugal, who were to marry his daughter by procuration, and conduct her to that king at Oporto, where he was waiting for her. Sir John Holland, the marshal and admiral, on learning this, altered their plans, and said it was proper that their lord the duke, when he received ambassadors from the king of Portugal, should have all his council with him. Having placed sufficient garrisons in the towns they had won, they said they would not attempt more until the month of May, and returned to Saint Jago, whither the duke had sent for them. Three days after their arrival, came the archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sâ, who entered the town of Saint Jago with two hundred horse, where they were all lodged, everything having been prepared for them.

When the archbishop, with the knights and lords in his company, had refreshed themselves, they waited on the duke and duchess of Lancaster in grand array, who received them most graciously. They then declared the motive of the embassy, which the duke heard with pleasure; for he was rejoiced at the exaltation of his daughter, and the connexion with the king of Portugal, which was very opportune, if he persevered in his intention of conquering Castille. The archbishop explained, to the satisfaction of the duke and his council, that by power of the king's procuration, he was authorised to espouse personally the lady Philippa of Lancaster, in the name of don John, king of Portugal. During the residence of these ambassadors at Saint Jago, the ceremony was performed by virtue of the above-mentioned procuration; and the archbishop of Braganza and the lady Philippa were courteously laid beside each other, on a bed, as married persons should be. This being done, on the morrow the lady and her attendants were ready to depart; and, having bidden adieu to her father and mother, she mounted her palfrey, as did her damsels, and her bastard sister, the wife of the marshal, who accompanied her to Portugal. Sir John Holland, sir Thomas Percy, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, were ordered to escort her, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers. They followed the road to Oporto, and, when near, were met by the king and his court, with all the prelates at that time in Oporto, to do her honour; such as the bishops of Lisbon, Evora, Coimbra, and Oporto: among the barons were, the counts d'Angouse, de Novaire, de l'Escalle, Guadalupe Ferrant Pacheco, Vasco Martin de Merlo, with upwards of forty knights, and great crowds of ladies and other persons, and the whole of the clergy in their holiday dresses. Thus was the lady Philippa conducted to the king's palace at Oporto, where she dismounted. The king took her by the hand and kissed her, performing the same ceremony to all the ladies who had accompanied her, and then led her to her apartments, where he took leave of her and her companions.

The English lords and their men were lodged in the town, which is of considerable size; and this night they kept the vigil of the feast by carolling, dancing, and other amusements, until the morrow's dawn. On Tuesday morning *, the king of Portugal, the prelates and lords of his country, were dressed by eight o'clock, and, mounting their horses at the palace

* The 11th February, 1387, the day of the Purification. The king was twenty-nine years of age, the queen twenty-eight.—Ed.

gate, rode to the cathedral called St. Mary's church, where they waited for the queen. She followed shortly after, attended by her ladies and damsels; and, though the ambassadors had before espoused her in the king's name, the ceremony was again performed; which done, they returned to the palace, where were grand and solemn feastings. In the afternoon were tilts and tournaments before the king and queen; and in the evening the prizes were distributed. Sir John Holland gained the one destined for strangers; and that for the natives was won by a knight attached to the king, sir John Testad'oro. The day and night passed thus jovially in various amusements. That night the king lay with the queen; and it was reported by those who were near his person, that he had hitherto been perfectly chaste, and had never known woman.

On the morrow the feastings and joustings were renewed, when sir Vasco Martin de Merlo gained one prize, and sir John d'Ambreticourt the other. The night was spent as before, in carollings, dancing, and other sports; and while the English staid at Oporto, there were tournaments every day. With such rejoicings was the queen of Portugal received on her arrival at Oporto. They lasted upwards of ten days; and the king made all the strangers, on their departure, such gifts as satisfied them. The English lords, having taken leave of the king and queen of Portugal, returned to Saint Jago. The duke and duchess of Lancaster made great inquiries, and were told all that had passed; that the king saluted them, and that the queen recommended herself to their love. Sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy added, "My lord, the last words the king said to us were, that you might take the field when you pleased, for that he would join you and enter Castille." "That is good news, indeed," replied the duke.

About fifteen days after the return of the lords from Portugal, the duke of Lancaster ordered them to prepare for conquering the remaining towns in Galicia, for there were several he was not master of. It was settled by the council of the duke, that when he should depart from Saint Jago, the duchess and her daughter Catherine should visit the king and young queen of Portugal, at Oporto. The town of Saint Jago was placed under the command of an English knight, called sir Lewis Clifford, with thirty spears, and one hundred archers, for his garrison.

CHAPTER LVII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARCHES HIS ARMY TO ENTENÇA.—THE INHABITANTS SEND, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE DUKE, TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR SUCCOUR.

When the duke of Lancaster marched from Saint Jago, he left no more in garrison than those already mentioned. He rode on, in company with his duchess, towards the city of Entença, which is a good town in one of the extremities of Galicia, and the last on the borders of Portugal, in the direct road from Saint Jago to Oporto and Coimbra. They had taken this line of march, because the duchess and her daughter were to visit Portugal. The inhabitants of Entença, hearing that the duke and his army were advancing against them, held a council to consider what conduct they should pursue. After many debates, it was at length agreed that they should send six of their principal men to the duke and duchess, to entreat they might not be attacked for eight days only, when they would let the king of Castille know their situation, and if he sent them no aid they would surrender unconditionally. The six citizens, on leaving the town, took the road the English were coming, and first met the van-guard under the command of the marshal, by whom they were instantly arrested. They said they were deputed by the inhabitants of Entença to parley with the duke. Upon which the marshal said to Sir John Sounder, who was by his side, "Conduct these men to my lord; for it will be necessary to escort them, or they may be slain by our archers." The knight replied, he would take care of them; and then the marshal said, "Go, go, this knight will conduct you." They all departed, and rode together until they came up with the duke and duchess, who had dismounted, and were sitting under some fine olive trees, attended by sir John Holland, sir Thomas Percy, and others. On seeing sir John Sounder approach, they eyed him well; and sir John Holland

said, "Fair brother, Sounder, are these prisoners thine?" "They are not prisoners, sir, but men from Entença whom the marshal has ordered me to conduct to my lord; and from what I can learn, they wish to treat with him." The duke and duchess heard all this; and sir John Sounder continued, "Come forward, my good people: you see your lord and lady."

Upon this the six men advanced, and, casting themselves on their knees, thus spoke, "Our most redoubted lord and lady, the commonalty of the town of Entença, hearing you were marching your army against them, have sent us hither to entreat you would delay advancing further for eight or nine days only, in which time they will send to the king of Castille, in Valladolid, an account of the great peril they are in; and if, during those nine days, they be not reinforced sufficiently to offer you combat, they will put themselves fully under your obedience. In the mean time, should you or your army be in want of provision or stores, those of the town will cheerfully serve you with both for your money." The duke made no reply, leaving it to the duchess, as she was from that country. She looked at the duke, and said, "Well, my lord, what do you say?" "Lady, what do you say? you are the heiress of this country, and, as the inheritance comes through you, you must reply." "It will be right then, my lord, that their offer be accepted; for I do not believe that the king of Castille has any desire to combat you so soon." "I do not know that," answered the duke; "God grant it may happen otherwise: we shall the sooner put an end to the business; and I wish it were to take place within six days; but, since you are desirous their offer be accepted, I consent." The duchess then addressed the deputies, saying, "You may return, for your offer is accepted; but you must deliver up to the marshal twelve of your principal citizens, as pledges for the due performance of the treaty." They replied they would do so, and, rising up, were given to the care of sir John Sounder, who conducted them back to the marshal, and told him what had passed, which gave him satisfaction. The deputies returned to their town and related the success of their mission. Twelve of the principal inhabitants were sent to the marshal, and the place was unmolested, on the terms mentioned. In another council they resolved to send the same six men, and no others, to inform the king of Castille of their situation. They rode to Valladolid, where the king resided, with part of his council, and, their arrival being notified to him, he was eager to see them, to learn the news and talk with them; for he was ignorant of the treaty they had entered into, and that the English were before Entença.

CHAPTER LVIII.—THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER AND HER DAUGHTER VISIT THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.—THE INHABITANTS OF ENTENÇA RECEIVING NEITHER ANSWER NOR SUCCOUR FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, SURRENDER TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THEIR TREATY.

While these six deputies were journeying towards Valladolid, the duke of Lancaster gave directions for the departure of his duchess and daughter, the lady Catherine, to visit the king and queen of Portugal. On their setting out, the duke said, "Constance, you will salute from me the king my son, my daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and give them all the intelligence you can; how Entença has entered into a treaty with me; but that I doubt if John de Transtamare, your adversary, will allow them to keep it, or whether he will offer me battle; for well I know that great reinforcements are to come to him from France, and those who are eager for renown will hasten to Castille as speedily as possible. It will be necessary for me to be daily on my guard, in expectation of an engagement, which you will tell the king and his barons; and that, if I shall learn any thing for certain of a combat being likely to take place, I will instantly signify it to the king of Portugal. Desire him from me, to be well prepared to come to our assistance, in the defence of our right, as he has solemnly sworn to do in the treaties concluded between us. You will return to me; but leave our daughter Catherine with her sister, the queen of Portugal, for she cannot be better placed, nor more in safety." "My lord," replied the duchess, "all this I will cheerfully perform."

The duchess, her daughter, and the ladies and damsels who accompanied them, took

their leave and departed. They were escorted to Oporto by the admiral, sir Thomas Percy, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Talbot, sir John d'Ambreticourt and sir Maubrun de Linieres, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers. The king of Portugal, hearing the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were on the road, was much pleased, and sent some of his principal courtiers to meet them, such as the counts d'Angouses, de Novaire, sir Joao Rodriguez de Sâ, sir Joao Ferrant Pacheco, sir Vasco Martin de Merlo, sir Egeas Colle, and twenty other knights. They rode two long leagues before they met the ladies, who received them graciously and gaily. The duchess politely made acquaintance with the different knights, and, as they rode together, she conversed with much affability among them all. Thus did they arrive at Oporto, when the duchess and her ladies were conducted to the palace. The king was the first who waited on them, and kissed them all round; then came the queen, attended by her ladies, and received her lady-mother and sister most kindly and honourably. The whole palace was rejoiced at the arrival of these ladies; but I will not pretend to speak very particularly of what passed, for I was not there: all I know was from that gallant knight, sir Joao Ferrant Pacheco, who was present. The duchess took a proper opportunity to deliver the duke's message to the king of Portugal, who replied with prudence and friendship,—"Lady and cousin, I am prepared, should the king of Castille take the field, with three thousand lances, who are stationed on the borders of Castille, whom I can collect in three days, and I shall also bring with me full twenty thousand men from the commonalty of the country, who are not to be despised, for they were of the greatest service to me at the battle of Aljubarota." "Sir," said the duchess, "you say well, and I am greatly thankful to you; and if my lord gain any further intelligence, he will instantly let you know." Such was the conversation that passed between the king of Portugal and the duchess of Lancaster.

We will now return to Entença, and say what success their deputies had at Valladolid. On their being introduced to the king of Castille, they cast themselves on their knees, and said,—"Most redoubted lord, if you will condescend to listen to us, we have been sent hither by your town of Entença, which has been forced to enter into a treaty with the duke and duchess of Lancaster. The terms of which are, that the English will abstain from any attack for nine days; and if, within that time, you shall come in sufficient force to offer them combat and resist the duke, the town will remain yours: but, if not, the town has given up hostages to surrender it to them. You will be pleased, most redoubted lord, to say what you will do." The king replied, that "he would advise upon it, and they should have an answer." He then left them, and retired to his chamber. I am ignorant if he summoned his council or not, or how the matter was managed; but these six men were there for eight days without obtaining any answer, nor did they again see the king. The day came for the surrender of the town before any of the deputies returned. The duke, therefore, sent his marshal to Entença, on the tenth day, to say, that if the town were not surrendered, according to the terms of the treaty, he would instantly cut off the heads of the hostages. The marshal, on arriving at the barriers, whither he summoned the inhabitants, thus addressed them,—"My good people, the duke of Lancaster sends me to know why you have not brought him the keys of the town, and put yourselves under his obedience, as you were in duty bound? The nine days expired, as you know, yesterday. If you do not instantly comply, he will order the heads of the hostages to be struck off, and then march hither to storm the town, when you will all be slain, without mercy, like to those of Ribadavia."

The men of Entença, hearing this, were much afraid, not only for themselves, but also for their friends who were pledged for the observance of the treaty, and replied,—"In good truth, my lord marshal, the duke has reason for saying what you tell us; but we know not what is become of the deputies we sent to the king of Castille, nor what can have kept them at Valladolid." "Sirs, they may perhaps be confined," said the marshal; "for the news they carried could not be very pleasant to the king, and my lord will not longer wait. Consider well what answer you make for, if it be not agreeable, I am ordered to commence the attack." They answered; "My lord, only allow us time to collect all the inhabitants together, that we may know their determinations." "I consent to it," said he. They

entered the town once more, and, by sound of trumpet in every street, the inhabitants were summoned to the market-place, where, when assembled, the chief citizens told them all that had passed between them and the marshal. Having agreed to surrender the town, for the release of their hostages from prison, whom they were unwilling to lose, they returned to the marshal and said,—"Marshal, your demands are reasonable, and we are ready to receive, as sovereigns, the duke and duchess of Lancaster in our town, of which here are the keys. We will accompany you to the duke's quarters, if you will have the goodness to escort us." "I will willingly do that," said the marshal. There came out of Entença upwards of sixty persons, carrying with them the keys of the gates: the marshal conducted them to the duke, and obtained for them an audience, where they were well received, and had their hostages given up. The duke entered Entença the same day, where he was lodged, and as many of his people as could be accommodated.

Four days after the surrender of Entença, the six deputies returned from Valladolid. They were asked why they had stayed so long; which they answered, by saying they could not help it. They had indeed seen and spoken to the king, who replied that he had heard them, and would advise on what answer to give; "but, though we waited eight days for it, we are come back without any, for no further notice was taken of us." They had heard in Valladolid, that the king was expecting great succours from France; that numbers of men at arms were already arrived, and quartered up and down the country; but that their commanders, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, were still behind: that the main body of the army, with the knights and squires, were on their march for Castille, but that those who had been retained to serve under the duke of Bourbon were still at their homes.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE COUNT DE FOIX PERMITS THE FRENCH CAPTAINS TO PASS THROUGH HIS TERRITORIES, ON CONDITION THEY PAY FOR WHATEVER THEY TAKE.—THEY ARRIVE AT ST. JEAN PIED DE PORT, AT THE ENTRANCE OF NAVARRE.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac passing through France, assembled their men in the Toulousain, Narbonnois and Carcassone, where, as they arrived, they quartered themselves in the richest parts, and many never paid anything for what they took. News was brought to the count de Foix at Orthès, where he resided, that the French men at arms were advancing near his country, with the intent of marching through it in their way to Castille. Those who told him this added,—"But, my lord, the mischief is, that they pay for nothing they take, and the people fly before them as if they were English. The captains are still at Carcassone, and their men overrun from thence all the adjacent countries. They cross the Garonne at Toulouse, and enter Bigorre, from whence they will soon be in your territories; and, if they do there what they have done on their march, they will greatly injure your domains of Béarn. Consider, therefore, how you will act." The count de Foix, who had instantly formed his resolution, replied,—"I will, that all my castles, as well in Foix as in Béarn, be well garrisoned with men at arms, and that all the country be put on its guard, as if an immediate battle were to take place; for I will not suffer from the wars in Castille. My lands are free; and, if the French want to pass through them, they shall truly pay for whatever they may want, or they shall be shut against them. This I order you, sir William and sir Peter de Béarn, to see obeyed." These two knights were bastard-brothers, valiant in arms, and able to support the count's orders. They replied, they would undertake the charge willingly.

Proclamation was made, throughout the territories of the count, for every one to provide himself with proper arms, and to be prepared to march on instant notice, wherever sent for. Numbers came to Foix, Béarn, and the stewartry of Toulouse, prepared for battle. Messire Espaing de Lyon, with a hundred good lances and men at arms, was sent to the city of Pamiers; messire Ricart de Saint Leger, to Savredun; Peter de Béarn held Mazeres with a hundred lances; messire Pierre Cabestan was at Bellepuich at the entrance into the county of Foix; messire Pierre Menaut de Noailles with fifty lances, at Saint Shibaut, on the

Garonne; messire Pierre de la Roche at Palaminich; the bastard d'Espaigne, at the castle of Lamesen; messire Arnault Guillaume, with, in all, a hundred lances, at Morlans; messire Guy de la Motte, at Pau; messire Raymond de Chastel-Neuf, at Mont-de-Marsan; messire Evan de Foix, bastard son to the count, at Sauveterre; messire Berdruc de Nebosem, at Montesquieu; messire Jean de Saint Marcille, at Aire; messire Hector de la Garde, at Oron; Jean de Chastel-Neuf, at Montgerviel; Jean de Morlans, at Erciel. Messire Raymond l'Aisné, who had the command of the castle of Malvoisin, was ordered to be very attentive to the whole of that frontier, and sent his cousin, sir Arnaulton d'Espaign, to St. Gaudens. In short, there was not a town or castle in Foix and Béarn unprovided with men at arms, which the count said were sufficient to oppose double their numbers; for they amounted, in the whole, to twenty thousand picked men at arms.

It was told to sir William de Lignac, who resided at Toulouse, and sir Walter de Passac, at Carcassone, how the count de Foix had summoned his men at arms and reinforced all his garrisons; and that it was reported he would not suffer their army to pass through his country. The two knights, on hearing this, though captains of the others, were much astonished, and appointed a day to meet and confer on the subject. They met at the castle of Aury, half way between Toulouse and Carcassone, when the following conversation passed on the means of gaining permission from the count de Foix to march through his territories:—

"I wonder," said sir William, "very much, that neither the king of France nor his council have written to him, to obtain liberty for us to march quietly through Foix and Béarn. You must go to him, sir Walter, and amicably explain how we are sent by the king of France to continue our march peaceably, and to pay for whatever we may want; for you must know, that the count de Foix is so powerful, that he can, if he please, shut up the passage, and force us to go round by Arragon, which would be too long, and much against us. In truth, I know not of whom he is suspicious, nor why he has thus strengthened his towns and castles, nor if he have formed any connexion with the duke of Lancaster; but I beg of you to go thither, and learn the truth of what we have heard." "I will willingly do so," replied sir Walter; and the two knights, having dined together, took leave of each other, and departed different ways: sir William de Lignac returned to Toulouse; and sir Walter de Passac, attended by only forty horse, crossed the Garonne at St. Thibaut, where he met sir Menaut de Noailles, who entertained him handsomely. Sir Walter asked, where he could find the count de Foix. He replied, "At Orthès." The two knights having passed some little time together, conversing on different matters, separated; and sir Walter went to St. Gaudens, where he made good cheer. On the morrow he came to St. John de Riviere, and, riding through Lane-bourg, skirted Malvoisin, and lay at Tournay, an inclosed town of France. The next day he dined at Tarbes, and stayed the whole day: having met the lord d'Anchin, and sir Menaut de Barbasan, two great barons of Béarn, they had much conversation together; but, as the lord de Barbasan was an Armagnac, he would not say anything favourable of the count de Foix. Sir Walter, on the morrow, left Tarbes, and dined at Morlas in Béarn, where he found sir Reginald William, bastard-brother to the count, who received him kindly, and said,—"Sir Walter, you will meet my lord of Foix at Orthès, who, you may be assured, will be glad to see you." "God grant it may be so," answered sir Walter; "for I am come purposely to wait on him." They dined together, and sir Walter went afterwards to Montgerbeil where he lay. On the ensuing day he arrived at Orthès, about eight o'clock in the morning, but could not see the count until the afternoon, when he usually left his chamber. The count de Foix, hearing of the arrival of sir Walter de Passac, hastened to leave his apartment sooner than common; and sir Walter, seeing him come out of his chamber, advanced to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. The count, who was perfectly polite, returned the salute; and, taking him by the hand, said,—"Sir Walter, you are welcome: what business has brought you to Béarn?" "My lord," replied the knight, "sir William de Lignac and myself, whom the king of France has appointed commanders of the force which, you must have heard, he is sending to assist the king of Castille, have been given to understand that you intend to prevent us, by shutting your country of Béarn against us and our men." The count replied,—"Sir Walter, under favour, I never mean to close my country against you, nor any person who may travel peaceably

through it, and pay honestly and fairly for whatever they may want, to the satisfaction of my people; for I have sworn to defend and protect them in their rights, as good landholders ought to do, for upon these terms do they possess them. But I have heard that you have a set of Bretons, Barrois, Lorainers and Burgundians, who never think of paying. It is against such I shall close my country; for I will not have my people harassed nor oppressed."

"It is the intention of my brother-commander and myself," replied sir Walter, "that no one pass through your lands without paying for all things peaceably and to the contentment of your people, otherwise let him be arrested and punished according to your laws, and make restitution for the damage he may have done, or we will make satisfaction for him, on having him given up to us; and, if no gentleman, we will inflict such exemplary justice on him, in the presence of your people, that all may take warning. Should the offender be a gentleman, we will make ample restitution for what he may have done, should he be unable so to do himself. This order shall be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all our quarters; and we will have it repeated when on the point of entering your territories, so that no one may excuse himself, by pleading ignorance, and in consequence act otherwise than honestly. Tell me, if this be satisfactory to you." "Yes, sir Walter," replied the count, "I am contented with what you say; and you are welcome to this country, for I see you with pleasure: but come, let us go to dinner, it is now time, and we can have some further conversation. Accursed be this war of Portugal, sir Walter; for I never suffered so much as I did in one battle between the kings of Castille and Portugal, when I lost the flower of my men at arms from Béarn, who were there slain. When they took leave of me, I forwarned them to act with caution, for the Portuguese were a hardy race, who, whenever they had the upper hand, showed mercy to none. I advise you, therefore, that when you and sir William de Lignac, who are the commanders of the men at arms that have passed, and of those that are to follow, are arrived in Castille, and the king asks counsel of you, you be not too hasty in recommending a battle with the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, without evident advantage, nor with the English and Portuguese; for they are a hungry race, and the English are, for two reasons, eager to fight. They have not gained anything for some time, but rather lost, consequently are poor: they therefore wish to hazard an engagement, in hopes of gain; and those who are bold, and anxious to obtain the property of others, fight valiantly, and are commonly fortunate. The other reason is, that the duke of Lancaster sees clearly he can never succeed in winning the crown of Castille, which he claims in right of his wife, but by a battle; and that, if the day should be his, and the king defeated, the whole of Castille would surrender, and tremble before him. For this he has landed in Galicia, and given one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Portugal, who is to assist him with all his might in his claim. I mention this; because, should matters turn out unfortunate, you and sir William de Lignac would be more blamed than any others."

"My lord," answered sir Walter, "I return you many thanks for the advice you give me. I ought to follow what you say; for you are, at this day, the wisest of Christian princes, and the most fortunate in your affairs. But my companion and myself are under the duke of Bourbon, who is our commander-in-chief; and, until he be arrived in Castille, we shall not hasten our march, and will not, for what any person may say, press the engaging with our enemies." Other conversation now took place, until the count de Foix called for wine. When it was brought, sir Walter and all present drank of it, and took leave of the count, who re-entered his chamber. Sir Walter returned to his lodging, accompanied by the knights of the count's household; and, at the usual hour, he again went to the castle and supped with the count. On the morrow, after dinner, sir Walter took leave of the count, who, among other gifts, presented him on his departure with a handsome horse and mule. Sir Walter, having returned him his thanks, and his attendants being ready, mounted his horse and quitted Orthès for Erciel, where he lay that night. He arrived at Tarbes the following day, for he had ridden hard to finish this day's journey, where he halted, that he might write to sir William de Lignac respecting the success of his visit to the count de Foix. He told him he might order the army to advance, as they would find the country of Béarn and the towns open to them, by paying for whatever they might want, but not otherwise. The

messenger delivered this letter to sir William de Lignac at Toulouse, who, having read it, communicated the contents to the leaders of the men at arms, and gave them orders to begin the march, and to pay for whatever they might want in Béarn, or they would be called upon to make due restitution. This order was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, in all their quarters; and, shortly after, the men at arms began their march from Toulouse, Carcassone, and other places, towards Bigorre. Sir Willam de Lignac left Toulouse, and, on his arrival at Tarbes, found his brother-commander, sir Walter de Passac. They mutually entertained each other with good cheer, as was natural, while their men at arms were continually passing towards Bigorre, where they were to assemble and traverse Foix and Béarn, in a body, to cross the Gave at Orthès.

The instant you leave Béarn you enter the country of the Basques*, where the king of England has large possessions in the archbishopric of Bordeaux and bishopric of Bayonne. The inhabitants of fourscore villages with churches, attached to England, on hearing of this march of the French, were greatly alarmed lest their country would be overrun and spoiled; for at that time there were not any men at arms to defend it. Those, therefore, counselled together who were of the most influence and of the largest properties, and determined to negotiate with the French for the ransom of their country. They, in consequence, sent four deputies to Orthès, empowered to treat for peace. They related to Ernauton du Pin, a squire of the count de Foix, an agreeable and discreet man, the cause of their coming, and entreated him, when, in two days' time, sir William and sir Walter should come to Orthès, to assist them in their treaty. This Ernauton readily promised; and as they lodged with him, he aided them so much that they were well satisfied to pay two thousand francs to save their country from ruin. The count de Foix again entertained the commanders at dinner, and gave sir William de Lignac a beautiful horse. On the morrow, they marched to Sauveterre, and entered the country of the Basques: and though it had been ransomed, they seized provision wherever they found any, but continued their march, without doing further mischief, to St. Jean Pied de Port, at the entrance of Navarre.

CHAPTER LX.—SIR JOHN HOLLAND AND SIR REGINALD DE ROYE PERFORM A TILT, IN THE TOWN OF ENTENÇA, BEFORE THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL AND THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF LANCASTER.

You have before heard how the town of Entença surrendered to the duke of Lancaster, for the king of Castille sent thither no assistance; and how the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter visited the king and queen of Portugal at Oporto, when the king and his court, as was right, received them most honourably. During the stay of the duke of Lancaster in Entença, a herald arrived from Valladolid, who demanded where sir John Holland was lodged. On being shown thither, he found sir John within; and, bending his knee, presented him a letter, saying, "Sir, I am a herald at arms, whom sir Reginald de Roye sends hither: he salutes you by me, and you will be pleased to read this letter." Sir John answered, he would willingly do so. Having opened it, he read that sir Reginald de Roye entreated him, for the love of his mistress, that he would deliver him from his vow, by tilting with him three courses with the lance, three attacks with the sword, three with the battle-axe, and three with the dagger; and that, if he chose to come to Valladolid, he had provided him an escort of sixty spears; but, if it were more agreeable to him to remain in Entença, he desired he would obtain from the duke of Lancaster a passport for himself and thirty companions.

When sir John Holland had perused the letter, he smiled, and looking at the herald, said, —"Friend, thou art welcome; for thou hast brought me what pleases me much, and I accept the challenge. Thou wilt remain in my lodging with my people, and, in the course of tomorrow, thou shalt have my answer, whether the tilts are to be in Galicia or Castille." The herald replied, "God grant it." He remained in sir John's lodgings, where he was made comfortable; and sir John went to the duke of Lancaster, whom he found in conversation with the marshal, and showed the letter the herald had brought. "Well," said the duke,

* Basques, a small country near the Pyrenées, bounded by Spain, the sea, the river Adour, and Béarn.

"and have you accepted it?" "Yes, by my faith, have I; and why not? I love nothing better than fighting, and the knight entreats me to indulge him: consider, therefore, where you would choose it should take place." The duke mused awhile, and then said; "It shall be performed in this town: have a passport made out in what terms you please, and I will seal it." "It is well said," replied sir John; "and I will, in God's name, soon make out the passport." The passport was fairly written and sealed, for thirty knights and squires to come and return; and sir John Holland, when he delivered it to the herald, presented him with a handsome mantle lined with minever, and twelve nobles. The herald took leave and returned to Valladolid, where he related what had passed, and shewed his presents.

News of this tournament was carried to Oporto, where the king of Portugal kept his court. "In the name of God," said the king, "I will be present at it, and so shall my queen and the ladies." "Many thanks," replied the duchess; "for I shall be accompanied by the king and queen when I return." It was not long after this conversation, that the king of Portugal, the queen, the duchess, with her daughter, and the ladies of the court, set out for Entença, in grand array. The duke of Lancaster, when they were near at hand, mounted his horse; and, attended by a numerous company, went to meet them. When the king and duke met, they embraced each other most kindly, and entered the town together, where their lodgings were as well prepared as they could be in such a place, though they were not so magnificent as if they had been at Paris. Three days after the arrival of the king of Portugal, came sir Reginald de Roye, handsomely accompanied by knights and squires, to the amount of six score horse. They were all properly lodged; for the duke had given his officers strict orders they should be well taken care of. On the morrow, sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye armed themselves, and rode into a spacious close in Entença, well sanded, where the tilts were to be performed. Scaffolds were erected for the ladies, the king, the duke, and the many English lords who had come to witness the combat; for none had stayed at home.

The two knights who were to perform this deed of arms, entered the lists so well armed and equipped that nothing was wanting. Their spears, battle-axes and swords, were brought them; and each, being mounted on the best of horses, placed himself about a bow-shot distant from the other, but, at times, they all pranced about on their horses most gallantly, for they knew every eye to be upon them. All being now arranged for their combat, which was to include everything, except pushing it to extremity, though no one could foresee what mischief might happen, nor how it would end; for they were to tilt with pointed lances, then with swords, which were so sharp that scarcely a helmet could resist their strokes; and these were to be succeeded by battle-axes and daggers, each so well tempered that nothing could withstand them. Now, consider the perils those run who engage in such combats to exalt their honour; for one unlucky stroke puts an end to the business.

Having braced their targets and examined each other through the visors of their helmets, they spurred on their horses, spear in hand. Though they allowed their horses to gallop as they pleased, they advanced on as straight a line as if it had been drawn with a cord, and hit each other on the visors, with such force that sir Reginald's lance was shivered into four pieces, which flew to a greater height than they could have been thrown. All present allowed this to be gallantly done. Sir John Holland struck sir Reginald likewise on the visor, but not with the same success, and I will tell you why; sir Reginald had but slightly laced on his helmet, so that it was held by one thong only, which broke at the blow, and the helmet flew over his head, leaving sir Reginald bare-headed. Each passed the other, and sir John Holland bore his lance without halting. The spectators cried out that it was a handsome course. The knights returned to their stations, when sir Reginald's helmet was fitted on again, and another lance given to him: sir John grasped his own, which was not worsted. When ready, they set off full gallop, for they had excellent horses under them, which they well knew how to manage, and again struck each other on the helmets, so that sparks of fire came from them, but chiefly from sir John Holland's. He received a very severe blow, for this time the lance did not break; neither did sir John's, which hit the visor of his adversary without much effect, passing through and leaving it on the crupper of

the horse, and sir Reginald was once more bare-headed. "Ha," cried the English to the French, "he does not fight fair; why is not his helment as well buckled on as sir John Holland's? We say he is playing tricks: tell him to put himself on an equal footing with his adversary." "Hold your tongues," said the duke, "and let them alone: in arms every one takes what advantage he can: if sir John think there is any advantage in thus fastening on the helmet, he may do the same. But, for my part, were I in their situations, I would lace my helmet as tight as possible; and if one hundred were asked their opinions, there would be fourscore of my way of thinking." The English, on this, were silent, and never again interfered. The ladies declared they had nobly justed; and they were much praised by the king of Portugal, who said to sir John Fernando,—"In our country they do not tilt so well, nor so gallantly: what say you, sir John?" "By my faith, sir," replied he, "they do tilt well; and formerly I saw as good justs before your brother, when we were at Elvas to oppose the king of Castille, between this Frenchman and sir William Windsor; but I never heard that his helmet was tighter laced then than it is now." The king on this turned from sir John to observe the knights, who were about to begin their third course. Sir John and sir Reginald eyed each other, to see if any advantage were to be gained, for their horses were so excellent that they could manage them as they pleased, and, sticking spurs into them, hit their helmets so sharply that their eyes struck fire, and the shafts of their lances were broken. Sir Reginald was again unhelmed, for he could never avoid this happening, and they passed each other without falling. All now declared, they had well justed; though the English, excepting the duke of Lancaster, blamed greatly sir Reginald: but he said, "he considered that man as wise who in combat knows how to seize his vantage. Know," added he, addressing himself to sir Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Moreaux, "that sir Reginald de Roye is not now to be taught how to tilt: he is better skilled than sir John Holland, though he has borne himself well."



Battle-axe Fight between Sir John Holland and Sir Reginald De Roye. From cotemporary MSS., assisted by several cuts in Keiser's Maximilian.

After the courses of the lance, they fought three rounds with swords, battle-axes, and daggers, without either of them being wounded. The French carried off sir Reginald to his lodgings, and the English did the same to sir John Holland. The duke of Lancaster entertained this day at dinner all the French knights and squires: the duchess was seated beside him, and

sir Reginald de Roye next to her. After dinner, they entered the presence-chamber; and the duchess, taking sir Reginald by the hand, led him thither: they were followed by the other knights, who conversed on arms and on other subjects a long time, almost until wine was brought. The duchess then drew nearer to the French knights, and thus spoke:—"I wonder greatly how you knights of France can think of supporting the claims of a bastard; for it is well known to the whole world, that Henry, who called himself king of Castille, was a bastard, and how can you thus, with your arms and counsel, disinherit the right heir of Castille and deprive him of the crown? for this I know, that myself and sister are the legal daughters of the late king, don Pedro; and God, who is Truth itself, knows that our claim on Castille is just." The lady, when speaking of her father, don Pedro, could not refrain from tears, as she doated on him. Sir Reginald de Roye bowed to her, and thus replied:—"Madam, we know that what you have said is true; but our lord, the king of France, holds a different opinion from yours; and, as we are his subjects, we must make war for him, and go whithersoever he may send us, for we cannot disobey him." At these words, sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy handed the lady to her chamber, and the wine and spices were brought. The duke and his company drank of them, and the French knights took their leave; the horses being ready at their lodgings, they mounted and left Entença. They rode that day to Noya, which was attached to the king of Castille, where they reposed themselves, and then continued their journey to Valladolid.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL PROMISES TO ENTER CASTILLE WHILE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FINISHES THE CONQUEST OF GALICIA, AND THEN TO UNITE THEIR FORCES.

The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had a long conference together the day after this tournament, when, I believe, their plans of operation were settled. The king of Portugal having assembled his army ready to take the field, it was determined that he should enter Castille, while the duke remained in Galicia, to conquer such towns and castles as had not acknowledged him for king; and it was likewise resolved that if king John of Castille made any movements which showed an inclination for battle, they were to join their forces. It was judged, that if the two armies were always united, there would be difficulty in procuring forage for such numbers. Other evils might arise also respecting forage and quarters; for the English are hasty and proud, and the Portuguese hot and impetuous, easily angered, and not soon pacified. But, in the expectation of a battle, they would agree as well together as Gascons.

Having determined as above, the king of Portugal addressed the duke of Lancaster,—"Sir, when I shall learn that you have taken the field, I will do the like; for my men are ready and eager for battle." The duke replied,—"I will not long continue idle; but as I have heard there are some towns in Galicia still in rebellion, and that the people will not acknowledge me, I must first conquer them, and will then march where I may the soonest meet my enemies. Upon this, the king and queen of Portugal took leave of the duke and duchess, as did the lady Catherine their daughter; for it had been settled, that during the war she should live with her sister in Portugal, as the place of greatest security for her, and the duchess was to return to Saint Jago. Thus were these matters arranged, and the king of Portugal and his court set out for Oporto, and the duchess for Saint Jago, each party well escorted by knights and squires; but the duke remained with his army at Entença, or in the neighbourhood. They were very eager to commence the campaign, for it was now the pleasant month of April, when the grass was ripe in the meads, the corn in ear, and the flowers in seed; for it is so hot in that country, that the harvest is over in June: they therefore wished to perform some exploits in arms while the weather was so fine, for it was a pleasure at such a season to be out in the fields.

We must now speak of the arrangements of the French, and of the king of Castille, as fully as we have done of the English.

CHAPTER LXII.—SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC AND SIR WALTER DE PASSAC TRAVERSE THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE WITH THEIR ARMY, AND ARRIVE AT BURGOS, WHERE THEY MEET THE KING OF CASTILLE.

You have heard how sir Walter de Passac obtained permission from the count de Foix for the French army, intended for Castille, to pass through Béarn. The count likewise gave, of his own free will, (for he was no way bounden to do so,) very rich presents to such knights and squires as waited on him at the castle of Orthès, to pay their respects, and tell him what was passing in the way of news. To some he gave two hundred, to others one hundred, fifty or forty, florins, according to their ranks; and, as the treasurer assured me, the passage of this first division cost the count de Foix one thousand francs, without including the presents he made of coursers and hackneys. Now show me the prince who does such things, or who has the inclination to do them. In good truth, so desirous am I of speaking to his advantage, it is a pity that such a one should ever grow old and die; for he is not surrounded by base minions, who tell him, "Take this, give that; take on all sides." No; he never had, nor will have, any such about his person: he does all himself; for he has, by nature, abilities to know to whom he should give, and from whom he should take, when required. True it is, that the large presents he makes oppress his people; for his revenue is not equal to giving every year at least sixty thousand francs, and keeping up his establishments, which are unequalled by any one, and to the amassing a treasure to serve him in case of accidents. He has been, for these last thirty years, laying by large sums; and they say there is in the tower of Orthès one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. His subjects only pray to God that he may have long life, and never complain of anything he does; and I have heard them say, that on the day he shall die, there will be ten thousand persons in Orthès who would wish to die also. Consider that this must be the effect of their affection; and, if they have such great love for him, they have reason for it, as he maintains strict justice, and his subjects enjoy their lands free and in peace, like to a terrestrial paradise. Let it not be thought that I thus speak through flattery, or my love to him, or for the presents he has made me; for I can readily prove all I have said of the gallant count de Foix, and still more, by a thousand knights and squires, if called upon. Let us return to sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, the commanders of the men at arms destined for Castille.

Having crossed Basques, and the pass of Roncesvalles, which took them three days, (for, though it was in the month of April, the snows and cold were so deep and severe, that they had much difficulty in the passage with their men and horses,) they arrived at Pampeluna, the kingdom of Navarre being open to them. The king of Navarre was unwilling to displease the king of Castille, as his son Charles de Navarre had married his sister; and when the last treaties were concluded, during the reign of the late don Henry, they were so strong as bound the king of Navarre to peace. Indeed, he can never withstand the king of Castille, unless he have the kings of Arragon and England for his allies. The king of Navarre very amicably received, at Pampeluna, the leaders of this force*, and had them, with some other knights that accompanied them, to dine with him in his palace. After dinner, he led them into his council chamber, and began conversations on different subjects, (for he was a wondrous subtle and eloquent man,) and at last turned the discourse on France, and harangued on the wrongs the king of France and his council had unjustly done him, by depriving him of his lands in Normandy, which had descended to him from his predecessors the kings of France and Navarre. This injury he should never forget; for he had lost, by the seizure of lands in Normandy, Languedoc, and in the barony of Montpensier, about sixty thousand francs of yearly rent, and in respect of this grievance he knew not to whom, except to God, to apply for redress. "I do not say this, my lords," added he, "that you should any way interfere in the business; for I know you have not the power, nor would anything you could say be listened to. You are not of the king's council, but knights-errant and

* This was in 1386. The French knights returned from this expedition before the expiration of the year. The king of Navarre died January 1, 1387.—Ed.

soldiers, who are obliged to march wheresoever the king or his council may order you. This is fact; but I say it to you, because I know not to whom I can complain, except to all who shall come from France through this country."

Sir Walter de Passac replied,—"Sir, what you say is true: nothing will be done by any recommendation of ours; for, in truth, we are not of the king's council. We go whither we are sent; and my lord of Bourbon, uncle to the king, is our commander, and, as you know, is to follow us this road: you may lay your complaints before him, either when coming or on his return; for he has much influence, and your wrongs may be redressed. May God assist you, for the honour you have done us! When returned to France, we shall praise your attentions, to the king, as well as to the duke of Bourbon, our commander, whom we shall see first." Wine was now brought, of which they partook, and then left the king, who parted from them kindly, and sent to each, at their lodgings, a handsome war-horse, to their great joy. The men at arms thus passed Navarre, and arrived at Logrogno, where they inquired after the king of Castille. They were told he had resided for some time at Valladolid, but that he was then at Burgos, making great preparations of stores and provision. They then followed the road towards Burgos, leaving that into Galicia, which country was not secure, for the English had marched far into it. News was brought to the king of Castille that great succours were on their march, to the amount of two thousand lances, from France. This delighted him greatly, and he set out from Valladolid, accompanied by ten thousand horse, for Burgos, where the French, on their coming, were quartered over the country. They were daily joined by others from France.

CHAPTER LXIII. — MANY PLANS ARE OFFERED TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR CARRYING ON THE WAR: HE IS DETERMINED BY THE COMMANDERS OF THE FRENCH FORCE TO DELAY AN ENGAGEMENT UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AND TO MAKE EXCURSIONS FROM THE DIFFERENT GARRISONS.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, on their arrival at Burgos, waited on the king, at his palace, who received them kindly, and thanked them for the trouble and pains they had taken, out of affection to him, and for coming to assist him. The knights bowed, and said,—"that if they could do anything essential for his service, their pains and trouble would soon be forgotten." Many councils were holden, to consider whether to march against the enemy, or carry on the war by excursions from the garrisons, until the duke of Bourbon arrived. The two knights said,—"Send for sir Oliver du Guesclin, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Barrois des Barres, Châtelmorant, and the other companions, who are better acquainted with this country than ourselves, for they have come hither before us, and we will then confer together; and if it please God, your kingdom shall, from our counsels, acquire both profit and renown." The king said, they had spoken openly and loyally, and he was willing their advice should be followed. Secretaries were instantly employed in writing pressing letters to the different knights and others whom they wished to see, which were sent off by messengers to the different parts where they resided. When it was known to them that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were come, and had sent for them, they were much pleased. They left the towns and castles in which they were garrisoned, under the command of such as they could depend on, and hastened to Burgos, where, in a short time, good part of the chivalry of France were collected.

The king of Castille held a grand council with the barons and knights of France, on the manner of commencing the campaign, for they knew the enemy had taken the field. He was desirous of acting in a manner becoming the honour of a king, and for the benefit of his country. Many were the debates, and the amount of the force in Castille was estimated. It was said, that the king could summon into the field thirty thousand horse, with their riders armed, according to the custom of the country, with darts and javelins, and thirty thousand infantry, if not more, with slings. The French knights considered all this, and said it was certainly a great number of people, but it was useless as an army; for they had formerly acted in so cowardly a manner that no confidence could be placed in them. Through

their cowardice, the prince of Wales had won the battle of Najarra; and the Castillians had been completely defeated by the Portuguese at Aljubarota. The count de Lerma took up this speech, and supported the Castillians. By way of excuse, he said,—"With regard to the battle of Najarra, I must beg leave to speak to that. It is true that many noble knights from France were present with sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who fought valiantly, for they were all slain or captured; but you must also know that the flower of knighthood of the whole world was under the command of the prince of Wales, whose good sense, courage, and prudence, were unrivalled. Such is not now the case with the duke of Lancaster. The prince had, at the battle of Najarra, full ten thousand spears, and six thousand archers: and among the chivalry were three thousand equal to the Rolands and Olivers; such as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, sir Oliver de Clisson, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Garsis du Châtel, the lord de Raix, the lord de Rieux, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and hundreds more whom I could name, who were then present, but who are either dead, or have turned to our side. These are not now opposed to us, nor is the event so doubtful as it was in former times: so that whoever has confidence in me, will join my opinion for an instant combat; and that we march to cross the river Duero, which will redound to our honour."

This speech of the count de Lerma was attentively listened to by the council, and many were of his mind. Sir Oliver du Guesclin next spoke:—"Count de Lerma, we know that what you have uttered proceeds from the good sense and courage you possess; and, suppose we were to march and offer combat to the duke of Lancaster, had we no other enemy, we should do well; but you have forgotten the king of Portugal, whom we shall have on our rear, and whose forces consist, as we have been informed, of twenty-five hundred lances, and thirty-thousand other men. It was the dependence on the king of Portugal that made the duke land in Galicia; and we know that their alliance is very much strengthened by the marriage of the king with the duke's daughter. Now, let us hear what you can say to this." "In God's name," replied the count de Lerma, "the French being four thousand lances, are more than a match to combat the duke of Lancaster; and the king, with his Castillians to the amount of twenty thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, as they say, may surely withstand the king of Portugal: it appears to me so clear, that I will risk the event with them."

The knights from France, seeing themselves thus rebuffed by the count de Lerma, said,—"By God, you are in the right, and we in the wrong; for we ought first to have weighed what you have said: it shall be so, since you will it, and no one seems to oppose it." "My lords," said the king, "I beg of you to consider well the advice you give me, not through haste or pride, but with all attention, that the best plan may be adopted. I do not look on what has been said as decisive, nor approve of it: I will that we meet again in this same apartment to-morrow, and particularly that you, sir William de Lignac, and you, sir Walter de Passac, who have been sent hither by the king of France and duke of Bourbon, as the commanders in chief, do confer together, and examine carefully what will be the most honourable and profitable for my kingdom; for you shall determine whether we march to offer combat to our enemies or not."

They bowed to the king, and said they would cheerfully attend to his orders. The conference then broke up, and each retired to his lodging. The French knights had this day after dinner, and in the evening, much conversation on the subject. Some said,—"We cannot in honour offer battle until the arrival of the duke of Bourbon; for how do we know what will be his intentions, to fight or not? Should we engage and be victorious, the duke will be highly indignant against the captains from France: should we be defeated, we not only ruin ourselves, but Castille also; for if we be slain, there can be no hopes of recovery to the Castillians, and the king will lose his crown. We shall be blamed, should this happen, more than any others; for it will be said, that we proposed the battle, and were ignorant advisers. Besides, we know not if the country be unanimous in their affection to the king, or whether they may not have sent underhand, for the duke of Lancaster and his lady, as the legal heiress of Castille, for she is the daughter of don Pedro, as is well known to all. Now, should the Castillians say, on seeing the duke and the English in the field, that his is the justest cause, for that king John is a bastard, they may turn about towards the latter end of the day, as

they did at Najarra, and leave us to be slain on the spot. Thus there is a double danger for the king and for us. They must be mad or foolish who advise a battle; and why have not those who ought to have spoken, such as sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, delivered their sentiments?" "Because," replied others, "they wished to know our opinions first; for it is not possible but that, when they left the council of France and the duke of Bourbon, they were well instructed how to act. We shall all know to-morrow." There was much disputing this evening between the knights from France, as well as among those of Castille. The well-wishers to the king would not advise him to offer battle, for the reason that, if they should be defeated, the kingdom was infallibly lost. The king himself was of this opinion: he dreaded the chances of war; for he was ignorant of the support he should have, and whether he was beloved by all his subjects or not. The matter thus remained until the morrow, when they were again assembled in the presence of the king.

In this conference there were many speakers, for all were desirous to offer the king advice to the best of their abilities. It was visible the king was against the plan of the preceding day; for he had not forgotten the unfortunate event of the battle of Aljubarota, where he was defeated by the king of Portugal with such loss, that another similar to it would lose him his realm. When all had delivered their opinions, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were asked theirs; for, as they were the commanders in chief, everything should be ordered and executed by them. The two knights looking at each other, sir William said,—"Do you speak, sir Walter." "Not I," replied sir Walter: do you, for you have been longer used to arms than myself." Sir William, having paused awhile, thus spoke:—"Sir king, you ought, methinks, to return many thanks to this noble chivalry of France, who have come so far to serve you in your distress, and who have shown you such affection as to decline shutting themselves up in any of your castles or towns, but are eager to take the field and combat your enemies wherever they may find them: which, however, saving your grace and the good will you show, cannot be done at present for many reasons; the principal of which is, the absence of my lord the duke of Bourbon, who will soon arrive with a considerable reinforcement of men at arms. There are also many of our knights and squires who have never before been in this country, and are ignorant of the roads, to which they must attend; and things which are hastily concluded never end well. Instead, therefore, of attempting a general engagement, we shall carry on the war for two or three months, or as long as may be necessary, from different garrisons, and let the English and Portuguese overrun Galicia, or other parts, if they can. If they conquer a few towns, it will be no great loss: we will regain them before we quit the country, for they shall only borrow them for a time. To conclude: in warfare there are many unforeseen events, and the English during the hot season may, in their various excursions through Galicia, meet with such difficulties, and suffer such disorders, as may make them repent ever having undertaken the business; for they will not find the climate like that of France, nor the wines so good, nor the water so pure, as in our country; but the rivers muddy and cold from the melting of the snows on the mountains, which will chill them and their horses after the burning heat of the sun in the day-time, and be the destruction of both. They are not of iron or steel, and must in the end suffer from the heats of Castille, but like to ourselves; and we cannot any way more easily defeat them than by avoiding a combat, and allowing them to go whithersoever they please. They will find nothing to pillage in the low countries, nor anything to comfort themselves; for, I am informed, that has been all destroyed by our people, for which I praise them greatly; and, were it now undone, I would have given them such orders. Now, if any person can give better advice, let him do so; for sir Walter and myself will cheerfully listen to him."

The council unanimously replied:—"We approve of what sir William has offered, and cannot but think it the best advice for the king and kingdom of Castille." It was then determined to wait for the duke of Bourbon and the stores before they made preparations for taking the field, but to garrison strongly the frontier, and suffer the English and Portuguese to overrun Castille at their pleasure; for, when they returned from their excursions, they could not carry away the land with them. The conference ended, all left the chamber; and this day the king entertained at dinner, in his palace at Burgos, the

barons and knights of France: it was magnificently grand, according to the custom in Spain. On the morrow, before noon, all the men at arms were sent off to their different garrisons, with instructions from their leaders how to act. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, count de Longueville, was ordered, with a thousand spears, to a tolerably strong town on the borders of Galicia, called Ville-saincte*; sir Reginald and sir Tristan de Roye to another town, ten leagues further, but on the frontier of Galicia, called Ville-d'Agillare-de-Champ†, with three hundred lances; sir Peter de Belesme, with two hundred lances, to Beneventé; the count de Lerma to the town of Zamora; sir John des Barres, with three hundred, to the castle of Noya; sir John de Châtelmorant and sir Tristan de la Jaille, with others, to the city of Valencia; the viscount de Besliere to the town of Ribesda, with sir John and sir Robert de Braquemont. In such manner were the men at arms divided: sir Oliver du Guesclin was nominated constable, having the largest body under his command; and sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac remained near the king at Burgos, and attended him wherever he went.



City of Burgos.—From La Borde's Voyage Pittoresque en Espagne.

Thus were affairs managed in Castille, waiting for the duke of Bourbon, who was still in France making his preparations. But we will leave the armies of Castille and of the duke of Lancaster, for a short time, and return to them again when necessary, to speak of such events as happened in France and England; many of which were strange enough, and dangerous to both kingdoms, but particularly displeasing to the king of England and his council.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND.—MUCH MURMURING AND DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST KING RICHARD AND HIS COUNCIL.

I have before related at length, how the grand expedition, which was preparing at Sluys to invade England, was broken up; but to show how much the French were in earnest, and that it might not be said they had given it over through cowardice, but were still eager to

* "Ville-saincte." Q. Vilalpando. † "Ville-d'Agillare-de-Champ." Q. Avila.

land in England, it was ordered that the constable should sail thither in the month of May, when the weather was fine, and the sea calm. His force was to consist of four thousand men at arms and two thousand cross-bows, who were to assemble in a town of Brittany called Tréguier*, situated on the sea coast, and opposite to Cornwall. His preparations, which were very considerable, were all made there, and the horses were to embark at that port, the more easily to overrun England; for without horses, no war on land can be carried on with effect. In this harbour were numbers of vessels of all descriptions, which were laden with wines, salted meats, biscuit, and other things, in such quantities, as might serve them four or five months, without requiring anything from the country; for the constable knew, that when the English should hear of his landing, they would destroy all the lowlands, to prevent him from having any support; and it was for this reason he had provided such immense stores. Another large fleet, to invade England, was likewise prepared at Harfleur, by the lord de Coucy, the lord de St. Pol, and the admiral of France, who were to embark on board of it with two thousand spears; but it was said that this was solely intended to force the duke of Lancaster to withdraw himself and his army from Castille. The duke of Bourbon was still at Paris; for he knew the duke of Lancaster must return to England, and it would be unnecessary for him to take so long a journey to Castille. The army of the constable consisted of Bretons, Angevins, Manceaux, Saintongers, and knights and squires from the adjoining countries. That of the count de St. Pol and the lord de Coucy was composed from the Isle of France, Normandy, and Picardy. The duke of Bourbon had two thousand spears from Berry, Auvergne, Limousin, and lower Burgundy. Such was the distribution of the forces in France; and every man knew how he was to be employed, whether in England or Castille.

England was, at this period, in greater danger than when the peasants, under Jack Straw, rose in rebellion, and marched to London; and I will tell you the cause. The nobles and gentlemen were unanimous, at that time, in their support of the king, but now there were many serious differences between them. The king quarrelled with his uncles of York and Gloucester, and they were equally displeased with him, caused, as it was said, by the intrigues of the duke of Ireland, the sole confidant of the king. The commonalty, in many towns and cities, had noticed these quarrels, and the wisest dreaded the consequences that might ensue; but the giddy laughed at them, and said, they were owing to the jealousy of the king's uncles, and because the crown was not on their heads. But others said,—"The king is young, and puts his confidence in youngsters: it would be to his advantage if he consulted his uncles more, who can only wish the prosperity of the country, than that puppy, the duke of Ireland, who is ignorant of all things, and who never saw a battle." Thus were the English divided; and great disasters seemed to be at hand, which was perfectly known all over France, and caused them to hasten their preparations for invading the country, and adding to its miseries. The prelates of England were also quarrelling; the archbishop of Canterbury with that of York, who was of the house of Neville. They hated each other mortally, because the lord Neville had been appointed lieutenant of Northumberland, in preference to the sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, which the archbishop, who was one of the king's council, had obtained for his brother, through the duke of Ireland.

As soon as the English learnt that the camps near Sluys were broken up, and the invasion given over, great murmurings were general throughout England. Those who wished mischief said,—"What is now become of our grand enterprises and our valiant captains? Would that our gallant king Edward, and his son, the prince of Wales, were now alive! We used to invade France and rebuff our enemies, so that they were afraid to show themselves, or venture to engage us; and, when they did so, they were defeated. What a glorious expedition did our king Edward, of happy memory, make, when he landed in Normandy, and marched through France! After many battles and other fine exploits, he defeated king Philip and the whole power of the French at Crecy, and took Calais before he returned home. Where are the knights and princes of England who can now do such things? Did not likewise the prince of Wales, son of this gallant king, make prisoner the

* "Tréguier,"—ten leagues north-west of St. Brieux, and twenty-three north-east of Brest.

king of France, and defeat his army at Poitiers, with the small force he had, compared with that of king John? In those days we were feared, and our renown was spread abroad, wherever chivalry was esteemed; but at this moment we must be silent, for they know not how to make war, except on our pockets: for this they are ready enough. Only a child reigns now in France, and yet he has given us more alarms than any of his predecessors, and shows good courage and inclination to invade us. It was not his fault, but that of his advisers, that he did not attempt it. We have seen the time when, if such a fleet had been known to have been collected at Sluys, the good king and his sons would have hastened to attack it; but now-a-days the nobles are delighted to have nothing to do, and remain in peace; but they will not suffer us to live in quiet, as long as we have anything in our purses. We have seen the time when conquests were made by us in France, and no taxes demanded; but every one was made rich from the great wealth which abounded in France. What is become of the immense sums which have been raised, as well by taxes as by the current revenue? They must have been wasted or purloined. We must know how the country is governed, and who are the advisers of the king: it is not right that such things be longer unattended to; for this country is not so rich, nor able to bear the burdens France does, which abounds in all things. It seems, also, that we are weakened in understanding and activity as well as in courage; for we used to know what was intended by France, and what were its plans, some months before they could execute them, by which we were prepared to resist them. Now, we are not only ignorant of what is going forward in France; but they are well informed of all that passes, though under the seal of secrecy, in our councils, and we know not whom to blame. But a day must come when all this will be public; for there are secret traitors in the council, and the sooner this is inquired into the better: we may delay it so long that it will be too late to provide a remedy." Such conversations were very common, not only with knights and squires, but among the inhabitants of many of the towns, which placed the realm in much danger.

The knights and squires who had been summoned to the defence of the kingdom, now demanded their pay; and other large sums were called for, to defray the great expenses the king and his council had been at in guarding the country against the invasion from France. A parliament was therefore assembled in London, of the nobles, prelates, and commonalty, to consider of laying a general tax throughout the country to answer all these demands The parliament adjourned from London to Westminster, when those summoned attended, and indeed many others, who came to hear news. The king and his two uncles of York and Gloucester were present; and the parliament was harangued on the subject of the finances, and assured that there was not in the royal treasury more than sufficient to support, even with economy, the usual expenses of the king. The council said, there was no other means than laying a general tax on all the country, if they were desirous of paying the great sums the defence of the kingdom had cost. Those from the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Norwich and Warwick, the counties of Devonshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, readily assented; because they knew better what had been done, and were more alarmed than those at a greater distance, in Wales, Bristol, and Cornwall, who were rebellious, and said,—"We have never seen any enemies come into this country: why therefore should we be thus heavily taxed, and nothing done?" "Yes, yes," replied others: "let them call on the king's council, the archbishop of York and the duke of Ireland, who received sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, from the constable of France, which ought to have gone to the general profit of the kingdom. Let them call on sir Simon Burley, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Brand, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir John Beauchamp, who have governed the king. If they gave a true account of the sums raised in England, or were forced so to do, there would be more than money enough to pay all expenses, and poor people might remain in quiet."

The king's uncles were much pleased when these speeches were told them; for those they had named were unfriendly to their interests, and opposed their obtaining any favours from the court. They encouraged such discourses; and, to gain popularity, said,—"The good people who hold such language are well advised in wishing to have an account of the management of the finances, and in refusing to pay their taxes; for, in good truth, there is cash enough

either in the purses of the king or of those who govern him." By degrees this discontent was much increased among the people, who declared against any tax being laid on, and who grew bolder in their language when they saw that the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, with many other great barons, supported them. The ministers, therefore, withdrew the tax, and said that nothing should be done in the matter until Michaelmas, when the parliament would again meet.

Those knights and squires who were expecting their pay were much angered against the king and his council for their disappointment, and the ministers appeased them in the best manner they could. When the parliament broke up, and the members went different ways, the king did not take leave of his uncles, nor they of him. The king was advised to retire into Wales for a time until more favourable circumstances, which he agreed to, and left London without taking leave of any one. He carried with him all his council, except the archbishop of York, who returned into his diocese. It was fortunate for him he did so, otherwise it would have happened to him as to the other counsellors of the king, as I shall presently narrate. But I must speak as much of France as of England, when the matter requires it.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE WITH SEVERAL OTHERS MAKE PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY PRACTISES TO PREVENT THIS EXPEDITION.

When the sweet season of summer and the delightful month of May were come, in the year of our Lord 1387, while the duke of Lancaster was making conquests in Galicia, and, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, overrunning Castille without opposition; there were, as I before said, great preparations making in France for the invasion of England, by the constable, at Tréguier in Brittany; and by the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, and the admiral of France, at Harfleur. They had under their command six thousand men at arms, two thousand cross-bows, and six thousand lusty varlets, whom they intended to land at Dover and Orwell. It was ordered, that no one was to embark unless he were provided with suitable armour and provision for three months. They were the flower of chivalry, and had plenty of oats and hay for their horses. Their leaders had appointed a day for sailing, which was now almost arrived; and their servants were as busily employed as at Sluys in laying in all stores and other necessaries at the two ports of Tréguier and Harfleur. The men at arms, under the count de St. Pol and the admiral, were paid fifteen days in advance; but they were still on shore, and those in the more distant parts were daily arriving. All things were now in such forwardness, no one could have imagined it would not take place. It was not, however, broken up by the captains, but by a most extraordinary event which happened in Brittany. The king of France and his council were sorely vexed thereat; but, as they could not amend it, they were forced to endure it as well as they could, and act prudently, for this was not the moment of revenge. Other news was brought to the king from Germany, at the same time, which I will relate in proper time and place; but I will mention that of Brittany first, as it so occurred in point of time, and was the most unfortunate, though the events in Germany were cause of greater expense.

If I were merely to say, such and such things happened at such times, without entering fully into the matter, which was grandly horrible and disastrous, it would be a chronicle, but no history. I might, to be sure, pass it by, if I had chosen it: that I will not do; but relate fully the fact, if God grant me life, abilities, and leisure, to chronicle and historify the matter at length. You have before seen, in different parts of this history, how sir John de Montfort, called duke of Brittany (who indeed was so by conquest, though not by direct descent,) had always supported the English to the utmost of his power against France. He had reason to attach himself to them; for they had made war for him, and without their assistance he would never have conquered before Auray nor elsewhere. You know also, from this history, that the duke of Brittany had no power over the greater part of his nobles nor the principal towns; more especially sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as long as he lived, sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France, the lords de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Raix, de

Dinaut, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, refused him obedience; and whichever way these lords incline, the whole duchy follow their example. They were willing, indeed, to support him against any power but France; and truly I must say, that the Bretons have ever gallantly defended the honour of France, as will be apparent to any person who shall read this history. But let it not be said, that I have been corrupted by the favour of count Guy de Blois, (who has induced me to undertake, and has paid me for this history to my satisfaction,) because he was nephew to the rightful duke of Brittany; for count Lewis of Blois was cousin-german to St. Charles, who as long as he lived was the true duke. It is not so; for I will speak the truth, and go straight forward, without colouring one side more than another, and that gallant prince who patronised this history never wished me in any way to act otherwise.

To return to my subject. You have read how the duke of Brittany, when he found he could not manage his subjects, became suspicious of them, and fearful lest they should arrest him and confine him in one of the king of France's prisons. He left Brittany for England, with his household and the lady Jane his duchess, daughter of that good knight sir Thomas Holland. After staying there some time, he went to Flanders, where he resided, with his cousin-german count Lewis, upwards of a year and a half, when his country, being more favourable, sent for him back. Some of the towns, however, on his return, continued their rebellion, especially Nantes; but all the barons, knights, and prelates, submitted to him, except those whom I have before named. In order to put them under his obedience, by means of some of the principal cities which assented to his plans, and for the purpose of giving alarm to the king of France and his council, who were desirous of laying taxes on Brittany similar to those of France and Picardy, which he and the country would never suffer, he demanded aid from the king of England of men at arms and archers, assuring the council of England, that if the king or one of his uncles would come to Brittany, in sufficient force, the whole country would be open, and ready to receive them.

King Richard and his council were greatly pleased on receiving this intelligence, which seemed to them so good, that they could not do better than accept the offer, since Brittany was so well inclined to receive them. They ordered thither the earl of Buckingham, with four thousand spears and eight thousand archers, who, having landed at Calais, marched through the kingdom of France without meeting any opposition, although they frequently offered battle, as you have before read. When they came to Brittany, they expected to find all ready to receive them, as they had indeed sustained a long march: but everything was contrary to what had been promised; for the duke's advisers had managed with so much prudence, that they had made his peace with the young king of France: had Charles V. been alive, it could not have been done, for he hated him too much. The duke of Burgundy, who was, at that time, at the head of the government of France, was greatly instrumental in bringing this accommodation about through the entreaties of his duchess, who was very nearly related to the duke of Brittany. He was, in consequence, forced to break all the engagements he had made with the English, from the impossibility of his keeping them; for Bretons will never firmly join the English in making war on France. They never had, nor ever will have, such inclinations. The English were obliged to lodge themselves in Vannes and its neighbourhood, and to suffer the greatest distress and poverty, which destroyed many of their men, and all their horses. When they left Brittany, they were greatly discontented with the duke, more particularly the earl of Buckingham, who, on his return to England, made such heavy complaints against him to the king, the duke of Lancaster and the council, that it was resolved by them to give John of Brittany his liberty, and carry him to Brittany, to wage war against the duke under his name. It was there said,—"Sir John de Montfort knows well that he owes his duchy solely to us, for without our aid he never could have gained it; and a pretty return he has made us, by wearing our army down with fatigue and famine, and fruitlessly expending our treasure. We must make him feel for his ingratitude; and we cannot better revenge ourselves than by setting his rival at liberty, and landing him in that country, where the towns and castles will open their gates to him, and expel the other who has thus deceived us."

This resolution was unanimously adopted. John of Brittany was brought before the

council, and told they would give him his liberty, regain for him the duchy of Brittany, and marry him to the lady Philippa of Lancaster, on condition that Brittany should be held as a fief from England, and that he would do the king homage for it. He refused compliance with these terms. He would, indeed, have accepted the lady, but peremptorily refused to enter into any engagements inimical to France, were he to remain prisoner all his days. The council, hearing this, grew cool in their offers of freedom, and replaced him under the guard of sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt. This I have already related, but I now return to it on account of the event which happened in Brittany, as being the consequence; for the duke, well aware he was in disgrace with all England, was greatly alarmed at the dangers that might ensue, from the treatment the earl of Buckingham and his army were forced to put up with, from the breach of all his engagements. Neither the king of England nor his uncles longer wrote him such friendly letters as they were used to do before the earl of Buckingham's expedition. His alarms were much increased when he heard that John of Brittany was returned from England, and said, the English had given him his liberty in revenge for his late conduct.

The duke upon this determined, by one bold stroke, to recover the favour of England, and to do it so secretly and opportunely that the English should thank him. He knew there was not a man on earth whom they more hated and dreaded than sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France; for, in truth, his thoughts were daily and nightly employed on the means to injure England. He was the proposer of the late great armament at Sluys, and the chief director of those carried on at Treguier and Harfleur. The duke, therefore, to please the English, and to show he had not much dependence on nor love for the French, resolved to prevent the intended invasion of England taking effect: not, indeed, by forbidding his subjects to join in this attack on England, under pain of forfeiting their lands, for that would have too clearly discovered the side to which he leaned. He went to work more secretly, and thought he could not act more to his advantage than to arrest the constable, and put him to death, for which the English would thank him, as they hated him much. He was not afraid of his family, as it was not powerful enough to make war against him; for he had but two daughters, one married to John of Brittany, and the other to the viscount de Rohar. He could easily withstand them; and, as there would be but one baron slain, when dead, none would make war for him.

CHAPTER LXVI.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SUMMONS HIS BARONS AND KNIGHTS TO A COUNCIL AT VANNES.—SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON AND THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR ARE MADE PRISONERS IN THE CASTLE OF ERMINE, AND IN GREAT DANGER OF THEIR LIVES.

The duke of Brittany, to accomplish his plan, appointed a great parliament to be holden at Vannes, and sent very affectionate letters to his barons and knights, to entreat they would be present; but he was particularly pressing with the constable of France, adding, that he was more anxious to see him than all the rest. The constable never thought of excusing himself, for the duke was now his acknowledged lord, and he wished to be in his favour: he came therefore to Vannes, as did great numbers of other barons. The assembly was numerous, and lasted some time; and many things were discussed which concerned the duke and the country, but the intended invasion of England was never touched on, for the duke pretended to know nothing about it, and kept a strict silence. The parliament was held in the castle de la Motte at Vannes, where the duke gave a grand dinner to the barons of Brittany, and kept them in enjoyment and affectionate conversation until night, when they returned to their lodgings in the suburbs without the town. At this dinner were the greater part of the barons of Brittany, towards the end of which the duke showed them the most friendly attention; but he had other thoughts in his heart, unknown to all excepting those to whom he had confidentially opened himself. The constable of France, to please the knights of Brittany, and because he thought his office required it, invited all who had dined with the duke to dine with him on the morrow. Some came, but others went home to take leave of their wives and families; for it was the intention of the constable, on leaving Vannes

to make for Treguier and embark on board his fleet, which was ready for him. All this the duke knew, but never said one word; for he wished to have it believed that he was ignorant of it. When the duke entered the hotel of the constable, and was announced, all rose up, as was right, and kindly received him in the manner in which their lord should be accosted. He behaved in the most friendly manner, and, seating himself among them, eat and drank, and showed them stronger marks of affection than he had ever before done. He said,—"My fair sirs, friends and companions, God send that you may ever come and go from me with equal pleasure, and that you may perform such deeds of arms as may satisfy you and gain you profit and renown." "May God," they replied, "render you the same, and we most humbly thank you that you are thus kindly come to see us before we depart."

You must know, that in these days, the duke of Brittany was building a very handsome and strong castle near Vannes, called the castle of Ermine, which was almost completed. Being eager to catch the constable, he said to him, the lord de Beaumanoir, and other barons,—"My dear sirs, I entreat that before you quit this country, you will come and see my castle of Ermine, that you may view what I have done, and the plans I intend executing." They all accepted his invitation, for his behaviour had been so kind and open, that they never thought he was imagining mischief. They accompanied the duke on horseback to this castle; and, when arrived, the duke, the constable, the lords de Laval and de Beaumanoir, dismounted and entered within its apartments. The duke led the constable by the hand from chamber to chamber, and to all parts, even to the cellars, where wine was offered. When he had carried them all over it, they came to the keep; and, stopping at the entrance, the duke said,—"Sir Oliver, there is not a man on this side of the sea who understands masonry like you: enter, therefore, I beg of you, and examine the walls well; and if you say it is properly built, it shall remain, otherwise it shall be altered." The constable, who thought nothing ill was intended, replied, he would cheerfully do so, and desired the duke to go first. "No," said the duke; "go by yourself, while I talk a little here with the lord de Laval." The constable, desirous to acquit himself, entered the tower and ascended the staircase. When he had passed the first floor, some armed men, who had been there posted in ambush, knowing how they were to act, shut the door below them, and advanced on the constable, whom they seized, and dragged into an apartment, and loaded him with three pairs of fetters. As they were putting them on, they said,—"My lord, forgive what we are doing, for we are obliged to it by the strict orders we have had from the duke of Brittany*." If the constable was alarmed, it is no wonder; but he ought not to have been surprised, for, since the quarrel which he had had with the duke, he would never come near him, though many invitations and passports were sent. He was fearful of trusting himself with the duke, in which he was justified; for, when he did come, you see the consequences of the duke's hatred, which now burst out.

When the lord de Laval, who was at the entrance of the tower, heard and saw the door shut with violence, he was afraid of some plot against his brother-in-law; and, turning to the duke, who looked as pale as death, was confirmed something was wrong. He said,—"Ah, my lord, for God's sake what are they doing? Do not use any violence against the constable." "Lord de Laval, mount your horse, and go hence, for you may depart when you please; I know well what I am about." "My lord," replied the lord de Laval, "I will never depart without my brother-in-law, the constable." At these words, the Lord de Beaumanoir (whom the duke greatly hated) came and asked where the constable was. The duke, drawing his dagger, advanced to him and said, "Beaumanoir, dost thou wish to be like thy master?" "My lord," replied Beaumanoir, "I believe my master cannot be in a good plight." "I ask thee again, if thou wouldst wish to be like him." "Yes, my lord," said de Beaumanoir. The duke then taking his dagger by the point, said,—"Well, then, Beaumanoir, since thou wouldst be like him, thou must thrust one of thy eyes out†." The lord de Beaumanoir, seeing, from the duke's countenance, things were taking a bad turn,

* These excuses were afterwards of no avail; for the constable punished them according to their deserts. He only pardoned a squire, named Bernard, who had the humanity to give him his cloak, to preserve him from the dampness of the place.—*Hist. de Brétagne.*

† Alluding to the constable having but one eye. He lost it at the battle of Auray; notwithstanding which, he never quitted the field of battle.

cast himself on his knee, and said,—"My lord, I have that opinion of your honour and nobleness of mind, that, if it please God, you will never act otherwise than right. We are at your mercy, and are come hither solely to accompany you, and at your own request; do not therefore dishonour yourself, by executing any wild scheme, if such be in your thoughts, for you may hereafter repent of it." "Go, go," replied the duke; "thou shalt have neither better nor worse than him." He was then arrested by those who had previously received their orders, dragged into a room, and fettered with three pairs of irons. He was much alarmed, as you may suppose, for he knew the duke loved him as little as he did the constable, but he could not then help it.

News was soon spread through the castle and town, that the constable and the lord Beaumanoir had been arrested and confined; but it surprised many that the lord de Laval was not confined with them; and that the duke had allowed him to depart when he pleased. The constable's imprisonment astonished all who heard it; and not without cause; for it was said, the duke's hatred was so strong, he would have him and his companion put to death. The duke was exceedingly blamed by all knights and squires who heard of this; they said,—"That no prince had ever dishonoured himself so much as the duke of Brittany. He invites the constable to dine with him, who accepts the invitation, goes to his palace, and drinks of his wine. He is then requested to view his buildings, wherein he is arrested: never was the like heard of. What does the duke think to do with him? He has rendered himself infamous, for never was there a more disgraceful act; and, henceforward, no one will have confidence in princes, since the duke has thus played the traitor, and, by treacherous means, enticed these gallant men into his castle, wherein he imprisons them. What will the king of France say to this? and especially as the consequence must be that he must give up the intended invasion of England. Never was such wickedness thought of. At present he has discovered what was rankling in his heart. Did any one in Brittany, or elsewhere, ever hear of the like? If a poor knight had done so, he would have been for ever disgraced. In whom can any man place confidence but in his lord, who is bounden to act uprightly, and redress such wrongs as his vassals may complain of? Who can take upon him to punish this deed, or who is capable of it, but the king of France? The duke now openly shows his attachment to the English, and that he means to assist them, by thus preventing the expedition against them taking effect. What ought the knights and squires of Brittany at this moment to do? Why, they should instantly leave their homes, and hasten to lay siege to the castle of Ermine, and enclose the duke within it, and never depart until they have taken him, dead or alive, and carried him, like a false and disloyal prince, to the king of France, for him to punish him according to his deserts." Thus did those knights speak, who had been at the parliament, and who had not left Vannes and that part of the country; but they were much afraid lest the duke should put them to death. Others said,—"The lord de Laval is still with the duke, and will prevent it; for he is so wise and prudent, he will check the duke's rage." In effect, he did so; for, had he not exerted himself to the utmost, there is not a doubt but that the constable would have been murdered that night, had he had a thousand lives.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON, THROUGH THE EXERTIONS OF THE LORD DE LAVAL, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, BY PAYING A LARGE SUM OF MONEY, AND DELIVERING UP TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SOME OF HIS CASTLES.

It may be readily believed, that the constable was not at his ease, when he found himself thus entrapped and ironed. He was guarded by thirty men, who were unable to comfort him, for they could only obey their lord's orders. In his own mind, he considered himself as a dead man; for he had not the most distant hope of any assistance coming to him. He had his fetters taken thrice from him, and was stretched on the floor; for the duke, at one time, would have him beheaded, at another drowned; and one or other of these deaths he would certainly have suffered, if it had not been for the lord de Laval. When he heard the duke give orders for the constable's death, he flung himself on his knees, and, with uplifted hands and tears, said, "Ah, my lord, for God's mercy, think better of this matter; do not

act so cruelly against my brother-in-law the constable. He cannot have deserved death. Through kindness, tell me what it is that has so mightily angered you against him. I swear, that whatever may be his crime, he shall make such amends, in body and estate, or I for him, or both of us together, as shall surpass anything you may imagine, or condemn him to, excepting death or imprisonment. Remember, for God's sake, my lord, how you were educated together in the same hotel with the duke of Lancaster, who is so loyal and gallant a prince, none ever was, nor will be his equal. For God's mercy, remember, my lord, how, in former times, before he had made his peace with France, he had always served you loyally; he assisted you in the recovery of your duchy; and you ever found him ready to support you in the field and in council. If you have not any very just cause indeed, that moves your passion, he cannot be deserving death." "Lord de Laval," replied the duke, "allow me to act as I please. Clisson has so frequently angered me, that it is now necessary I make him feel it. Go your ways, I want nothing with you: let me show my cruelty; for I am resolved he shall die." "Ah, my lord," replied the lord de Laval, "moderate your rage, and hear reason. If you thus put him to death, no prince will ever so completely disgrace himself; and there will not be a knight, squire, nor honest man in all Brittany, who will not mortally hate you, and do everything they can to drive you out of your duchy. Neither the king of England nor his council will thank you; and would you thus disgrace yourself for the life of one man? For the love of God, change your intention, as the one you want to carry into effect is not only good for nothing, but dishonourable. It would be infamous thus to put to death so great a baron and so gallant a knight as the lord de Clisson; and should you do so, it will be considered as traitorous, and a reproach to you before God and by all the world. You invited him to dine with you: he came. You then seek for him, in the most friendly manner, and desire him to accompany you to see your buildings: he does so: he obeys your every command, and drinks of your wine; and is all this affection you show him but a veil to cover your treachery, and the means to rob him of his life? Should you do so, no lord will be ever so disgraced: all the world will detest you, reproach you for it, and make war upon you. But, since your hatred is so violent against the constable, I will tell you how you shall act: you shall give him his liberty for a large sum of florins. This you may compound for; and, should he hold any castle that you claim as yours, he shall deliver it up; and I will be his security for the due performance of whatever you may agree to."

When the duke of Brittany heard the lord de Laval thus address him, and never for one moment quit his presence, for he followed him the whole night, he paused awhile, and, being somewhat cooled, said—"Lord de Laval, you have been of the greatest service to your brother-in-law; for know that he is the man whom I hate the most in the world, and, if you had not been here, he should not have been alive to-morrow morning: but your eloquence has saved him. Go to him, and ask if he be willing to pay down one hundred thousand francs; for I will have no other security but the money; and surrender to me three castles and one town, such as Château Broc, Château Josselin, Lamballe, and the town of Jugon. When he shall pay his ransom, and put me, or those I may send thither, in possession of these places, I will give him his liberty*. "My lord," replied the lord de Laval, "I give you a thousand thanks for having so graciously listened to my entreaties: be assured that all you ask shall be granted: the town and castles shall be given up, and the money paid before he leave this place." The lord de Laval was rejoiced beyond measure when he found his brother thus freed from prison and death. He had the gate of the tower opened, which could not be done but by the duke's order, and, mounting the staircase, found the constable much alarmed (for he was expecting every moment to be put to death), and chained down with three pairs of fetters; but when he saw the lord de Laval, his heart revived, for he imagined some treaty had been entered into. The lord de Laval said to the guards,—"Unfetter my brother Clisson, and then I shall talk with him;" and addressing himself to the constable,—"Dear brother, will you consent to whatever I may have done?"

* The historian of Brittany, dom Morice, mentions the following castles and places which the duke insisted on having, with the hundred thousand francs, for the ransom of the constable:—Josselin, Lamballe, Broon, Jugon, Blein, Guingamp, La Rochederrien, Chastellaudren, Clisson, and Château-gui, which were strong places, some belonging to the constable, and others to John of Brittany, count de Penthievre.

"Yes, brother," replied the constable. At these words his irons were taken off. The lord de Laval took him aside, and said,—"Brother, I have, with much difficulty, saved your life; but it is on condition, that you pay down, before you leave this place, one hundred thousand francs, and surrender to the duke three castles and your town of Jugon, otherwise you will not have your liberty." "I agree to all this," replied the constable. "You are in the right, brother," said the lord de Laval. "But," said the constable, "who will go to Clisson and elsewhere to collect the money? I believe, fair brother de Laval, you must undertake this." "No," replied the lord de Laval: "I will never quit this castle until I have you with me; for I too well know the duke's cruel disposition; and he may repent of his bargain when I am gone, by some foolish conversation he may hear concerning you, and the whole be broken off." "And whom then can we send thither?" asked the constable. "The lord de Beaumanoir," replied his brother-in-law: "we will send him, for he is a prisoner like yourself, and he shall undertake to collect the whole." "Well," said the constable, "go down stairs, and order whatever you shall think for the best."

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR IS SET AT LIBERTY BY THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, THAT HE MAY COLLECT THE RANSOM FOR THE CONSTABLE, WHO OBTAINS HIS FREEDOM ON SURRENDERING THE PLACES AGREED ON.—THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE CONSTABLE IS KNOWN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.

The lord de Laval lost no time in going to the chamber of the duke, who was undressing himself for bed, as he had not slept the whole night. On his entrance he bowed, and said,—"My lord, you must set at liberty the lord de Beaumanoir, that brother Clisson may talk with him; for it is he who must go for the money, and give your people possession of the castles and town." "Well," replied the duke, "let his irons be taken off, and put them in an apartment together: I shall look to you for the performance of the treaty, as I do not wish to see them; and, when I shall have slept a little, return to me again, and we will talk more on the subject." "Very well, my lord," said the lord de Laval, and quitted the chamber, accompanied by two knights, who conducted him to the place where the lord de Beaumanoir was confined. He was in hourly expectation of being put to death; and, when the door opened (as he owned afterwards), he thought they were come to lead him to execution. On seeing the lord de Laval, his spirits were raised, and still more when he said, "Lord de Beaumanoir, rejoice: your liberty is granted." On this his fetters were taken off, and he was led into an apartment, whither the constable was also conducted, and placed between them. Wine and plenty of provision were brought, and the whole of the household were much pleased when they heard how matters were going on, and that all would end well. They had very unwillingly witnessed what had been done to the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; but they could not help it, bound as they were to obey their lord's orders, right or wrong. From the time the drawbridge had been raised, and the gates shut, no person whatever had entered the castle (for the keys were in the duke's chamber) until he was awakened, which was not sooner than nine o'clock, when he arose. This alarmed those squires and varlets who were waiting without, and they knew not what to think of it. News of what had passed was already carried to Treguier, where they said,—"Do you know what has happened? The duke of Brittany has imprisoned, in his castle of Ermine, the constable of France, the lord de Laval, and the lord de Beaumanoir, and, it is supposed, will murder them, if he has not already done it.' Knights and squires were astonished, and deplored the event, saying,—"Our expedition is at an end, for we shall lose the fine weather. Ah, constable! how unfortunate have you been to suffer weak counsel to deceive you. The parliament held at Vannes was purposely to entrap you. Your opinion formerly of the duke was such that you said, if he were to send you five hundred assurances of safety, you would never trust yourself with him, so strong were your suspicions then; but now you simply accompany him alone, and are miserably paid for it!"

The whole duchy of Brittany bewailed the treatment of the constable, and knew not how to act. The knights and squires of the fleet said,—"Why do we stay here? why do we

not go and invest the duke in his castle of Ermine? and, if he should have put the constable to death, confine him: if he detain him in prison, why do we not remain there until we have set him free; for Brittany has never suffered such a loss as now, by the capture of the constable." Such were the different conversations that passed; but no one moved, as they were waiting for further intelligence; and all were running to different quarters in search of it. Within two days, the king of France and his uncles were informed of what had happened to the constable, to their great astonishment. The duke of Bourbon had then left the court and was at Avignon, on his way to Castille, as he was desirous of first seeing the pope. He, however, heard of it when at Lyon with the count de Savoye. The count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, and the admiral of France, were on the point of embarking at Harfleur, when they learnt how the duke of Brittany had, by a trick, imprisoned the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; and that it was currently believed in Brittany he had put them to death, for he hated them mortally. These lords were so astonished at the intelligence, that they said,—"Our expedition is at an end: let us disband our men at arms, and make for Paris, where we shall know from the king what he would have us do." "It is well that we should go to Paris," replied the admiral; "but there is not any necessity for dismissing all our men at arms. Perhaps they may be wanted elsewhere, in Castille, whither the duke of Bourbon is gone, or in Brittany against this duke. Do you imagine the king of France will quietly suffer what he has done? No, by God: he will never escape without losing two hundred thousand florins at least, for the indignity he has shown a constable of France; and he will be lucky if he come off so well. Was ever anything heard or seen like this conduct, which has ruined the king's expedition, and prevented him from annoying his enemies? Let us stay where we are for two or three days, when we shall hear something more from Brittany or Paris."

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DICTATES THE TERMS OF THE TREATIES, FOR THE SURRENDER OF DIFFERENT PLACES BY THE CONSTABLE.—THE EXPEDITIONS FROM TREGUIER AND HARFLEUR ARE BROKEN UP.—THE CONSTABLE, ON HIS DELIVERANCE, MAKES HIS COMPLAINT TO THE KING OF FRANCE, AND RESIGNS TO HIM HIS OFFICE OF CONSTABLE.

I will now return to the duke of Brittany. When he had reposed a little, he arose, dressed himself, and sent for the lord de Laval to his chamber, with whom he held a long conversation. A treaty was then written down, as the duke dictated, to bind the constable to the complete surrender of the places before mentioned, and to settle them on the duke and his heirs, absolutely and without appeal, which treaty was to be sealed by the constable.

The lord de Beaumanoir was ordered by the constable to go to his castles and town to dismiss all his officers, and give possession to those whom the duke might send thither. With the surrender of all these places, it was necessary, likewise, to pay down one hundred thousand francs. On the gates being opened, the lord de Beaumanoir departed, accompanied by some of the duke's people, to fulfil the orders of the constable, who entreated him to make all speed for his deliverance. By them Vannes and the country, which was beginning to be in motion, learnt that the constable was not in danger of his life, having been ransomed. All those attached to him were greatly rejoiced; and such knights and squires as had taken it up the most warmly remained quiet; but, had matters been otherwise, they were determined to surround the castle of Ermine and inclose the duke within it, and would never have done anything with more willingness. News is soon spread abroad, on wings more speedy than the wind. The three barons of Harfleur were informed that the constable was out of danger of being murdered, but that he had very narrowly escaped; and was obliged, to save his life, to surrender three of his castles and a town, besides paying down as a ransom one hundred thousand francs. In their conversations, they said,—"Things now go well, since his life is safe: as for his castles and ransom, the constable will soon regain them; and the king has enough for him, should he want any money. It is over: our expedition is put an end to; and we may now disband our people and go to Paris, to learn from the king what is

to be done; for we know that all the armaments at Treguier are countermanded, which is a sure sign that nothing will be attempted this season, and with reason; for the constable will be solely occupied to revenge himself for the insult the duke of Brittany has put upon him." These three lords, having dismissed all the men at arms and cross-bows that were in and about Harfleur, took the road for Paris, where the king resided. The lord de Beaumanoir was so active, that, within four days, he put the duke's officers in the possession of the three castles and the town of Jugon, to the satisfaction of the duke. He afterwards collected the amount of the ransom, and paid it according to the duke's pleasure. When this was all done, the lord de Laval said to the duke,—"My lord, you have now received the whole of your demands: the three castles and Jugon, and one hundred thousand francs, deliver up to me, therefore, my brother-in-law, the constable." "Willingly," replied the duke: "let him depart: I give him his liberty." The constable was then given up, and instantly set out, with the lord de Laval, from the castle of Ermine*.



Lord Beaumanoir paying the Ransom of the Constable de Clisson. Designed from Harl. MS. 3469 and a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

When they were at liberty, the constable made no long stay in Brittany, but, mounting a good courser, and attended solely by a page, made such haste, as to arrive at Paris in two

* This conduct of the duke of Brittany is differently related by dom Morice, the historian of Brittany, by which it appears that the constable very narrowly escaped death.

The duke called to him sir John de Bazvalen, in whom he had the greatest confidence, and ordered him to put the constable to death, at midnight, as privately as possible. Bazvalen represented in vain the consequences that would ensue, for the duke said he had resolved on it, and would have it done. During the night, his passion being calmer, he repented having given such orders, and, at day-break, sent for Bazvalen, and asked if his orders had been obeyed. On being answered in the affirmative, the duke cried out, "How, is Clisson dead?" "Yes, my lord: he was drowned this night, and his body is buried in a garden." "Alas!" replied the duke, "this is a most pitiful good morrow. Would to God, sir John, I had believed what you urged against it. I see that from henceforward all comfort is lost to me. Quit my presence, and never again let me see your face." After the knight had allowed him to suffer for some time the pains of his remorse, he returned and said,—"My lord, as I know the cause of your misery, I believe I can provide a remedy; for there is a cure for all things." "Not for death," replied the duke. Bazvalen then told him, that foreseeing the consequences and the remorse he would feel if his orders, then given from passion, were obeyed, he had not executed his commands, and that the constable was alive. The lord de Laval then entered, and the remainder is nearly as Froissart relates it.

days. He dismounted at his own hôtel, and instantly waited on the king and his uncles at the Louvre. His servants and equipage followed him in handsome array. The court had already been informed of his deliverance, but they knew not that he was so near. The doors of the king's apartments were, according to orders, opened to him; and, when in the presence of the king, he cast himself on his knees, and said,—"Most redoubted lord, your father (may God pardon his sins) appointed me constable of France, which office I have truly executed to the best of my abilities, and there never has been any complaint made against me. If any one, excepting yourself and my lords your uncles, shall say to the contrary, or that I have acted otherwise than most loyally towards you and the crown of France, I will throw him my glove for him to prove it." Neither the king nor any other person made reply to this speech. Upon which the constable added,—"Most noble lord and king, it has happened in Brittany, that while I was executing the duties of your office, the duke had me arrested and confined in his castle of Ermine; and would have put me to death, without any other cause than his own outrageous will, if God, and brother de Laval, had not assisted me. To deliver myself from his hands, I was constrained to surrender to him three strong castles and a handsome town, besides one hundred thousand francs paid down. This insult and loss, which the duke of Brittany has put on me, most nearly concerns your royal majesty; for the invasion of England, which I and my companions were eager to attempt, is now put an end to. I therefore resign into your hands the office of constable, for you to make such provision in the matter as you may please: I will not longer hold what I cannot gain any honour by."

"Constable," replied the king, "we have before heard the great insult you have suffered, which has been very much to our prejudice as well as to that of the country. We shall summon our peers of France, and consider how we should act in such a case. Do not you trouble yourself about the matter; for you shall have ample justice done by us, whatever may be the consequences." He then took the constable by the hand, and made him rise, saying,—"Constable, we will not that you thus resign your office, but that you continue to exercise its functions until we order otherwise." The constable again flung himself on his knees and said,—"Dear sire, the insult and disgrace I have suffered from the duke of Brittany oppresses my mind so much, that I am unfit to hold the office, which is so considerable, that it requires the utmost attention. I am, besides, obliged to give answers, and converse with all manner of persons who come to me on business; and, indeed, at this moment, I am not capable of giving the orders I ought: I beg of you, therefore, to accept it, and appoint another for a time; for I shall be always ready and willing to obey your commands." "Well, sire," said the duke of Burgundy, "he offers very handsomely: you will consider of it." "That I will," replied the king, who again made him rise.

The constable advanced respectfully towards the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to converse with them on public affairs, and to inform them more particularly of what had passed in Brittany; for they were much interested in it, as they had the government of the kingdom. In the course of his conversation, the constable found they were more indifferent about the matter, than the king's answer made him believe; for they greatly blamed him for having gone to Vannes. He replied, he could not offer any excuses for it. The duke of Burgundy added,—"How could you think of going thither, when your fleet, and the knights and squires, were ready, and waiting for you at Treguier? Besides, when you were at Vannes, and had dined with him, why did you not return? for you had no business to remain there longer; and what could have induced you to attend him to his castle of Ermine?" "My lord," replied the constable, "he showed me so many attentions that I could not refuse it." "Constable," said the duke of Burgundy, "such attentions are always deceitful: I thought you had been more cunning. You may now go: the business shall have a favourable end; and we will, at our leisure, attend to it." The constable next addressed himself particularly to the duke of Berry, but soon discovered that these lords were more indifferent about him than the king, for not having acted according to their expectations: he therefore left the Louvre, and returned to his hôtel. Many great lords of the parliament and council came thither to visit and comfort him: among the number were, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy and the admiral of France, who said,—"Constable,

be not cast down: you shall be amply revenged on the duke of Brittany, for he has now committed himself so strongly by the insult offered France that he may pay for it by the loss of his duchy. Go, and amuse yourself at your estate of Montléhery*, while we act for you here: the peers of France are summoned, and things shall not remain as they are." The constable followed their advice, and went to Montléhery, having for a time surrendered his office. It was said, that the lord Guy de la Tremouille was to succeed him; but it was not so: he was too prudent and wise ever to have accepted it over the head of sir Oliver de Clisson.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES SENDS A CHALLENGE TO FRANCE, IN FAVOUR OF ENGLAND.

The same week in which the news came to Paris of the constable's imprisonment, there was intelligence from Germany highly displeasing to the king, his uncles, and the council. The duke of Gueldres, son to the duke of Juliers, had entered into an alliance with England, to make war on France, and had accepted of a subsidy of four thousand francs yearly. This pension his father, the duke of Juliers, formerly possessed, but had renounced it; and the son, who was young, had taken it, at the solicitations of the king of England and his council, on condition he should send his challenge to the king of France, and carry on a war against him to the utmost of his power. He was the more inclined to support the English because he was already at war with the duchess and country of Brabant, which country was favourable to France, for the reversion of it would fall to the duke of Burgundy and to his children. The duke of Gueldres, to show he was in earnest and determined to act against France, sent, during the time the news of the constable's misfortune was fresh, to defy the king of France, by letters sealed with his seal, that were very bitter and wrathful. They were not accepted with pleasure by the king nor his uncles, as I shall explain hereafter in the course of this history, when I speak more fully of the wars of Brittany and Gueldres.

The king, however, showed no outward signs of dissatisfaction, but handsomely entertained the squire who had brought this challenge. He had been very much terrified at Tournay; for, having shown the challenge to the provost and principal inhabitants, he wanted not to go further, saying that it was fully sufficient to have delivered his commission at so grand a city as Tournay. This did not satisfy the provost, though Tournay belonged to France, and he arrested the squire and had him closely confined: he then wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to say what he had done, and to know his farther commands on the subject. The duke ordered the provost to conduct the squire to Paris, who certainly thought that now he could not escape death. It fell out otherwise, for the king, his uncles, and the court, graciously received him; and the king of France gave him a silver goblet weighing four marcs, with fifty francs within it. He was well entertained, and, when he returned, had a good passport given to him. The king and the whole court were much troubled on this matter, when the constable arrived to make his complaints against the duke of Brittany; and this increased it, for, it was now apparent, difficulties were arising on all sides, and much prudence and good sense would be necessary to meet them. The king and his council, notwithstanding this vexation from Gueldres, were unwilling that the constable, who had so faithfully served the king in Flanders and elsewhere, should not have redress for the wrongs he had suffered from the duke of Brittany, by confining his person and seizing his castles and towns without a shadow of right. The lord de Coucy and the admiral were particularly active in this business.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who were carrying on a prosperous war in Galicia, and speak of their operations.

* Montléhery,—a town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

CHAPTER LXXI.—TWO BRETON CAPTAINS, HAVING VALIANTLY DEFENDED THE TOWN OF ORENSE AGAINST THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, CAPITULATE ON TERMS OFFERED BY THE ENGLISH.

You have heard that the king and queen of Portugal were present at the tilt between sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye, at Entença. The king, before he departed, told the duke of Lancaster, that on his return to Oporto, he would, within six days, take the field, for that his men were now quite ready. The duke ordered the lady Constance, his duchess, to remain at Saint Jago, under the guard of the lord Fitzwalter, a powerful English baron, with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers, saying, on his quitting Entença,—"Lady, you will retire to the city of Compostella, while the king of Portugal, myself, and army, seek our enemies in Castille, and combat them wherever we may find them, and we shall then know if ever we be to possess any part of Castille." The lady replied, "God's will be done," They then separated for the present. The duchess was escorted out of danger by sir Thomas Percy and sir Evan Fitzwarren, with two hundred spears, who then returned to the duke. He had left Entença, and was marching towards a city in Galicia, called Orense, which would not acknowledge his claim to the crown. The place was strong, and had a garrison of Bretons, who had undertaken the defence at their own risk; and, as they expected the duke and his English would come thither, they had greatly added to its strength. The marshal of the army had received frequent information, that those of Orense had refused obedience to the duke, and were daily increasing the fortifications of the place: he therefore, in conjunction with the constable, sir John Holland, advised the duke to march thither.

When the army was tolerably near, it was halted and quartered thereabout. The first night was very fine and so wondrous hot (for it was about Ascension-day), that the lords had their tents and pavilions pitched in the plain, under the beautiful olive-trees which were there. They remained within them all the night and following day, thinking the town would instantly surrender, without waiting to be assaulted. The townsmen would willingly have done so, if they had been the masters, but some adventurous Bretons governed it. Two gallant captains from lower Brittany, one called the bastard d'Aulroy, the other Pennefort, were the commanders. They were good men at arms, as it appeared, when they undertook to defend the town of Orense, without other assistance, against the army of the duke of Lancaster. On the third day, the English having well examined the place, to choose the weakest parts for their attacks, the constable, the marshal, and the admiral, ordered their trumpets to sound for the assault. The army then armed itself and assembled on the plain, when it was formed in four divisions, to make as many different attacks. They marched slowly and in handsome array, with trumpets sounding before them, as far as the ditches, and halted. There was not any water in them; but there was a strong palisade in front of the walls, and so many thorns and brambles, that no man at arms could pass through. The attack, however, commenced at four places; and men at arms and lusty varlets crossed the ditches with hatchets on their wrists, with which they cleared away the thorns, to the utmost of their power. The Galicians annoyed them with lancing darts; and, had they not been well shielded, numbers must have been killed or wounded; but those men at arms, who entered the ditch, were defended by their servants, bearing shields before them. The English archers made such good use of their bows, from the top of the ditch, that scarcely any dared to appear on the bulwarks.

The duke of Lancaster came to view the attack, mounted on a very tall horse, which the king of Portugal had given him, and to notice those who behaved well, and was so delighted, that he staid upwards of three hours. All the thorns and brambles were cleared away by this first attack, so that the palisades might be approached. The retreat was sounded; for the duke said to the marshal,—"Our men, sir Thomas, have done enough for to-day: let them retire, for they must be now fatigued." "My lord, I am willing it should be so," replied the marshal, and ordered the retreat. The army returned to its quarters, carrying with them the dead and wounded, and there passed the night. They had plenty of wine,

but it was so hot they could scarcely drink it; and, unless mixed with a great deal of water, those who made too free with it were rendered unfit for anything the ensuing day. On the morrow, they determined, in council, that, on account of the excessive heat, the fatigues the army had suffered, and the consequences of their having drank too much of this wine, there should not be any attack made the whole day; but that, on the next day, they would renew the assault from before sun-rise, in the cool of the morning, until eight o'clock. Orders were issued for the army to remain quietly in camp, and no one to arm until the trumpet of the marshal sounded.

The duke of Lancaster received this day intelligence from the king of Portugal. He had left Oporto, and was on his march towards Santarem, for he intended to enter Castille by that frontier, and the armies to join on the river Duero, and besiege Beneventé or Vilalpando. Such was the plan of the king of Portugal, if, indeed, the king of Castille and his French allies, who were daily increasing, did not march to oppose him. Should they make no opposition, nor show any signs of offering battle, it was necessary the junction of the two armies be made as soon as possible. The duke was so well pleased with this news as to give the bearer of it ten nobles. On the appointed day for the renewal of the attack, the marshal's trumpet sounded at the first dawn of the morning. Knights and squires made instantly ready, and posted themselves under their banners and pennons; but it was upwards of an hour before they were all drawn up. The duke remained in his pavilion, and did not rise thus early, for there was not any need of it. The marshal advanced into the plain, knowing well the duties of his office; and those ordered for the attack placed themselves under his pennon. News was spread through Orense, that the English were marching to the assault: for the Bretons on guard had discovered it from the sounding of the marshal's trumpet. The men and women of the town were on the alert; and the Bretons cried to them,—"Hasten to the bulwarks: be men of courage, and not frightened at what you may see; we are not frightened; for we know the place is very strong, and we have plenty of darts, and well-tempered lances, to repulse our enemies, besides stones and flints to cast down on them: we know, also, that should we be hard pushed, they will receive us favourably; and that is the worst we can suffer." "By God," said the captains who were present, "we have been in many weaker places than this, and were never the worse for it." The Galicians, whether they would or not, took courage from the exhortations of the Bretons. This would not have been the case if the Bretons had not been in the town; for they would have surrendered on the first summons. To say the truth, the common people of Castille and Galicia are good for nothing in war; they are badly armed, and of poor courage. The nobles, who call themselves gentlemen, are tolerably well; but they like better to prance about, spurring their horses, than to be engaged in more serious matters.

The English arrived about sun-rise before Orense, and, having entered the ditch, which, though dry, was deep enough, advanced to the palisades, with hatchets and iron bars, and began to break down and level them. When this was done, they had still another ditch to cross, before they could approach the wall, which was as wide as the other, and many parts full of mud; but they were indifferent to this, and rushing into it, came to the walls. Those on the battlements were not dismayed at what they saw, but defended themselves valiantly. They lanced darts at the enemy, the stroke of which is very deadly; and it required strong armour to resist their blows. The English, having prepared ladders the preceding day, had them brought and fixed to different parts of the walls; and you would have seen knights and squires, eager for renown, ascend them with targets on their heads, and fight, sword in hand, with the Bretons, who, in truth, defended themselves gallantly; for I hold such conduct valorous, in allowing themselves to be so often attacked, knowing well they should not have assistance from any quarter. The king of Castille and the French knights had determined to permit the English to overrun Galicia, or any other parts, if they could, without offering them the chance of a general combat, and with this the Bretons had been made acquainted.

Some of the English said,—"Ah, if all the towns in Castille give us as much trouble as this, we shall never have done." Others replied,—"There is much to be pillaged within it, that has been brought thither from all parts; and it is this which induces them to make so

obstinate a resistance, that they may surrender on terms, and preserve their wealth and merchandise from being plundered." Some asked,—"Who are the captains?" "They are two bastard Bretons, good men at arms, who know what sieges and assaults are, for they have been at many. Their names are the bastard de Pennefort and the bastard d'Aulroy." "Whoever they may be, they are valiant fellows thus to hold out, without any appearance of succour coming to them." Those who mounted the ladders were sometimes repulsed so severely, as to be tumbled to the ground, which caused much shouting among the Castillians. When the duke of Lancaster was risen and had heard mass, he said he would go and view the attack. He mounted a courser, but unarmed, and had his pennon, that was emblazoned with the arms of Castille, England, and France, borne before him, which fluttered in the wind, so that the extremities touched the ground. On the duke's arrival, the besiegers exerted themselves the more, in order to be noticed and praised. The enemy, observing the pennon, knew the duke was come, and they also gained courage to continue the defence. Thus were both parties employed until it was eight o'clock; and there did not seem any probability that Orense would speedily be won by such attacks. The duke asked who were the captains of the garrison. On their being named, he said,—"Tell the marshal to treat with them; or send some one to know if they be willing to enter into a negotiation for surrendering the town, and placing it under our obedience. I do not believe that question has been put to them. Go," added he to one of his knights, "sir William, and bring the marshal to speak with me."

The knight left the duke, rode to the marshal, and said,—"Sir Thomas, my lord wishes to speak with you." The marshal went to him; and, when in his presence, the duke said,—"Marshal, do you know whether these Bretons, who hold the place against us, would be willing to put themselves under our obedience? We are fatiguing and wounding our men, and wasting our ammunition, when we know not how soon we may be in greater want of it. I therefore beg you will go and inform them you are willing to treat." "My lord," replied sir Thomas, "I will cheerfully do so; and since you wish to show them mercy, it is just they should be heard." The marshal then returned to the assault, and, calling to him a herald, said,—"Go, and manage to speak with the besieged; our men will make way for thee; and tell them I am willing to enter into a treaty." The herald said he would do so, and entered the ditch clothed in a coat of arms which had belonged to the duke of Lancaster, saying, "Open your ranks, and make way for me: I am sent by the marshal to parley with these Bretons." As he said this, they made room for him to pass. The bastard d'Aulroy, seeing him push through the crowd, for he had observed from the ramparts what had passed between him and the marshal, advanced on the battlements, and, showing himself, said:—"Herald, what is it you want? I am one of the captains in this town, with whom I fancy you come to speak." "It is so," replied the herald, whose name was Percy: "my lord marshal bids you come to the barriers, for he is desirous to parley and treat with you." "I will do so," said the bastard, "if he will order the attack to cease and his men to retire, otherwise not." "I believe you," answered the herald, and returned to relate his answer to the marshal. The marshal called his trumpet, and said,—"Sound the retreat;" which was done, and the assault ceased on all sides. Upon this, the captains in the town passed the gates, and came to the barriers, where they met the constable, sir John Holland, the marshal, and many others of the English. "How, my fair sirs," said the marshal, "can you think of thus holding out and suffering yourselves to be taken by storm, by which you may probably be slain, and for certain will lose all. We know well that the townsmen are very willing to surrender to our lord and lady, and would long ago have done so, if you had not been with them. You may repent of it; for, let happen what will, we shall never depart hence until the place be ours by fair means or foul. Consult together, and then come with your answer, for I have full powers to treat with you."

"Sir," replied the bastard Aulroy, "we have already consulted and formed our resolution. If you will consent that we, and what belongs to us, be conducted in safety to Vilalpando, or wherever else we may please to go, we will surrender the town; but the inhabitants of both sexes, who may choose to remain in it, shall be permitted so to do, without any risk or molestation, provided they submit themselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, as other

towns in Galicia have done. We know that you are the marshal of the army, part of whose office is to enter into treaties with an enemy, and likewise that the duke will ratify whatever engagements you may enter into." "That is true," answered sir Thomas: "now suppose I consent to all you have asked, I will not that the town be pillaged, under pretence of its wealth having been gained from the adjacent country, for that would cause riots between your men and ours." "Oh, no," said the bastard: "we will only carry away what is our own: but, if any of our men shall have taken or bought anything without paying, we will not enter into any dispute on that account. With regard to provisions, I do not believe our men have paid one penny since they have been here in garrison." "As for that," replied the marshal, "it is nothing: it is an advantage our men will take as well as yours: but I speak of moveables." "Sir," answered the bastard d'Aulroy, "we have not our men under such command but that some will transgress." Sir John Holland now interfered, and said,—"Let them pass: what they have got belongs to them: we shall not be so strict as to search their trunks." "Be it so, then," said the marshal.

Everything was now settled, and they were to march away on the morrow. The English returned to their quarters to disarm, and refresh themselves with what they had brought. The Bretons employed the whole day in packing up the great plunder they had made, even from Castille, for the king had abandoned the whole country to them, which enriched prodigiously the first comers. While thus employed, they seized from the inhabitants of Orense whatever they could conveniently lay their hands on, such as furs, cloth, and jewels; and when the poor people said,—"Gentlemen, this belongs to us; you did not bring it hither;" they answered,—"Hold your tongues, ye wicked people: we have a commission from the king of Castille to pay ourselves wherever we go, and, as you refused to do so, we are forced to provide for ourselves. We have served you faithfully and valiantly: you are therefore bound to increase our pay, and it is thus we take it." The next morning the marshal mounted his horse, and, attended by about sixty lances, rode to the barriers of Orense, where he waited awhile for the Bretons. When they came, he asked,—"Are you all ready?"—"Yes," they replied: "give us our passport and escort." "Whither do you wish to go?" "To Vilalpando." "It is well," replied the marshal: "here is your escort:" and, calling to him an English knight whose name was Stephen Eastbury, said,—"Take ten of our lances, to escort these Bretons, and return to-morrow." He obeyed the marshal's orders, and the Bretons marched away well packed and heavily laden.

When they were all gone, the marshal and his men entered the town, where he was received with the greatest respect; for they took him for the duke of Lancaster, which was the reason of their humility. He asked some of the townsmen,—"These Bretons, who are gone away so heavily laden, have they carried off any of your properties?" "Of ours, my lord! yes, by God, a great deal." "And why did you not complain to me? I would have made them restore it." "My lord, we were afraid; for they threatened to murder us, if we said one word: they are a cursed race, for there is not one but is a thief; and how can we complain when they rob one another?" The marshal laughed, and, having paused, demanded the principal persons of the town. When they arrived, he made them swear to preserve the town of Orense in obedience to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, in like manner to other towns in Galicia: which being done, he renewed the officers of the town, who took similar oaths. All being finished, he and his company drank some wine, and returned to the duke of Lancaster, who was reposing under the shade of the olive-trees; for it was so very hot, neither man nor horse could withstand the heat of the sun, and after eight o'clock it was impossible to go abroad and forage. The greatest pleasure the duke could have received would have been the information, that the king of Castille was on his march to offer him battle; for he was well aware he could never otherwise succeed in his claim on that kingdom. He was continually making inquiries how the king of Castille was employed, and he was answered,—"My lord, we learn from the pilgrims who come to Saint Jago, that he is not making any preparations to take the field, but has shut himself and his men up in garrisons. The duke of Bourbon is not yet arrived, nor is there any intelligence received of his coming." The duke was advised to remain but five days in Orense, and then march to Zamora, and endeavour to force a passage over the Duero by the bridge. The

knight, on his return from escorting the Bretons to Vilalpando, was asked what were the numbers in garrison; he said,—"He had heard sir Oliver du Guesclin was there, with one thousand spears, French and Bretons." "It will be a good thing, my lord," said the constable and sir Thomas Percy, "if we go thither and skirmish with them. Perhaps they may come out, and accept our challenge, for some of them are very impatient to signalize themselves." "I agree to it," replied the duke; "let us dislodge and march hence, for we can gain nothing by staying longer here." Orders for decampment on the morrow were issued, and for the army to march towards Vilalpando, and then to Zamora.

We will now say something of the king of Portugal, and what befel him on his entrance into Castille to form a junction with the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL, BEING REPULSED IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO STORM THE CASTLES OF SANTAREM, BURNS THE TOWN.—HE MARCHES TO FERROL IN GALICIA.

The king of Portugal, on his departure from Oporto, left his queen, his sister-in-law, and the city, under the guard of the count de Novaire, with one hundred lances, of Portuguese and Gascons who had come to serve him. When the king took the field, he halted the first day at the distance of only three leagues from Oporto. On the morrow, he dislodged, and marched in three battalions; but, on account of the infantry, which consisted of twelve thousand men, and the baggage, he could but advance at a foot's pace. The main battalion with the king followed, which was a thousand good spears, and in it were don Galois, Fernando Portelet, John Fernando Portelet, Guadaloupe Fernando Portelet, and Pounass d'Acunha, sir Vasco Martin d'Acunha, who bore the king's banner, John Radighos, Peter John Gomez de Salnez, Joao Rodriguez de Sa, and the master of Avis, Fernando Rodriguez de Sequeira, all great barons. The constable of Portugal commanded the rear battalion, consisting of five hundred spears; with him were the count d'Angouse, the count de l'Escalle, le petit Danede, Mondest Radighos, Roderigo de Valconsiaux, Ange Salvese de Geneve, John Ansale de Popelan, all barons and knights.

In this manner did the Portuguese continue their march towards Santarem. They advanced by short marches, and halted every third day: they also lay by the greater part of the day. They arrived at Aljubarota, where they halted for two days, and took as many in going from thence to Ourem. At last they came to Santarem, and quartered themselves therein; for they found the town had been abandoned since the battle of Aljubarota, for fear of the Portuguese, and the inhabitants had retired with their effects into Castille. The castles, however, were well garrisoned with Bretons and Poitevins, who had been sent thither for their defence. The king of Portugal was advised to attack these castles, which were situated at each end of the town; for he could not, in honour, pass by without attempting some deeds of arms: besides, as the Castillians had conquered this place from the Portuguese, they wished to try if they could recover them. They had brought machines of war from Oporto, for they knew they should have need of them on their march. The king and his army were quartered in and about Santarem, which is situated at the entrance of Castille, on the Tagus. By means of this river, they could have all their provision and stores conveyed to them from Lisbon or Oporto, of which they took the advantage; for they were upwards of thirty thousand men.

The constable, with his division and one half of the commonalty of Portugal, posted himself opposite the eastern castle, called la Perrade. The marshal with his battalion, and the other half of the commonalty, did the same at the opposite castle, called Callidon. Morice Fonchans, an able man at arms, and a knight from Brittany, commanded in la Perrade; and sir James de Mont-merle, a knight from Poitou, in Callidon. They might each have with him fifty lances. Fifteen days passed without anything being done: their machines were, indeed, pointed against the walls, and cast heavy stones ten or twelve times a day, but did little damage, except to the roofs of the towers, which they ruined; but the garrisons paid no attention to this, for their lodgings were well arched: and no engine

nor springall could hurt them with any stones they could throw. When the Portuguese saw they had no hopes of success, they grew tired, and resolved to decamp and enter Galicia, to join the duke of Lancaster, which would increase their strength, and the king and duke might then advise together, whither to march. When they departed from Santarem, they so completely burnt the town, that there did not remain a shed to put a horse in. The garrisons, seeing them depart, were so much rejoiced, that they sounded their trumpets, and, with other signs of joy, continued playing until the whole were out of hearing. The army marched that day for Pontferrant, in Galicia, in their route to Val-Sainte-Catharine, and arrived at Ferrol, which is a tolerably strong town, and in the interest of the king of Castille, and they halted before it.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL, NOT BEING ABLE TO TAKE FERROL BY STORM, GAINS IT BY AN AMBUSCADE, AND PUTS IT UNDER THE OBEDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

The king of Portugal and his army found a plentiful country at Ferrol, which they surrounded; and the constable and marshal said, they would storm it, as it was to be taken. They were two days, however, without making any attempt, for they expected that it would surrender without an assault, but they were mistaken; for there were in it some Bretons and Burgundians, who said they would defend it to the last. The machines were brought forth on the third day, and the marshal's trumpets sounded for the attack, when all made themselves ready, and advanced to the walls. The men at arms in Ferrol, hearing the trumpets, knew they should be stormed, and made preparations accordingly. They armed themselves, and all men capable of defence, and ordered the women to gather and bring to them stones, to throw down on the enemy. You must know, that the women in Galicia and Castille are of good courage to defend themselves, and equally useful as the men. The Portuguese marched in handsome array to the ditches, which, though deep, were dry, and merrily entered them. They began to ascend the opposite bank with much courage, but were sorely treated, unless well shielded, by those of the town, who, from the walls, cast down on them stones and other things, that wounded and killed several, and forced them to retreat whether they would or not. There was much throwing of darts on both sides; and thus lasted the attack until eight o'clock, when the day became exceedingly hot, without wind or breeze, insomuch, that those in the ditches thought they should be burnt: this heat was so excessive, that the attack was put an end to, though the machines cast stones into the town, merely for the chance of success. The Portuguese retired to refresh themselves, and attend to the wounded. The marshal resolved not to renew the attack but by his machines, for otherwise it would cost too many lives; and to skirmish at the barriers, to amuse the young knights, and enure them to deeds of arms. This being settled, there were, almost daily, skirmishes at the barriers; and these within the town were accustomed to post themselves without the gates, between them and the barriers, the better to engage their enemies.

Sir Alvarez Pereira, the marshal of Portugal, who was subtle, and had been long used to arms, observing this conduct, planned upon it an ambuscade. Opening himself to don Juan Fernando, he said,—"I see these soldiers, when skirmishing, sometimes venture beyond the gates: I have formed a plan, which if you will assist me to execute, I think we may discomfort them. I propose that we form an ambuscade, as near the barriers as possible, of five or six hundred men, well mounted, and then commence a skirmish, as usual, but in no great number; and retreat by degrees, the moment they seem willing to pass their barriers, which I think their avarice and eagerness will induce them to do. We must then turn about and attack them lustily, and the ambuscade will gallop between them and the gates. The garrison will now be alarmed, and hasten to order the gates to be opened, and whether they will or not, we shall enter the place with them. But should the townsmen refuse to open the gates, all those who are without must be our prisoners." "It is well imagined," replied don Juan. "Well," said the marshal, "do you command one party, and I will take the other. You, sir Martin de Mello, and Ponasse d'Acunha, shall have the ambuscade, and I

will skirmish, as that is part of my office." This plan was adopted, and five hundred men, well armed and mounted, were chosen to form the ambuscade.

For three days there had not been any skirmishing, to the surprise of the garrison, who said to the inhabitants: "See, wicked people as ye are, ye wanted to surrender to the king of Portugal without striking a blow, and would have done so, if we had not been here to defend the honour of your town; this we have so successfully done, that the king of Portugal is on the eve of his departure, without having effected anything."

On the fourth day, according to what had been laid down, the marshal advanced to the skirmish with but few followers: the great ambuscade remained behind. The Bretons, eager to make rich prisoners, having already captured six, seeing the Portuguese at the barriers, had the gates opened, which they left unfastened, in case of failure (for they had no great dependence on the townsmen), and the wicket wide open, and sallied forth to skirmish with darts and lances, as is usual in such combats. The marshal, when he saw the time was come, made his men wheel, and act as if they were tired, retreating by degrees. Those within the place, observing this, and thinking they should make prisoners of them all, opened the whole of the barriers, sallied forth, and, falling on the Portuguese, captured five-and-twenty. In the struggle and pursuit, the Bretons never thought of closing the barriers; and the marshal now made his signal for the ambuscade to advance, which it did full gallop, and, by getting between the Bretons and the place, made themselves masters of the barriers. The French and Bretons now hastened to re-enter the gates, but it was of no avail, for the Portuguese entered with them; and thus was the town won. Very few were slain, and the soldiers in garrison were made prisoners, except ten or twelve, who escaped by a postern gate, and went to Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin was in garrison, with one thousand French lances at least, and these runaways related to him how Ferrol had been lost. In this manner was the town won by the Portuguese, and put under the obedience of the duke of Lancaster, for whom they made war. The king of Portugal was much pleased at the success of his men, and instantly sent intelligence of it to the duke, adding, he had greatly increased his inheritance by the capture of a town; and that he and his army were desirous and active to conquer the rest.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER COMES BEFORE NOYA IN GALICIA.—THE ENGLISH ARE RECEIVED, AT THE BARRIERS, BY BARROIS DES BARRES AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The duke of Lancaster was much rejoiced at the news from the king of Portugal: he had left Orense, and was on his march towards Noya, where le Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir Reginald de Roye, sir William de Montigny, and many other knights and squires were in garrison. When the duke came within sight of the castle, the marshal said,—"There is Noya: if Corunna be one of the keys of Galicia towards the sea, the castle of Noya is another towards Castille; and whoever wishes to be lord of Castille must be master of these two places. Let us march thither, for they tell me that Barrois de Barres, one of the ablest captains of France, is within it, and let us have some skirmishing with the garrison at the end of the bridge." "We are willing to do so," said sir Maubrun de Linieres and sir John d'Ambreticourt, who were riding by his side. The van battalion now advanced, consisting of five hundred men at arms, for the duke was desirous of making a good appearance to those within the castle; and he knew also that his marshals would offer to skirmish, should they find any to accept their challenge. The watch on the castle, seeing the van of the English approach, began to sound his horn so agreeably, it was a pleasure to hear him.

Le Barrois and his companions, to the amount of one hundred men at arms, hearing that the English were at hand, armed themselves, and, in good array, advanced to the barriers, where they drew up under twelve pennons. Sir John des Barres, being the most renowned, was the commander-in-chief, and next to him, sir John de Châtelmorant. When sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of the army, found himself near the place, he halted, and, having dis-

mounted as well as his companions, they gave their horses to the pages and servants, and marched in a compact body, each knight and squire with his spear in hand, towards the barriers: every six paces they halted, to dress themselves without opening their ranks. To say the truth, it was a beautiful sight. When they were come as far as they wished, they halted for a short time, and then advanced their front to begin the action. They were gallantly received; and, I believe, had the two parties been in the plain, many more bold actions would have taken place than it was possible to find an opportunity for where they were; for the barriers being closely shut, prevented them from touching each other. The marshal hit sir John de Châtelmorant with his lance, as did sir John the marshal; for each was eager to hurt the other, but, from the strength of their armour, they could not. Sir Thomas Percy attacked Barrois des Barres; Maubrun de Linieres, sir William de Montigny; sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Reginald de Roye; the lord Talbot, sir Tristan de la Jaille; so every man had his match: and when they were fatigued or heated they retired, and other fresh knights and squires renewed the skirmish. This was continued until past eight o'clock: indeed, it was twelve before it was entirely over. The archers next came to the barriers; but the knights withdrew, for fear of the arrows, and ordered their cross-bows and Castillians to oppose them, which they did until noon, when the lusty varlets continued the skirmish until sun-set, and the knights then returned fresh and vigorous to renew it.

Thus was the day employed until night, when the English retired to their quarters, and the knights into the castle, where they kept a good guard. The English were quartered about half a league from Noya, on the banks of the river, which was very welcome to them and their horses, for they had great difficulty in procuring water on their march. They intended to remain there five or six days, and then march to Vilalpando, and look at the constable of Castille and the French there in garrison. They had also heard from the king of Portugal, who was encamped in the plains of Ferrol, and intended marching for the town of Padron * in Galicia, which was in the line of march of the English; and I believe the king and duke were to meet in this town, to confer together on the state of affairs, and determine on a plan for carrying on the war. They had already been one month in the enemy's country, and had conquered all Galicia, except one or two places, without having any intelligence of the king of Castille or the French, which greatly surprised them; for they had heard that the king of Castille had issued his summons from Burgos, where he resided, to all parts of Castille, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Leon, Valladolid, Soria, and had collected sixty thousand men, not including six thousand men at arms from France. The duke of Bourbon was likewise daily expected, for he had quitted Paris.

It was for this reason the English and Portuguese wanted to unite their armies, to be in greater force, and better enabled to meet the enemy; for they believed all that had been told them respecting the French and Castillians as true, and outwardly showed much joy thereat. They would willingly have encountered their enemies, for they were convinced they could never bring their dispute to any decision without a battle.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were always about the king's person, and accompanied him wherever he went; for they had two or three times a week intelligence from France of what was going on, and likewise from the duke of Bourbon. They were waiting for him, as he had begun his journey, by way of Avignon, to visit the pope and cardinals; and would not therefore offer combat during his absence, nor would it have been becoming them so to do. Among the news they had from France, the most surprising was the account of the duke of Brittany's arrest and confinement of the constable in the castle of Ermine, until he ransomed himself, by paying down one hundred thousand francs and the surrender of three castles and a town, by which the intended invasion of England was prevented. They were greatly astonished, and could not imagine what the duke of Brittany meant by it: they however supposed that he must have been instigated thereto by the council of England.

* Padron is situated on the river Ulla, four leagues to the southward of Saint Jago: it was formerly a bishopric, but is now transferred to Saint Jago.

CHAPTER LXXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS SOME OF HIS NOBLES TO DEMAND FROM THE DUKE OF BRITTANY THE REASON OF THE INSULT OFFERED TO HIM IN THE PERSON OF HIS CONSTABLE, SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON.

The court of France, more particularly the king's uncles, and the principal lords, were much distressed by the defiance that was sent by the duke of Gueldres; for it was outrageous and rude, and not in the common style of such challenges, as I shall explain when I mention the particulars. They were likewise much vexed at the late conduct of the duke of Brittany, which had broken up the expedition to England by the imprisonment of its leader. This had been greatly prejudicial to the king, nor could they discover any cause he had to assign for such conduct. The king did not pay such attention to these matters, which, considering his youth, was not to be wondered at, as if he had been of more advanced years; for some of the old lords, who remembered former times, said, "that by a similar act the kingdom had been much agitated, when the king of Navarre assassinated sir Charles d'Espaign, who at the time was constable of France, for which king John could never afterwards bear the king of Navarre, and had deprived him, as far as he was able, of all his possessions in Normandy." "Do you suppose," said others, "that if king Charles, the father of our king, were now alive, who loved so much the constable, he would not have made the duke pay severely for this insult? By my faith would he, and instantly have declared war against him, and, cost what it would, have driven him out of his duchy." Thus was the matter discussed through France, where all agreed that he had acted very ill. The king and his uncles, to pacify the people, who were much dissatisfied, and to inquire into the grounds of this business, resolved to send a prelate, and three able and prudent barons, to hear the duke's reasons, and to summon him to Paris, or wherever else the king might please, to make proper excuses for his conduct. Sir Milon de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, was nominated as principal: he was a most able man, of great eloquence, and was to be accompanied by sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, and the lord de la Riviere, who had received full instructions what they were to say; but to be the more particularly informed of what had passed, the bishop of Beauvais went to Montléhery, the residence of the constable, to learn from him the most minute details. This town and castle, with its dependencies, had been given to him and to his heirs by king Charles. The bishop, during this visit, was seized with an illness that forced him to keep his bed, and after fifteen days' struggle against the fever, it carried him off, so very severe was the attack. The bishop of Langres was nominated in the place of the bishop of Beauvais, who set out, with the beforementioned barons, for Brittany.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—FROISSART MENTIONS THE PERSON FROM WHOM HE LEARNT THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON; WHO LIKEWISE INFORMS HIM THAT SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OUGHT TO BE CALLED DU GLAY-AQUIN.

I may, perhaps, be asked, how I became acquainted with the events in this history, to speak so circumstantially about them. I reply to those who shall do so, that I have, with great attention and diligence, sought in divers kingdoms and countries for the facts which have been, or may hereafter be, mentioned in it: for God has given me grace and opportunities to see, and make acquaintance with the greater part of the principal lords of France and England. It should be known, that in the year 1390, I had laboured at this history thirty-seven years, and at that time I was fifty-seven years old: a man may, therefore, learn much in such a period, when he is in his vigour, and well received by all parties. During my youth, I was five years attached to the king and queen of England, and kindly entertained in the household of king John of France and king Charles his son. I was, in consequence, enabled to hear much during those times; and, for certain, the greatest pleasure I have ever had, was to make every possible inquiry, in regard to what was passing in the world, and then to write down all that I had learnt.

I will now say from whence I heard of the arrest of the constable, and the consequences that followed. I was riding about the time this passed, or perhaps a year after, from Angers to Tours, and had slept at Beaufort en Vallée*. On the morrow I overtook a knight from Brittany, called sir William d'Ancenis, who was going to visit madame de Maille in Touraine, who was his cousin, as she had lately become a widow. I made acquaintance with the knight, for he was courteous and obliging in speech, and inquired the news from him; more particularly about the imprisonment of the constable, the truth of which I was eager to know. He gave me the information I wanted; for he said he had been at the parliament at Vannes, with his cousin the lord d'Ancenis, a powerful baron in Brittany. In the same manner as sir Espaign du Lyon told me all that passed in Foix, Béarn, and Gascony, and as don Juan Fernando Portelet the events in Castille and Portugal, did the gallant knight converse with me, and would have continued it longer, had I rode farther in his company. We had advanced four long leagues between Montlihargne and Preuilly, riding at a gentle pace, when he told me many things on the road respecting Brittany, which I treasured up in my memory. As we were thus riding, we entered a meadow near to Preuilly, when he dismounted, and said,—"Ah, may God keep the soul of the good constable of France; for he had, on this spot, a most honourable combat, and greatly profitable to the country; but he was not then constable, and served under the banner of sir John de Bueil, on his return from the expedition into Spain." "Pray have the goodness to relate it to me." "I will," said he; "but let us remount our horses." We did so, and, continuing our journey, he thus began:

"In the time I am speaking of, this country was quite filled with English, and thieves from Gascony, Brittany, Germany: adventurers from all nations had fixed their quarters on both sides of the Loire, for the war between England and France was renewed. A party of them had fortified themselves in the castle of Beaufort en Vallée; which you have seen, and supported themselves by plundering the country all round it. But to come to the immediate object of my story: some English and Gascons had possessed themselves of Preuilly, and strengthened it so much, that none attempted to dislodge them: they had also some other smaller forts near; and when they made any excursions, they could assemble between eight hundred and a thousand combatants.

"The constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir John de Bueil, the lord de Mailly, and other knights, determined to deliver the country from these people, and collected about five hundred spears. They learnt that the English intended marching towards Saumer; that all the captains of the different forts were to unite their forces; and that the place of meeting was Preuilly, which you see before us. Our men, having crossed the river, placed themselves in ambuscade, in the wood below us, on the right hand. The enemy left Preuilly at sun-rise, to the amount of nine hundred fighting men: and when our party in ambush saw them advancing, they knew a combat to be inevitable. They held a council on what should be their cry, and were desirous it should be 'Sir Bertrand!' but he would not consent, and declared he would not display either banner or pennon, but be under that of sir John de Bueil. Our enemies entered the mead, where we just now dismounted, and they had scarcely done so before our men sallied out of their ambush to meet them. On seeing us, being of good courage, they drew themselves up in handsome order. We did the same, and both parties advanced to the combat, which instantly commenced with such thrusting of lances, that many were thrown down on each side. It lasted a considerable time without either giving way; but, to say the truth, we were all picked men, and with the enemy were numbers badly armed and plunderers. They gave us, however, full employment; but sir Morice Trisequedy, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry Kerimel, and Morfonace, joining sir Bertrand du Guesclin, full gallop, reinforced us with sixty good spears, whom they brought with them, and, attacking the English on horseback, threw them into a confusion they never could recover. The leaders of these pillagers, perceiving the event was likely to turn out unfavourable to them, mounted their horses, but not all; for seven lay dead on the field, with three hundred of their men. The pursuit lasted as far as St. Maur, where sir Robert Cheney, Robert Hervey, Richard Giles, and James Clerk, got into a boat, and saved them-

* Beaufort en Vallée,—or Beaufort la Ville, a town of Anjou, on the river Authion, six leagues from Angers, sixteen from Tours.

selves by crossing the Loire. They made for four castles the English had on that side the river, wherein they did not long remain, but hastened for Auvergne and Limousin, as they fancied the constable was still at their heels.

"By this defeat, my good master, was all this country delivered from pillagers, and never since that time have any English or others established themselves here. I therefore say, that constable Bertrand was a gallant man, and of great honour and advantage to France, for he regained large tracts of territory from her enemies." "By my faith, sir, you say truly: he was indeed a very valiant man, and so is sir Oliver du Guesclin." On my naming him du Guesclin, the knight laughed; and I said, "Sir, what do you laugh at?" "Because you call him du Guesclin, which is not his proper name, nor ever was, although he is generally so called, even by us who come from Brittany. Sir Bertrand was during his lifetime desirous to alter this, but could not; for this word is more naturally pronounced than the one he wished to substitute for it." "Pray, sir," said I, "have the kindness to tell me if there be any great difference between them." "No, God help me: the only difference is Glay-aquin instead of Glesquin, or Guesclin. I will tell you whence this surname is derived, according to what I have heard the old people in Brittany say, and it is certainly true, for you may find it written in the old chronicles of Brittany." This speech gave me great pleasure, and I replied,—"Sir, I shall think myself much obliged by your so doing; and what you say shall not be forgotten, for sir Bertrand du Guesclin was so renowned a knight, that his reputation ought to be augmented by every possible means." "That is true," said the knight, and thus began:

"In the reign of Charlemagne, that great conqueror, who added so much to Christendom and France; for he was emperor of Rome as well as king of France and Germany; and whose body lies now at Aix-la-Chapelle;—this king Charles, as is seen in the ancient chronicles (for you know that all the knowledge we possess in this world we owe to writing, and upon no other foundation can we depend for truth but on what is contained in approved books,) was several times in Spain, where he once remained for nine years without returning to France, but conquering all before him. At this time there was a pagan king, called Aquin, who reigned over Bugia and Barbary, that lie opposite to Spain. The kingdom of Spain was very considerable, if you follow its coasts from St. Jean du Pied des Ports, for it then contained all Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Oporto, Coimbra, Lisbon, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Leon, and these formerly were conquered by this great king. During his long residence in Spain, Aquin, king of Bugia and Barbary, assembled an army and embarked for Brittany, where he landed at the port of Vannes. He brought his wife and children with him, and, having established himself and his army in the country, proceeded to make further conquests. King Charles was duly informed of what was passing in Brittany; but he would not let it interfere with his present undertaking, saying,—'Let him establish himself in Brittany: it will not be difficult for us to free the country from him and his people; but we will first complete the conquest of this country, and submit it to the Christian faith. This king, Aquin, built a handsome tower on the sea-shore near to Vannes, called the Glay, wherein he took pleasure to reside. When Charlemagne had accomplished his expedition to Spain by the delivery of Galicia and other provinces from the Saracens, whose kings he had slain, and, by driving out the infidels, had brought the whole kingdom under the Christian faith; he sailed for Brittany, and gave battle to king Aquin and his adherents, with such success that the greater part of the infidels were killed, and king Aquin forced to fly, in a vessel that lay ready prepared for him at the foot of the tower of Glay. He was so hard pressed by the French, he could only embark himself, his wife, and some of his family, and in the hurry forgot a young child, of about a year old, that was asleep in the tower. The king having escaped, this child was brought to Charlemagne, who was much pleased with him, and had him baptised. Roland and Oliver were his godfathers at the font, and the emperor gave him handsome presents and the lands his father had won in Brittany. This child, when grown up, was a valiant knight, and called Oliver du Glay-aquin, because he had been found in the tower of Glay, and was the son of king Aquin.

"Such was the foundation of the family of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, which, as you see, ought to be called du Glay-aquin. Sir Bertrand was used to say, that when he should have

expelled don Pedro from Spain and crowned don Henry de Transtamare, he would go to Bugia, as he should have only the sea to cross, and demand his inheritance: and would undoubtedly have executed it; for don Henry would gladly have supplied him with men and ships; but the prince of Wales, by bringing back and replacing don Pedro on the throne of Castille, put an end to it. Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by sir John Chandos, at the famous battle of Najarra, and ransomed for one hundred thousand francs. He had been before ransomed by the same knight, and for the like sum, at the battle of Auray. The renewal of the war between England and France put an effectual stop to this African expedition, and gave him so much employment that he could not attend to anything else. He was, nevertheless, the direct issue from king Aquin, who reigned over Bugia and Barbary. Thus have I traced to you the descent of sir Bertrand du Guesclin." "That is true," replied I, "and I am very thankful to you for it, which I will not forget." As I said this, we arrived at Preuilly*.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—AMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WAIT ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RESPECTING THE ARREST OF HIS CONSTABLE.—THE DUKE, HAVING HEARD THEM, GIVES THEM HIS ANSWER.

If I could have been as long with sir William d'Ancenis as I was with sir Espaign du Lyon, when we travelled together from Pamiers to Orthès in Béarn, or with sir Juan Fernando Portelet, he would have told me many interesting things: but it could not be; for, soon after dinner, we came to two roads; one leading to Tours, whither I was bound, and the other to Mailly, which he was to follow. Here then we took leave of each other, and separated; but on our road from Preuilly, before our separation, he told me many things about the bishop of Langres, who had succeeded the bishop of Beauvais in the embassy to the duke of Brittany with sir John de Beuil, and the answer they received from the duke. Upon the authority of what the knight said, I have written as follows:

The ambassadors, having taken leave of the king and council, continued their journey until they came to Nantes, where they inquired the residence of the duke. They were told, that he chiefly resided at or near Vannes in preference to any other place. They left Nantes, and did not stop until they arrived at Vannes, as it is only twenty leagues distant, and dismounted in the town, for the duke lived in the castle called La Motte. When they had equipped themselves in a manner becoming their rank, they waited on him, who received them outwardly with much affection. The bishop of Langres, being a prelate, was the spokesman, and harangued in a handsome manner, in the presence of his two companions, sir John de Vienne and sir John de Beuil, saying,—"Lord duke, we are sent hither by the king our sovereign, and by my lords his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to say they are wondrously surprised you should have prevented the invasion of England from taking place, when on the point of sailing, and have ransomed the constable of France for such an immense sum, besides seizing three of his castles in Brittany and the town of Jugon†, which, should they turn against the country, may seriously injure it. We are therefore charged to order you, on the part of our sovereign lord the king, and of our lords his uncles, to restore to sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, those parts of his inheritance you now withhold from him, and give him peaceable possession thereof, according to justice, in the same condition they were in before they were surrendered up to you through constraint, and not according to any just claim you had upon them, and also the sum of money you have received, wholly and fully, wherever he shall be pleased to have it paid. The king

* The high reputation of Bertrand du Guesclin gave rise to many false reports of his origin: the above is one. To detect this, it is only necessary to state, 1st, There never was a prince in Brittany of the name of Aquin.—2dly, Charlemagne conquered that province by his lieutenants, and was never there in person.—3dly, That the original name of the house of du Guesclin was not Glayaquin, but Guarplic, a compound of two Breton words, Gwar and Plic, which signifies a creek, and describes the situation of the old castle du Guarplic, that was built on a creek, or gulf, in Concale bay, in the parish of Saint Coulomb, diocese of Dôl.

For further particulars, see l'Histoire de la Brétagne.

† Jugon must have been a place of considerable consequence, for I believe there is an old proverb,

"Qui a Bretagne sans Jugon
A un chappe sans chaperon."

and his council likewise summon you to appear at Paris, or wherever else they may direct, to excuse yourself for what you have done. The king is so good-tempered and forbearing, that, from ties of blood, he will readily listen to your excuses. Should they not be quite satisfactory, our lords, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, will so fashion them to the utmost of their abilities, and by entreaties or otherwise manage the matter so that you shall remain friend and cousin to the king, as it is reasonable you should be."

The bishop, turning to sir John de Vienne, said,—"Do you agree in my sentiments?" "Yes, sir," he replied. Sir John de Beuil made a similar answer: when this passed, there were but these four in the apartment. The duke, having heard the bishop, was very thoughtful, and not without reason, for the words were so clear they required no expounding. At length he said,—"Sir, I have well heard what you had to say: it was proper I should do so, as you come from my sovereign lord the king of France, and my lords his uncles. I am therefore bounden to pay you, as coming from them, every honour and respect, and am willing to do so. What you have said, however, demands consideration; and I shall take the advice of my council, that I may give you such an answer as may please you, for I would not act otherwise." "You say well," replied the ambassadors, "and we are satisfied." They then took leave, and returned to their hotel. Towards evening, they received an invitation from the duke to dine with him on the morrow, which they accepted. The next day they went to the castle, where they found the duke and his knights, who received them magnificently. Shortly after their arrival, basins and ewers were brought, for them to wash before they sat down to table. The bishop of Langres, in respect to his prelacy, was seated above all the company: next to him was the duke, then sir John de Vienne and sir John de Beuil. The dinner was very splendid, sumptuous, and well served: when it was over, they retired into the presence-chamber, where they conversed on different subjects, and amused themselves in hearing the minstrels.

The lords from France thought they should have then received their answer, but were disappointed. Wine and spices were brought, which having partaken of, they retired to their hotels, and remained the whole evening comfortably at home. On the ensuing morning, it was signified to them that the duke wished to see them at the castle, whither they went; and, being introduced to the apartment where the duke was, he received them kindly, and thus spoke: "My fair sirs, I know you are anxious for an answer to what you have been charged to tell me from my sovereign and other lords, that you may report it to them: I therefore declare, that I have done nothing to sir Oliver de Clisson that I repent of, except that he has escaped too cheaply and with his life: this I spared solely on account of his office, and not in any manner out of personal regard; for he has behaved so very ill to me, in several instances, that I hate him mortally; and, begging my sovereign's and their graces' pardon, I have not prevented the expedition to England taking place by the arrest of the constable. Of this I am able and willing to exculpate myself; for the day I had him arrested, I was thinking no harm against it*: it is proper to take advantage of an enemy wherever it may be found. If he had been slain, I believe the kingdom of France would not have been the worse governed for having lost the supposed benefit of his counsel. With regard to the castles he surrendered to me, and of which I am in possession, I shall keep them until the king by force dispossesses me of them. As to the money, I reply, that from the hatred of sir Oliver de Clisson, I have incurred debts in this and other countries, and have from this sum repaid those to whom I was indebted." Such was the answer the duke of Brittany gave to the ambassadors from the king of France. Many debates ensued, to induce the duke to send a more moderate answer; but his replies were always to the same effect as what he had before spoken. When they found they could not obtain anything more, they desired to take their leave, which being granted, they prepared for their departure, and journeyed until they arrived at Paris; thence they went to the castle of Beauté, near Vincennes, where the king and queen resided. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy soon followed them, as they were impatient to hear the duke of Brittany's answer, which as you have heard I will not repeat. But as those sent into Brittany had not succeeded in any one point, the king and council were greatly displeased with the duke, and said he was the

* The original runs, "nul mal je n'y pensoe"

proudest and most presumptuous man alive, and that matters should not remain as they were; for the consequences would be too prejudicial and disgraceful to the crown of France. It was fully the intention of the king and his council to make war on the duke of Brittany.

The duke expected nothing less; for he knew he had angered the king of France, as well as those of his council: but his hatred against the constable was so deep, it deprived him of the use of his reason; and he sorely repented that, when in his power, he had not put him to death. Things remained in this state a considerable time. The duke resided at Vannes, but seldom went abroad for fear of ambuscades: he paid great court to the principal cities and towns in the duchy, and made secret treaties with the English: he also garrisoned his strong places the same as in times of war. His opinion continually varied, as to what had passed: sometimes he said, he wished he had not arrested the constable; at others, to excuse himself, he declared that Clisson had so grievously insulted him, he had good reason for what he had done. This conduct had caused him to be feared in the country: for the lord hath small authority who is not feared by his subjects*; for whenever he pleases he may be at peace with them.

We will now leave the duke of Brittany, and return to the affairs of England, which, at this moment, were in a troubled and dangerous state.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER, UNCLES TO THE KING, CONFEDERATE, WITH OTHER BARONS, AGAINST HIM AND HIS COUNCIL.—THE PEOPLE ARE DISCONTENTED WITH THE DUKE OF IRELAND.—THE LONDONERS, THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND HIS FRIENDS, OBTAIN FROM THE KING, THAT A DAY SHOULD BE FIXED FOR THOSE WHO HAD MANAGED THE FINANCES TO RENDER AN ACCOUNT OF THEM.

You have before heard, that the dukes of York and Gloucester had confederated with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, and the archbishop of Canterbury, against the king and his council, with whom they were very much dissatisfied. They said,—"This duke of Ireland doth with the king and the realm as he pleases: the king has only base knaves about his person, without any regard to noblemen; and as long as he attends to no other advice than that of those now near him, things cannot go on well; for no kingdom can prosper when governed by wicked men. It is well known, that when a poor person is exalted and supported by his lord, he corrupts the people, and destroys the country; for what can a base-born man feel of honour? his sole wish is to enrich himself: just like the otter, who, on entering a pond, devours all the fish therein. Whence comes it that this duke of Ireland hath such power over the king, (we know his origin) and governeth all England at his pleasure, while the king's uncles are disregarded? Such conduct is not longer to be suffered. We are not ignorant who the earl of Oxford was, and that in this country he had not one good quality, either of sense, honour or gentility allowed him." "Sir John Chandos," added a knight, "made him feel this very sharply once, at the palace of the prince of Wales, at St. Andrews, in Bordeaux." "How so?" demanded another, who wished to know the particulars. "I will tell you," replied the knight, "for I was present. Wine was serving round to the prince of Wales and a large party of English lords, in an apartment of his palace; and, when the prince had drunk, the cup was carried to sir John Chandos, as constable of Aquitaine, who took it and drank, without paying any attention to the earl of Oxford, father to this duke of Ireland, or desiring him to drink first. After sir John Chandos had drunk, one of his squires presented the wine to the earl of Oxford; but, indignant that Chandos had drunk before him, he refused it, and said, by way of mockery, to the squire who was holding the cup, 'Go, carry it to thy master, Chandos: let him drink.' 'Why should I go to him? for he has drunk. Drink yourself, since it is offered you; for, by St. George, if you do not, I will throw it in your face.' The earl, afraid lest the squire should execute what he had said, for he was bold enough to do so, took the cup and put it to his mouth and drank, or at least pretended

* Car c'est petite seigneurie de seigneur qui n'est craint et doubté de ses gens.

to drink. Sir John Chandos was not far off, and heard and saw the whole, and his squire, whilst the prince was in conversation with others, came and told him what had passed. Sir John Chandos took no notice of it until the prince had retired, when, stepping up to the earl of Oxford, he said,—'What, sir Aubrey*, are you displeased that I drank first, who am the constable of this country? I may well drink and take precedence before you, since my most renowned sovereign, the king of England, and my lords, the princes, assent to it. True it is, that you were at the battle of Poitiers; but all now present do not know the cause of it so well as I do: I will declare it, that they may remember it. When my lord, the prince, had finished his journey to Languedoc, Carcassonne and Narbonne, and was returned to this city of Bordeaux, you took it into your head that you would return to England; but what did the king say to you? I know it well, though I was not present. He asked, if you had accomplished your service; and, afterward, what you had done with his son. You replied, "Sir, I left him in good health at Bordeaux." "What!" said the king, "and have you been bold enough to return hither without him? Did I not strictly enjoin you, and the others who accompanied him, never to return without him, under the forfeiture of your lands? and yet you have dared to disobey my commands. I now positively order you to quit my kingdom within four days and return to the prince; for if you be found on the fifth day, you shall lose your life and estates." You were afraid to hazard disobedience, as was natural, and left England. You were so fortunate, that you joined the prince four days before the battle of Poitiers, and had, that day, the command of forty lances, while I had sixty. Now, consider if I, who am constable of Aquitaine, have not the right to take precedence, and drink before you do.' 'The earl of Oxford was much ashamed, and would willingly have been anywhere but there. He was forced, however, to bear with what sir John Chandos said, who spoke aloud that all might hear him." "After this," said another knight, "we ought not to be surprised that the duke of Ireland, who is the son of this earl of Oxford, is not more considerate, and does not keep in his memory what may be told him of his father, instead of ruling the whole kingdom of England, and setting himself above the king's uncles." "And why should he not do so," replied others, "since the king wills it?"

There were great murmurings throughout England against the duke of Ireland; but what injured him the most was his conduct to his duchess, the lady Philippa, daughter of the lord de Coucy earl of Bedford, who was a handsome and noble lady, and of the highest extraction. He fell in love with a German lady, one of the attendants of the present queen; and, by his solicitations at the court of Rome, pope Urban VI. granted him a divorce from the lady Philippa, without any title of justice, but through presumption and indifference. When he married this lady, king Richard consented thereto; for he was so blinded by the duke of Ireland that, if he had declared that black was white, the king would not have said to the contrary. The mother of the duke was mightily enraged with him for this conduct, and took the lord de Coucy's daughter to her home and made her her own companion. The duke certainly acted ill, and evil befel him for it, as this was one of the principal causes of the hatred all England bore him†. It is but just that what is conceived in evil should have an unfortunate end; and this duke confided so much in the affection of the king, he thought no one would dare to injure him.

It was reported through England, that a new tax was to be levied on every fire, and that each was to pay a noble, the rich making up for the deficiencies of the poor. The king's uncles knew this would be difficult to bring about; and they had caused it to be spread in the principal towns how greatly the inhabitants would be oppressed by such taxes, and that, as

* This earl of Oxford's name was Thomas. Sir Alberic de Vere was his brother. He was employed in different negotiations by Richard II.

Robert was the son and heir of Thomas, the last earl of Oxford, and created duke of Ireland.

See Dugdale's Baronage.

† Walsingham, speaking of this transaction, says,—"Accidit his diebus, ut Robertus Vere, elatus de honoribus quos rex impendebat eidem jugiter, suam repudiaret uxorem juvenculam, nobilem, atque pulchram, genitam de illustris Edwardi regis filia Isabella, et aliam duceret, quæ cum regina Anna venerat de Boemia (ut fertur) cujusdam Cellarii filiam, ignobilem prorsus atque fœdam: ob quam causam magna surrepsit occasio scandalorum (cujus nomen erat in vulgaria idiomate Lancecrona). Favebat sibi in his omnibus ipse rex, nolens ipsum in aliquo contristare, vel potius (prout dicitur) non valens suis votis aliqualiter obviare, qui maleficiis cujusdam fratris (qui cum dicto Roberto fuit) rex impeditus nequaquam quod bonum est et honestum cernere, vel sectari valebat."

there must remain great sums in the treasury, the people ought to insist on having an account of their expenditure from those who had the management, such as the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burley, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir John Salisbury, sir John Beauchamp, and the master of the wool-staple; and, if these would render an honest account, there would be found money enough for the present demands of the kingdom. It is a well-known maxim, that no one pays willingly, or takes money from his purse, if he can avoid it. These rumours were soon spread throughout England, and especially in London, which is the chief key of the realm, so that the people rose in rebellion, to inquire into the government of the country, for that there had not for some time been anything known concerning it.

The Londoners first addressed themselves to Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, though he was younger than the duke of York; for he was much beloved for his valour, prudence, and steadiness in business. When they were in his presence, they said,—"My lord, the good city of London recommends itself to your care; and its citizens, as well as all England, entreat you would take upon you the government of the realm, and learn from those who have possessed themselves of the kingdom how it has been hitherto governed; for the common people make bitter complaints, that taxes upon taxes are continually imposed, and that the kingdom, since the coronation of the king, has been more grievously oppressed by these and other extraordinary aids, than for fifty years preceding it. No one knows how these sums have been expended, nor what is become of them. You will be pleased to inquire into this, and provide a remedy, or things will turn out ill, for the discontents of the people are very strong." The duke of Gloucester replied,—"My good sirs, I have attentively listened to what you have said; but I alone can do nothing. I know you have well-founded cause of complaint, as well as the rest of England; but notwithstanding I am son to a king of England, and uncle to the present king, if I were to interfere by speaking to him, he would not attend to me; for my nephew has counsellors near his person in whom he confides more than in himself, and these counsellors lead him as they please. If you wish to succeed in having your grievances redressed, you should enter into a confederacy with the principal towns, and with some of the nobles and prelates, and come before the king, where my brother and myself will cheerfully meet you, and say to the king,—"Most dear lord, you have been crowned when very young, and have hitherto been very badly advised, nor have you attended to the affairs of your kingdom, from the mean and weak counsellors you have chosen. This has caused the mismanagement of affairs, as you must have seen; and if God, out of his mercy, had not stretched forth his hand, the country must inevitably have been ruined. For which, most redoubted lord, we supplicate you, in the presence of your uncles, as good subjects should entreat their lord, that you attend to these matters, that the noble kingdom and crown of England, which has descended to you from the most powerful and gallant king this country ever possessed, may be supported in prosperity and honour, and the common people, who now complain, be maintained in their just rights and privileges. This you swore to perform on the day of your coronation. We also entreat, that you would assemble the three estates of the realm, that they may examine into the late manner of your government. Should it have been managed in a manner becoming a person of your rank, those who have governed will acquire profit and honour, and shall remain as long as they choose, and while it may be your good pleasure, in their offices. But if those who may be appointed to examine into these matters find anything contrary to good government, they will provide a remedy by quietly dismissing from your person those who have so acted, and replacing them by others better qualified; but with your consent first had, then that of your uncles and of the prelates and barons of the realm, who will pay attention in the choice to your honour and to that of your kingdom."

"When you shall have made this remonstrance to the king," said the duke of Gloucester to the Londoners, "he will give you an answer. If he should say, 'We will consider of it,' cut the matter short, and declare you will not have any delay; and press it the more to alarm him, as well as his minions. Say, boldly, that the country will not longer suffer it; and it is wonderful they have borne it so long. My brother and myself will be with the king, and also the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury and Northumberland, but say

nothing should we not be present; for we are the principal personages in England, and will second you in your remonstrance, by adding, that what you require is but reasonable and just. When he shall hear us thus speak, he will not contradict us, unless he be very ill advised indeed, and will appoint a day accordingly. This is the advice and the remedy I offer you." The Londoners replied,—"My lord, you have loyally spoken; but it will be difficult for us to find the king and as many lords as you have named, at one time in his presence." "Not at all," said the duke: "St. George's day will be within ten days, and the king will then be at Windsor; you may be sure the duke of Ireland and sir Simon Burley will be there also. There will be many others. My brother, myself, and the earl of Salisbury, will be there. Do you come, and you will act according to circumstances."

The Londoners promised to be at Windsor on St. George's day, and left the duke of Gloucester, well pleased with their reception. When that day came, the king of England held a grand festival, as his predecessors had done before him, and, accompanied by his queen and court, went to Windsor. On the morrow, the Londoners came thither with sixty horse, and those from York and other principal towns in like numbers, and lodged themselves in the town. The king was desirous of leaving the place for another three leagues off, when he heard of the arrival of the commons of England, and still more so, when told they wanted to speak to him; for he dreaded greatly their remonstrances, and would not have heard them: but his uncles and the earl of Salisbury said,—"My lord, you cannot depart, for they are deputed hither by all your principal towns. It is proper you hear what they have to say: you will then give them your answer, or take time to consider of it." He remained therefore, but sore against his will.

The commons were introduced to the presence, in the lower hall, without the new building, where the palace stood in former times. The king was attended by his two uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Northumberland, and several others of the nobility. The commons made their harangue to the king, by their spokesman, a citizen of London, called Simon de Sudbury, a man of sense and oratory. He formed his speech from what the duke of Gloucester had said to them; and, as you have heard that, I need not take more notice of it. The king, having heard it, replied,—"Ye commons of England, your requests are great and important, and cannot be immediately attended to; for we shall not long remain here, nor are all our council with us: indeed the greater part are absent. I therefore bid each of you return quietly to your homes, and there peaceably remain, unless sent for, until Michaelmas, when the parliament shall be assembled at Westminster. Come thither and lay your requests before us, which we will submit to our council. What we approve shall be granted, and what we think improper refused. For think not we are to be ruled by our people. That has never been; and we can perceive nothing but what is right and just in our government, and in those who govern under us." Upwards of seven instantly replied to the king, and said,—"Most redoubted lord, under your grace's favour, your justice is weak, indeed, in the realm, and you know not what behoveth you to know; for you neither make inquiry, nor examine into what is passing; and those who are your advisers will never tell you, for the great wealth they are amassing. It is not justice, sir king, to cut off heads, wrists, or feet, or any way to punish; but justice consists in the maintaining the subject in his right, and in taking care he live in peace, without having any cause of complaint. We must also say that you have appointed too long a day by referring us to Michaelmas. No time can be better than the present: we, therefore, unanimously declare, that we will have an account, and very shortly too, from those who have governed your kingdom since your coronation, and know what is become of the great sums that have been raised in England for these last nine years, and whither they have passed. If those who have been your treasurers shall give a just account, or nearly so, we shall be much rejoiced, and leave them in their offices. Those who shall not produce honest acquittances for their expenditure shall be treated accordingly, by the commissioners that are to be nominated by you, and our lords your uncles."

The king, on this, looked at his uncles to see if they would say anything, when the duke of Gloucester said,—"That he saw nothing but what was just and reasonable in the demands they had made: what do you say, fair brother of York?" "As God may help me, it is all

true," he replied, as did the other barons who were present; but the king wished them to give their opinions separately. "Sir," added the duke of Gloucester, "it is but fair that you know how your money has been expended." The king, perceiving they were all united, and that his minions dared not utter one word, for they were overawed by the presence of the nobles, said,—"Well, I consent to it: let them be sent away; for summer is now approaching, and the time for my amusement in hunting." Then, addressing the Londoners, he added, "Would you have the matter instantly despatched?" "Yes, we entreat it of you, noble king: we shall likewise beg of these lords to take part, more particularly our lords your uncles." The dukes replied, they would willingly undertake it, as well on the part of their lord and king, as for the country. The commons then said; "We also wish that the reverend fathers, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, be parties." They said, they would cheerfully do so. When this was agreed to, they nominated the lords present, such as the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, sir Reginald Cobham, sir Guy de Bryan, sir Thomas Felton, sir Mathew Gournay, and said there should be from two to four of the principal persons from each city or large town, who would represent the commons of England. All this was assented to, and the time for their meeting fixed for the week after St. George's day, to be holden at Westminster; and all the king's ministers and treasurers were ordered to attend, and give an account of their administrations to the before-named lords. The king consented to the whole, not through force, but at the solicitations and prayers of his uncles, the other lords, and commons of England. It, indeed, concerned them to know how affairs had been managed, both in former times and in those of the present day. All having been amicably settled, the assembly broke up, and the lords, on leaving Windsor, returned to London, whither were summoned all collecters and receivers, from the different counties, with their receipts and acquittances, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS CONDEMN SIR SIMON BURLEY TO BE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET IS KILLED BY A FALL FROM HIS HORSE.—SIR WILLIAM ELMHAM IS ACQUITTED OF HAVING TAKEN MONEY FOR THE SURRENDER OF BOURBOURG AND GRAVELINES.

The assembly of the commissioners of accounts was held at Westminster, consisting of the king's uncles, the prelates, barons, and deputies from the principal towns of England. It lasted upwards of a month. Some of those who appeared before it, not producing fair or honourable accounts, were punished corporally, and by confiscation of whatever they possessed.

Sir Simon Burley was charged with defalcations to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand francs, notwithstanding he had been tutor to the king, and had assisted him in the government from his earliest youth. When called upon to account for what had become of it, he cast the blame on the archbishop of York and sir William Neville, saying he had never acted but with them and by their advice, and in conjunction with the king's chamberlains, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Nicholas Bramber, and others; but those, when examined, excused themselves, and flung the whole fault on him. The duke of Ireland said to sir Simon privately—"I understand you are to be arrested and sent to prison until you shall pay the sum you are charged with. Do not dispute the matter, but go whither they may order: I will make your peace with the king, though they had all sworn to the contrary. You know the constable of France owes me forty thousand francs for the ransom of John of Blois, and this sum he will shortly pay: I will offer the amount to the commissioners, which, for the moment, will satisfy them: but the king is sovereign; he will pardon you all, for the balances must be paid to him and to none other." "If I did not depend," replied sir Simon Burley, "that you would strongly support me with the king, and assist me personally in this matter, I would cross the sea and go to the king of Bohemia. I should be well received there, and remain for a time until all this bustle were blown over." "I will never forsake you," said the duke of Ireland: "are we not companions,

and equally implicated? You must ask time for repayment. I know well that you can pay when you please, in ready money, one hundred thousand francs. Do not fear death, for they will never push matters so far as that; and before Michaelmas, things shall have a different turn from what these lords think: let me only once have the king in my power, and I will have him, for all that he now does he is forced to. We must satisfy these cursed Londoners, and put an end to all this discontent they have raised against us and our friends."

Sir Simon Burley put a little too much confidence in these words of the duke of Ireland, and presented himself before the commissioners, when called upon. They said,—"Sir Simon, you have been a knight who has done honour to our country, and were greatly beloved by our lord the late prince of Wales. You and the duke of Ireland have been the principal ministers of the king. We have carefully examined all your accounts that have been laid before us, and must tell you, they are neither fair nor honourable, which has displeased us for the love we bear you. We have therefore unanimously resolved that you be sent to the Tower of London, there to be confined until you shall have repaid, in this chamber, according to our orders, the sum you have received for the king and realm, and for which, from the examination of the treasurer, you have never accounted: the sum amounts to two hundred and fifty thousand francs. Now, have you anything to say in your defence?" Sir Simon was much disconcerted, and said,—"My lords, I shall willingly obey, as it is proper I should, your commands, and go whither you may please to send me. But I entreat that I may have a secretary allowed me to draw out an account of the great expenses I have formerly been at in Germany and Bohemia, when negociating the marriage of our king and lord. If I should have received too much, grant me, through the king's grace and yours, that I may have a reasonable time for repayment." "To this we agree," replied the lords; and sir Simon Burley was then conducted to the Tower.

The accounts of sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were next examined. They were not popular with any of the barons of England, nor with the people, on account of their conduct in Flanders; for it was said no Englishman had ever made so shameful an expedition. The bishop of Norwich and the governor of Calais, who at that time was sir Hugh Calverley, had cleared themselves from any blame: but the charge laid to the two knights, of taking money for the surrender of Bourbourg and Gravelines, prevented them doing the same: and some in England wanted to have their conduct (which has been before related) construed into treason; and the knights had given security for their appearance, when called upon, to the king, his uncles, and the council. This charge was now renewed, and they were summoned before the commissioners. Sir William Elmham appeared; but sir Thomas Trivet did not come, and I will tell you the cause. The same week the summons from the commissioners was brought to his house in the north, he had mounted a young horse, to try him in the fields. This horse ran away with him over hedge and through bushes, and at length fell into a ditch and broke the knight's neck. It was a pity, and his loss was much bewailed by the good people of England. Notwithstanding this, his heirs were forced to pay a large sum of florins to what was called the king's council; but the whole management was well known to rest with the uncles of the king, and the commissioners they had nominated. For, although the duke of Gloucester was the youngest of the king's uncles, he was the most active in business that concerned the country; and the better part of the prelates, nobles, and commons, looked up to him.

When the composition-money of the late sir Thomas Trivet, who was killed as you have heard, was paid, the blame cast on sir William Elmham was much lightened. His former deeds in the Bordelois, Guienne, and Picardy, where he had displayed much valour in support of England, pleaded for him, having behaved like a gallant knight, so that nothing could be laid to his charge but having taken money for Bourbourg and Gravelines. But he excused himself by saying,—"My lords, when any one is placed as we were, in respect to these two towns, it appears to me (from what I have heard sir John Chandos and sir Walter Manny, who had abundance of good sense and valour, say), that when two or three means offer, the one most profitable to ourselves, and that which can hurt our enemies the most, ought ever to be adopted. Sir Thomas Trivet and myself, finding ourselves surrounded, so that succour could no way come to us, and that we should not be able long to withstand their

assaults (for they were such knights and squires as few in England ever saw, and in such numbers, from the account of our herald, as to amount to sixteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand others, while we were scarcely three hundred lances, and as many archers; our town was also so extensive we could not attend to all parts of it, which we soon felt to our cost, for, while we were defending one side, it was set on fire on another)—we became very much confused, which the enemy perceived. And, in truth, the king of France and his council acted handsomely by granting us a truce, for if they had on the morrow renewed their attack, in the situation we were in, they must have had us at their mercy. They honourably treated with us, through the duke of Brittany, who took much trouble on the occasion. We ought to have paid for this, but they gave us money; and, instead of being worsted by our enemies, we despoiled them. We certainly overreached them, when they paid us, and suffered us to depart safe and well, carrying away whatever we had gained by this expedition in Flanders. Besides," added sir William, "to purge myself from all blame, should there be in England, or out of England, any knight or squire, except the persons of my lord the dukes of York and of Gloucester, who shall dare to say that I have acted disloyally towards my natural lord the king, or have been any way guilty of treason, I am ready to throw down my glove, and with my body try the event by deeds of arms, such as the judges may assign me."

This speech, and the known valour of the knight, exculpated him, and freed him from all fear of death, which he was in danger of at the beginning. He returned to his estate, and was afterwards a renowned knight, much advanced, and of the king's council. Sir Simon Burley was still confined in the Tower, for he was mortally hated by the king's uncles and the commons of England. The king did everything in his power to deliver him from prison, during the time he resided at Sheene; * but the commissioners, being determined to oppress him, dissembled, and said they could not as yet set him at liberty, for his accounts were not closed. The king, accompanied by the duke of Ireland, journeyed towards Wales, by way of Bristol; and wheresoever he went he was followed by the queen, and all the ladies and damsels of her court.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND HAVING LEFT LONDON, SIR SIMON BURLEY IS BEHEADED, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE KING AND QUEEN.—A CHANGE OF THE MINISTRY.

Although the king of England had left London, his uncles there remained with their advisers. You have often heard, that when any disorder is in the head, all the other members of the body are affected by it, and that this sickness must be purged away by some means or other. I say this, because the duke of Ireland was in such favour with the king, that he managed him as he pleased, and governed him at will. Sir Simon Burley was also one of the principal advisers; and between them both they ruled, for a long time, king and kingdom. They were suspected of having amassed very large sums of money, and it was rumoured they had sent great part of it for safety to Germany. It had also come to the knowledge of the king, his uncles, and the rulers of the principal towns in England, that great cases and trunks had been secretly embarked from Dover castle in the night-time, which were said to contain this money sent fraudulently abroad by them to foreign countries, in consequence of which the kingdom was greatly impoverished of cash. Many grieved much at this, saying, that gold and silver were become so scarce as to occasion trade to languish. Such speeches increased the hatred to sir Simon Burley, and the commissioners declared they thought he deserved death. In short, they, on finishing his accounts, condemned him to suffer this punishment, instigated thereto by a desire to please the country, and by the archbishop of Canterbury, who related to the lords that sir Simon wanted to remove the shrine of St. Thomas from Canterbury to Dover-castle, as he said, for greater security, at the time the French invasion was expected; but it was commonly believed that he meant to seize it, and carry it out of England. Many, now he was in prison, came

* Richmond.

forward against him; and the knight was so overpowered, that nothing he could say in his defence availed him; so that he was carried forth out of the Tower, and beheaded, as a traitor, in the square before it. God have mercy on his misdeeds! Notwithstanding I thus relate his disgraceful death, which I am forced to by my determination to insert nothing but truth in this history, I was exceedingly vexed thereat, and personally much grieved; for in my youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according to my understanding, of great good sense. Such was the unfortunate end of sir Simon Burley.

His nephew and heir, sir Richard Burley, was with the duke of Lancaster in Galicia, when this misfortune befel his uncle, and one of the most renowned in his army, after the constable; for he had once the chief command of the whole army, and instructed sir Thomas Moreaux in his office of marshal; he was likewise of the duke's council, and his principal adviser. You may suppose that, when he heard of the disgraceful death his uncle had suffered, he was mightily enraged; but, alas! this gallant knight died in his bed, in Castille, of sickness, with very many more, as I shall fully relate when arrived at that part of my history.

When king Richard, who was amusing himself in Wales, heard of the death of sir Simon Burley, he was very wroth; for he had been one of his tutors and had educated him; and he swore it should not remain unrevenged, for he had been cruelly put to death, and without the smallest plea of justice. The queen also bewailed his loss; for he had been the principal promoter of her marriage, and had conducted her from Germany to England. The king's council began now to be seriously alarmed, such as the duke of Ireland, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and sir Michael de la Pole. The archbishop of York, whose name was William Neville, brother to the lord Neville of Northumberland, was dismissed from his office of lord treasurer, which he had held a considerable time, and forbidden, by the duke of Gloucester, if he valued his life, ever again to intermeddle with the affairs of England; but he might retire to his bishopric of York, or to any other part of his diocese, for that of late he had been by far too busy. He was told that, from consideration of his dignity and birth, many things had been overlooked that were highly disgraceful to him; and that the greater part of the deputies from the cities and towns were for having him degraded from the priesthood, and punished in like manner to sir Simon Burley. He soon left London, and went to reside on his archbishopric in the north, which was worth to him about forty thousand francs a year. His whole family were much enraged, and thought his disgrace had been caused by Henry of Northumberland, though he was his relation and neighbour.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was valiant and learned, and much in the favour of the king's uncles, succeeded to the treasurership: he was of the family of the Montagues, and the earl of Salisbury was his uncle*. The commissioners appointed the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham, and the bishop of Norwich, who was called sir Henry de Spencer, the king's council; but the bishop of Winchester retained his office of chancellor, and continued near the person of the king's uncles. The most renowned of the council, after the duke of Gloucester, was sir Thomas Montague, archbishop of Canterbury; and well was he deserving of it, for the great pains he took to reform the abuses of government, and withdraw the king from the management of his minions. He spoke very frequently on this subject to the duke of York, who replied,—"Archbishop, matters will, by degrees, turn out differently from what my nephew and the duke of Ireland imagine. But we must wait for a favourable opportunity, and not be too pressing; for what is done in haste is never well done. I agree with you, that if we had not in time taken up this business, the king would have been so governed, that the kingdom must have been ruined. The king of France and his council were well acquainted with our state; and for this did they make such immense preparations, to take the advantage to invade us."

* This must be a mistake. In 1381 William Courtney was archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1391 Thomas Fitzallan, son of the earl of Arund

CHAPTER LXXXI.—WHILE THE COUNCIL, ON THE STATE OF THE NATION, IS SITTING AT LONDON, KING RICHARD, BY THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF IRELAND, DETERMINES TO WAGE WAR AGAINST HIS UNCLES AND THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

In like manner as the king's uncles and the new council of state were devising at Westminster on the means of reforming abuses in the government, and of having the king and realm under their power, the duke of Irelamd and his council were plotting day and night how they could keep their places, and destroy the uncles of the king, by means which I will now explain.

When king Richard, accompanied by his queen*, arrived at Bristol, which is a handsome and strong town, he fixed his residence in the castle. Those in Wales, and at a distance, thought he had done so to favour the duke of Ireland, who had caused it to be reported that he intended going from thence to Ireland, and to assist him with money to increase his followers, for that had been agreed on by the parliament. It had been ordered that the duke, on setting out for Ireland, where he was to remain three years, should have the command of five hundred men at arms and fifteen hundred archers, paid by England, and that money for this purpose should be punctually remitted to him†. But the duke had no inclination to go thither; for, as the king was so young, he managed him as he pleased, and, should he leave him, he was afraid the king's affection would be cooled. Add to this, he was so greatly enamoured with one of the queen's damsels, called the Landgravine, that he could never quit her. She was a tolerably handsome pleasant lady, whom the queen had brought with her from Bohemia. The duke of Ireland loved her with such ardour, that he was desirous of making her, if possible, his duchess by marriage. He took great pains to obtain a divorce from his present duchess, the daughter of the earl of Bedford, from Urban VI., whom the English and Germans acknowledged as pope. All the good people of England were much astonished and shocked at this; for the duchess was grand-daughter of the gallant king Edward and the excellent queen Philippa, being the daughter of the princess Isabella. Her uncles, the dukes of York and Gloucester, were very wroth at this insult; but, notwithstanding their hatred, which he held cheap, the duke of Ireland was so smitten and blinded by his love, he was using every means to obtain a divorce, and had promised the lady he would make her his wife, if he had the king and queen's consent, and a dispensation from Rome, which the pope would not dare refuse him; for his present lady was a Clementist, and the lord de Coucy, her father, had made war in Italy for Clement, against Urban, which inclined the latter not to be over-fond of him, and induced him to listen too readily to the proposals for a divorce. Thus was he urging on matters, according to his promise to the landgravine of Bohemia, and would not have any connexion with his wife by legal marriage. But this duke of Ireland had a mother living, the countess dowager of Oxford, who, so far from approving her son's conduct, greatly blamed him for his follies, saying that he would by them anger Heavem, who would one day punish him severely, when it would be too late to repent. She had the duchess home with her, and gave her as handsome an establishment as she could, so that all who loved the young lady were pleased with this conduct.

In such a situation was the kingdom of England; but, to bring its history to a conclusion, I will continue the subject from the information I then received. You have heard that the duke of Ireland kept close to the king during his residence at Bristol and in Wales, solely occupied night and day with the means of succeeding in his plans. He was assiduous in his attentions to the king and queen, and to all knights and squires who waited on them at Bristol and at the hunts in that neighbourhood, to draw them over to his faction; for the king suffered him to act as he pleased.

* So says Jean Petit, "et la rayne aveques lui."

† There is a variation in the copies of the original, as Jean Petit runs thus:—"When he departed from the king and his uncles, it was agreed with him that in case he should go on this voyage, he should have, at the charge of England, five hundred men at arms and fifteen hundred archers. And it was ordered that he should abide there three years, and that he should always be well paid." This reading appears to be simpler than that of the text. See Jean Petit's edition, vol III. p. 46.

The duke, during this period, took infinite pains in visiting all the gentlemen near to Bristol, and went frequently into Wales, where he complained to all who would listen to him, gentlemen or others, that the king's uncles, from their ambition to obtain the government, had driven from the council the most noble and wisest members, such as the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of London, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Salisbury, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, and himself; that they had put to death, without any justice whatever, that valiant knight sir Simon Burley; and, if they continued to govern as they had begun, they would soon destroy all England. He repeated this so often, and with such success, that the greater part of the knights and squires of Wales and of the adjoining countries believed him. They came to Bristol, and demanded from the king, if what the duke had told them had his approbation. The king replied it had, and begged of them, from their affection to him, to put every confidence in the duke, for that he would avow whatever he should do; adding, that in truth his uncles were too ambitious, and that he had his fears they intended to deprive him of his crown. Those from Wales, who had always loved the prince of Wales, father to the king, having heard of the transactions in London, were firmly persuaded that the king and the duke of Ireland had been wronged, and demanded from the king how he wished them to act. The king answered, "He would gladly see the Londoners, who had been the chief movers in this business, punished and brought to their senses, as well as his uncles." The Welchmen said they were bounden to obey his commands, for he was their king and sovereign lord, to whom, and to none else, they owed faith and homage. They were therefore willing to go whithersoever he would order them. The king and the duke of Ireland were well satisfied with this answer; and the latter, seeing the king take up the matter as personal to himself, and eager to attack his adversaries, was extravagant in his joy, and said to the council, "they could not act better than return to London to show their force, and, by fair or other means, bring the citizens back to their obedience; and he also said, and always represented to the king, that whenever there were so many rulers in a kingdom, it must be its ruin." The king said, "that his opinion was the same, and that, if hitherto he had suffered things to be so carried, he would not any longer, but bring forward such a remedy that other countries should take example from it."

Now, consider in your own mind if I had not good cause to say that England was, at this period, in the greatest peril of being ruined past recovery. It certainly was, from the causes you have heard; for the king was exasperated against his uncles and the principal nobility of the kingdom, and they were so likewise against him and many nobles of his party. The cities and towns were quarrelling with each other, and the prelates in mutual hatred, so that no remedy for all these evils could be looked for but from God alone. The duke of Ireland, when he perceived he had gained the king, and the greater number of those in Bristol, Wales, and the adjoining parts, proceeded to say to the king,—"My lord, if you will appoint me your lieutenant, I will lead twelve or fifteen thousand men to London, or to Oxford, which is yours and my city, and show my strength to these Londoners and your uncles, who have treated you with such indignity, and have put some of your council to death, and, by fair words or otherwise, reduce them to obedience. The king replied, he was satisfied; adding, "I now nominate you lieutenant-general of my kingdom, to assemble men wherever you can raise them, and to lead them whithersoever you shall think it will be most for the advantage of our realm, that all may see the whole of it to be our inheritance and right. I order you to bear our banner, guidon, standard, and other our proper habiliments of war, which we ourselves should have done, had we taken the field. I should imagine, that all conditions of men, on perceiving my banners, would flock to enrol themselves under them, and would be fearful of incurring, by a contrary conduct, my displeasure." This speech greatly rejoiced the duke of Ireland.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ISSUES HIS ORDERS FOR ALL CAPABLE OF BEARING ARMS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BRISTOL TO MARCH TO LONDON.—SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN, SENT THITHER AS A SPY, IS DISCOVERED, AND BEHEADED BY COMMAND OF THE KING'S UNCLES.

THE king of England issued his summons to many great barons, knights, and squires in Wales, in the country round Bristol, and on the Severn-side. Some excused themselves by sending satisfactory reasons; but others came and placed themselves under the obedience of the king, notwithstanding their conviction that it was impossible to augur anything good from the enterprise.



RICHARD II. AT BRISTOL. Designed from Illuminations in the Metrical History of Richard II.—Harleian MS. 1319

While this army was collecting, the king and the duke, in a secret conference, determined to send one of their confidential friends to London, to observe what was going forward, and, if the king's uncles still remained there, to discover what they were doing. After some consideration, they could not think on a proper person to send on this errand; when a knight, who was cousin to the duke, and of the king's as well as of his council, called sir Robert Tresilian, stepped forth, and said to the duke,—"I see the difficulty you have to find a trusty person to send to London: I will, from my love to you, risk the adventure." The king and the duke, well pleased with the offer, thanked him for it. Tresilian left Bristol disguised like a poor tradesman, mounted on a wretched hackney: he continued his road to London, and lodged at an inn where he was unknown; for no one could have ever imagined that one of the king's counsellors and chamberlains would have appeared in so miserable a dress.

When in London, he picked up all the news that was public, for he could not do more, respecting the king's uncles and the citizens. Having heard there was to be a meeting of the dukes and their council at Westminster, he determined to go thither to learn secretly

all he could of their proceedings. This he executed, and fixed his quarters at an ale-house right opposite the palace-gate: he chose a chamber whose window looked into the palace-yard, where he posted himself to observe all who should come to this parliament. The greater part he knew, but was not, from his disguise, known to them. He, however, remained there, at different times, so long, that a squire of the duke of Gloucester saw and knew him, for he had been many times in his company. Sir Robert instantly recollected him, and withdrew from the window; but the squire, having his suspicions, said, "Surely that must be Tresilian;" and to be certain of it, he entered the ale-house, and said to the landlady, "Dame, tell me, on your troth, who is he drinking above: is he alone or in company?" "On my troth, sir," she replied, "I cannot tell you his name; but he has been here some time." At these words, the squire went up stairs to know the truth, and having saluted sir Robert, found he was right, though he dissembled by saying,—"God preserve you, master! I hope you will not take my coming amiss, for I thought you had been one of my farmers from Essex, as you are so very like him." "By no means," said sir Robert: "I am from Kent, and hold lands of sir John Holland, and wish to lay my complaints before the council against the tenants of the archbishop of Canterbury, who encroach much on my farm. "If you will come into the hall," said the squire, "I will have way made for you to lay your grievances before the lords." "Many thanks," replied sir Robert: "not at this moment, but I shall not renounce your assistance." At these words, the squire ordered a quart of ale, which having paid for, he said, "God be with you!" and left the ale-house. He lost no time in hastening to the council-chamber, and called to the usher to open the door. The usher, knowing him, asked his business: he said, "he must instantly speak with the duke of Gloucester, on matters that nearly concerned him and the council." The usher, on this, bade him enter, which he did, and made up to the duke of Gloucester, saying, "My lord, I bring you great news." "Of what?" replied the duke. "My lord, I will tell it aloud; for it concerns not only you but all the lords present. I have seen sir Robert Tresilian, disguised like a peasant, in an ale-house close by the palace gate." "Tresilian!" said the duke. "On my faith," my lord, "it is true; and you shall have him to dine with you, if you please." "I should like it much," replied the duke; "for he will tell us some news of his master, the duke of Ireland. Go, and secure him; but with power enough not to be in danger of failing."

The squire, on these orders, left the council-chamber, and, having chosen four bailiffs, said to them,—"Follow me at a distance; and, as soon as you shall perceive me make you a sign to arrest a man I am in search of, lay hands on him, and take care he do not, on any account, escape from you." The squire made for the ale-house where he had left sir Robert, and, mounting the staircase to the room where he was, said, on entering,—"Tresilian, you are not come to this country for any good, as I imagine: my lord of Gloucester sends for you, and you must come and speak with him." The knight turned a deaf ear, and would have been excused, if he could, by saying, "I am not Tresilian, but a tenant of sir John Holland." "That is not true," replied the squire; "your body is Tresilian's, though not your dress." And, making the signal to the bailiffs, who were at the door, they entered the house and arrested him, and, whether he would or not, carried him to the palace. You may believe there was a great crowd to see him; for he was well known in London, and in many parts of England. The duke of Gloucester was much pleased, and would see him. When in his presence, the duke said; "Tresilian, what has brought you hither? How fares my sovereign? Where does he now reside?" Tresilian, finding he was discovered, and that no excuses would avail, replied,—"On my faith, my lord, the king has sent me hither to learn the news: he is at Bristol, and on the banks of the Severn, where he hunts and amuses himself." "How!" said the duke, "you do not come dressed like an honest man, but like a spy. If you had been desirous to learn what was passing, your appearance should have been like that of a knight or a discreet person." "My lord," answered Tresilian, "if I have done wrong, I hope you will excuse me; for I have only done what I was ordered." "And where is your master, the duke of Ireland?"—"My lord," said Tresilian, "he is with the king, our lord." The duke then added,—"We have been informed that he is collecting a large body of men, and that the king has issued his summons to that effect: whither does he mean to

lead them?" "My lord, they are intended for Ireland."—"For Ireland!" said the duke. "Yes, indeed, as God may help me," answered Tresilian.

The duke mused awhile, and then spoke: "Tresilian, Tresilian, your actions are neither fair nor honest; and you have committed a great piece of folly in coming to these parts, where you are far from being loved, as will be shortly shown to you. You, and others of your faction, have done what has greatly displeased my brother and myself, and have ill-counselled the king, whom you have made to quarrel with his chief nobility. In addition, you have excited the principal towns against us. The day of retribution is therefore come, when you shall receive payment; for whoever acts justly receives his reward: look to your affairs, for I will neither eat nor drink until you be no more." This speech greatly terrified sir Robert, (for no one likes to hear of his end,) by the manner in which it was uttered. He was desirous to obtain pardon, by various excuses, and the most abject humiliation, but in vain; for the duke had received information of what was going on at Bristol, and his excuses were fruitless. Why should I make a long story? Sir Robert was delivered to the hangman, who led him out of the palace to the place of execution, where he was beheaded, and then hung by the arms to a gibbet. Thus ended sir Robert Tresilian.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—WHEN THE NEWS OF THE DEATH OF SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN IS BROUGHT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND SIR NICHOLAS BRAMBER, THEY CONFIRM THE KING IN HIS INTENTION OF MAKING WAR ON HIS UNCLES.—THE DUKE OF IRELAND, AS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, LEADS THE ARMY TO OXFORD.

Intelligence was hastily carried to king Richard at Bristol, that sir Robert Tresilian had been put to a shameful death. He took it sorely to heart, and swore things should not remain in the state they were; for that his uncles were conducting themselves ill, and putting to death, without the least plea of justice, his knights and servants, who had loyally served him and the prince his father, plainly showing their intentions were to deprive him of his crown, and that such conduct touched him too nearly not to resent it. The archbishop of York had been the chief of his council for a considerable time, and, being then with the king, said,—"My lord, you ask counsel, and I will give it you. Your uncles behave shamefully, and want to make the world believe you have only traitors near your person, and that you take counsel from none but them. Great danger now hangs over the country; for if the commons rise, and the nobility be united, much mischief will ensue. I therefore advise, that you settle all these things by force: you are now in a very populous country: issue your summons for all capable of bearing arms, gentlemen and others, to join you here; and, when they be assembled, march them under the orders of the duke of Ireland, who will gladly take the command, towards London; and let there be no other banners but those with your own arms, to show more distinctly the business is your own. The whole country, on their line of march, will join them, and perhaps the Londoners also, who have no personal hatred to you, who have never done them any injury. All the mischief that could have been done you has already been effected by your uncles. Here is sir Nicholas Bramber, who has been frequently mayor of London, and whom you created a knight for the gallant service he performed in former times*; consult him, for he ought to be well acquainted with the Londoners, being a fellow-citizen, and must, likewise, have some steady friends among them. You run a risk of losing your kingdom from those tumultuous and disloyal proceedings.

The king, on this, turned to sir Nicholas Bramber, and desired him to speak. "My lord," said sir Nicholas, "since you command me, I will speak my sentiments before these lords, according to the best of my judgment. In the first place, I do not believe, nor ever shall, that the majority of the Londoners are wanting in affection to our lord who is present. They greatly loved my lord, the prince his father, of happy memory; and they gave proofs of their loyalty, when the rabble of peasants rose in rebellion: for, to say the truth, had they been inclined to have joined them, there would have been an end of the king and

* Alluding to his conduct at the time Wat Tyler insulted the king in Smithfield.

monarchy. The uncles of the king have it now all before them, and laugh at the citizens, whom they make believe whatever they please; for there is no one to contradict them, or to show what falsehoods they daily publish. They have put aside all the king's officers, myself in the number, and replaced them with others of their way of thinking. They have sent the king to a corner of his kingdom; and one cannot suppose any good will follow, for we are perfectly ignorant what their ultimate intentions may be. If matters continue in this state much longer, the king will be driven out of his kingdom; for they act by force, and the king by kindness. Have they not already put to death that gallant knight sir Simon Burley, who had performed such meritorious services beyond sea? and have they not, publicly, imputed to him the greatest falsehoods, which they knew to be untrue, such as, that he intended to deliver to the French the town and castle of Dover, and that, for that purpose, he had caused them to assemble at Sluys and other parts of Flanders? Have they not, also, in despite to the king, disgracefully slain his knight, sir Robert Tresilian? and they will treat the rest in the same manner the very instant they can lay hands on them: I therefore advise, that the king use rigorous measures. It is well known throughout England that he is king; that he was educated by our late valiant and good king Edward, at Westminster, who made all his subjects, great and small, swear obedience to him as their king, after his decease, which oath the king's uncles also took. It appears to many, if they dare speak out, that he is not now considered as king, nor does he keep the state or manner of a king; for he is not suffered to act as he pleases: they have only allowed him and his queen a pension, and plainly show them, that they have not sense to govern the realm, and that their whole council is made up of traitors and evil-designing men. I say, therefore, that such conduct is not longer to be borne; and I would rather die than remain in such a state of danger, and see the king thus treated, and ruled as he is by his uncles." The king interrupted him by saying,—"What is now doing does not please us; and I tell you, that the advice you have given seems to me both honourable and good for us and for our realm." The conference now broke up; but not before the duke of Ireland was ordered, as king's lieutenant, to march, with all the force he could collect, towards London, to try the courage of the citizens, and see if, by negociation and the greatest promises on the part of the king, he could not turn them to his faction. It was not long before the duke, with fifteen thousand men, left Bristol on his march to Oxford, where they quartered themselves, and in the country round about. They bore banners and pennons with only the arms of England, for the king would have it known it was his personal quarrel.

News was carried to the dukes of York and Gloucester, that the duke of Ireland was on his march to London with fifteen thousand men; that they were already at Oxford, and that he bore the king's own banners. It was time for them to consider how to act: they summoned all the principal leaders in London for wealth or power to a conference at Westminster, wherein they told them how the duke of Ireland was marching against them with a large force. The citizens, like persons prepared to obey the will of the king's uncles, for they were in truth all so inclined, replied,—"Be it so, in God's name: if the duke of Ireland demand battle from us, he shall have it. We will not shut a gate for his fifteen thousand men: no, nor for twenty thousand, if he had them." The dukes were much contented with this answer, and instantly employed numbers of persons to assemble knights and squires from all parts, and archers from the principal towns. Those whom the dukes had summoned obeyed, as was just, for they had sworn so to do. Men came from the counties of Norwich, Kent, Southampton, from Arundel, Salisbury and the country round London. Many knights and squires came thither also, without knowing whither they were to be sent or conducted.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—THE DUKE OF IRELAND SENDS THREE KNIGHTS TO LONDON TO LEARN INTELLIGENCE.—THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER TAKE THE FIELD AGAINST THE DUKE OF IRELAND AND HIS ARMY.

I WILL now say something of the duke of Ireland, who had fixed his quarters at Oxford. He had indeed fifteen thousand men, but the greater part had joined him more through constraint than good-will. The duke, to sound the Londoners, resolved to send thither sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Peter Gouloufre, and sir Michael de la Pole: they were to enter the town by the Thames, and to hoist the king's flag, and observe how the citizens, on seeing it, would act. These three knights, in compliance with the duke's orders, left Oxford with only thirty horse, and rode secretly to Windsor, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they crossed the Thames at the bridge of Staines, and dined in the king's palace at Shene*, where they remained until late in the evening, when they departed and rode for another of the king's palaces at Kensington, nearer London, three leagues distant, where they left their horses, and, having entered boats, took advantage of the tide, and passed through London-bridge unobserved, for the watch had not any suspicions of their arrival. They entered the Tower of London, and found the governor whom the king had appointed. From him they learnt many things relative to the king's uncles, and what was passing in London. He told them, they had run great risks in coming to him. "How so?" said they. "We are knights attached to the king's person, and may surely lodge ourselves in any of his castles." "You will not find things so," answered the governor; "for though this town and all within it are willing to submit themselves to the obedience of the king, they will only do so as long as he will allow himself to be governed by his uncles, and no longer. What I tell you is for your welfare; and I am bound to advise you, as far as my abilities and understanding will enable me; for I suspect that when day shall return to-morrow, if it please God, and news get abroad that there are arrived in the Tower persons on the part of the king, you will see this castle besieged by the citizens on all sides, who will not depart until they have gained admittance and have seen who are here lodged. Should they find you, they will carry you to the king's uncles, and you may guess what will be the result. I am satisfied they are so much enraged against the duke of Ireland, and the other advisers of the king, that if once they lay hold of you, you will never escape with life. Consider well what I have said, for it is all true."

The three knights, who thought they should do wonders, were in despair at what they heard: they held a council, and determined to remain where they were until the morrow, but in so secret a manner that none should know of their arrival. The governor loyally promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and, in their presence, took possession of all the keys that gave admittance. When day came, the three knights held another council, on their future proceedings; and, having well considered their situation, they were afraid of waiting until it should be known they were in the Tower, for they were convinced they would be shut up in it; so that when it was dark, and the tide flowing, they embarked in a large boat, and left the Tower, without having dared to display the king's banners. They slept that night at Kensington, and on the morrow, at day-break, mounted their horses and rode by Chertsey to Windsor, where they dined and lay. The next day they arrived at Oxford, where was the duke of Ireland and his army: they told all that had passed, which you have heard; and that, although they were received into the Tower of London, they dared not abide there. The duke was mightily cast down on hearing this, and knew not what to say, nor how to act; for he was already sensible that the force he had assembled were not all of the same way of thinking, nor well affected to his cause: not knowing whether to stay where he was or return to the king, he called a council of his knights. The council determined, that since the king had appointed him lieutenant-general, to punish all who were in rebellion, he must keep the field; for, should he act otherwise, he would be greatly blamed, incur the indignation of the king, and prove clearly that he did not think the cause just or good; and that it would be better to risk the event, and die with honour,

* Richmond.

than show any want of courage. He was advised to inform the king of his situation, and to be thankful he was able to keep his ground without any opposition, for none had hitherto advanced to meet him. The duke sent messengers from Oxford to the king, to signify his situation, and to entreat he would send him more men, which he did.

When the dukes of York and Gloucester heard at London, that the duke of Ireland was at Oxford with a powerful army, they called a council to consider how to act. All the chief lords of their party were present, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many other great barons, with the whole magistracy of London. It was there resolved, (for the duke of Gloucester would have it so,) instantly to prepare and take the field, and that the mayor of London should arm by constablewicks, all such as he might think capable of assisting them; for he declared he would march to meet the duke of Ireland, and fight with him wherever he should find him. The mayor of London was himself a soldier, and he only selected his men from those between twenty and forty years of age; and the lords above mentioned had at least one thousand men at arms retainers on them. This army marched from London, and lodged at Brentford and the adjoining villages; on the next day at Colebrook, their force increasing all the way. They followed the road to Reading, to gain a passage over the Thames; for the bridges of Staines and Windsor had, by command of the duke of Ireland, been broken down, by which they had a better and more level country for their march. The duke of Ireland, hearing they were fast approaching Oxford, was much alarmed, and demanded counsel. He was advised to draw up his army in battle-array, with the king's banners displayed in front; and if it pleased God, the day would be his, for he had a good cause. This plan was followed: the trumpets sounded to arm, and march out of Oxford, which was done, and the army drawn up with the king's banners displayed. The day was delightful, and the weather clear and pleasant.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE KING'S UNCLES GAIN A VICTORY OVER THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO SAVES HIMSELF BY FLIGHT WITH OTHERS OF HIS ARMY.

News was brought to the duke of Gloucester, who was encamped in a handsome mead along a river that falls into the Thames, three leagues from Oxford, that the duke of Ireland had taken the field, and had drawn up his force in order of battle. The duke was well pleased with this intelligence, and said he would offer him combat, but they must cross the Thames. The trumpets sounded to dislodge, and the army was formed as if for immediate battle. They were within two leagues of the enemy, lying in ambush, until they could cross the river. The duke of Gloucester sent scouts to have the fords examined, who brought word the river had not, for thirty years, been so low as it then was. The scouts after this easily crossed, and advanced to observe the position and countenance of the enemy

On their return, they said to the duke,—"My lord, God and the river are for you: it is so low, it does not reach the bellies of our horses. We have seen the army of the duke of Ireland, which is well and handsomely drawn up. We know not if the king be there in person, but his banners are; and we could not perceive any other banner than those of the king, emblazoned with the arms of England and France." The duke replied,—"God assist us! my brother and self have a right to those arms. Let us advance, in the name of God and St. George; for I will have a nearer look at them." His men began their march, and in higher spirits, on knowing the river was so easy to be crossed. The horse passed first, and then the main body. When the duke of Ireland was told that the king's uncles had passed the Thames with their army, and that shortly there must be a battle, he was much frightened; for he well knew, that if he were taken by the duke of Gloucester, he would not accept of any sum for his ransom, but put him instantly to a disgraceful death. He called, therefore, sir Peter Gouloufre and sir Michael de la Pole, and said to them,—"My courage certainly faileth me this day; for I dare not abide the event of a battle with the king's uncles, who, if they take me, will put me to a shameful death. How the devil could they have crossed the Thames? This is a bad omen for us." "What do you intend to do?" asked the two

knights. "I mean to save myself: do you the same," added the duke, "and the whole army, if it can." "Well," replied the knights, "let us keep on one of the wings, and we shall have two cords to our bow. We shall see how our men behave: if they do well, we will remain, for the honour of the king who has sent us hither: if they be defeated, we can make off, and have the advantage of going whithersoever we like."

This plan was adopted; and the duke changed his horse for a very active one, as did also the knights. They rode round the army, showing a good countenance, and telling the men to behave well: that they should have the day, if it pleased God and St. George, for they had the right; and the quarrel was the king's, which was to their advantage. Thus dissembling, they got out of the crowd, and, making for a corner of the army, formed part of a wing. They had scarcely done so, when the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the other lords, were seen advancing, with banners displayed, and trumpets sounding. The king's army no sooner perceived their array than they were panic-struck, quitted their ranks, and turned their backs; for it was the general report that the duke of Ireland and his friends had fled. All was now in disorder, every one running away for the fastest, without making the smallest defence. The duke and his knights were soon at a distance, for they were not desirous of returning to Oxford.

The duke of Gloucester, on seeing the condition of the king's army, felt compassion, and would not do the ill he might; for he knew the greater part had been assembled through fear, or by the excitement of the duke of Ireland. He therefore said to his men,—"Sirs, the day is ours; but I forbid, under pain of death, that any of our enemies be slain, unless he make a defence. If you find knights or squires, take them, and bring them to me." This order was obeyed: few were killed, except in their flight, by riding over or against each other. Sir John, called the Little Beauchamp, and sir John Salisbury, were made prisoners in the pursuit, and brought to the duke of Gloucester, to his great pleasure. The lords marched to Oxford, where they found the gates open; and those who could do so lodged themselves there, though much straitened. When the duke of Gloucester inquired if the duke of Ireland were taken, he was told that he had escaped. The duke remained two days at Oxford, when he gave liberty for the men at arms to return to their homes, after having thanked them for their services. He told the mayor of London and the leaders of the bands, that they might now return to London, which they cheerfully did; and thus this expedition ended.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WITH SOME OF HIS COMPANIONS, ESCAPES INTO HOLLAND.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IS SENT BY THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER TO TREAT WITH THE KING.—HE CONDUCTS HIM WITH HONOUR TO LONDON.

I will now say what became of the duke of Ireland, sir Peter Gouloufre, and sir Michael de la Pole, on the day on which they had, like their army, saved themselves by flight. In truth, this was wisely done; for, had they been taken, they would have been put to death without mercy. I do not believe they fled to the king at Bristol: if they did, they made no long stay, but hastened out of England as quickly as they could. I heard that they rode through Carlisle to Edinburgh, where they embarked on board a vessel bound for Holland and the Texel, and landed at Dordrecht. They were much rejoiced at thus being in a place of safety; and it was told me, that the duke of Ireland had, for a long time before, made large deposits of money at Bruges, by means of the Lombards, to be prepared for every event; for, though he knew his power over the king of England, he was much afraid of the nobles and the people. During his prosperity he had made very ample provision of money in Flanders and in other places, where he thought he might need it. I heard, also, that the first payment of sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, was waiting his orders, and the time was nearly elapsed for the receipt of the other sixty thousand francs. He had, therefore, provided himself with money for a long time.

When duke Albert of Bavaria, who was regent of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, for his brother, count William, then alive, was informed that the duke of Ireland had fled from

England, and had taken up his residence at Dordrecht, he mused awhile, and thought it improper he should make any long stay there. He had quitted England as a fugitive, and was in the ill-favour of his cousins-german, the dukes of York and Gloucester, to whom he owed love and affection: he had, beside, behaved shamefully to his duchess, who was the daughter of his cousin, the princess Isabella of England. In consequence, he sent to tell the duke, that since he had displeased his fair cousins of England, and had broken his marriage to connect himself with another woman, he must instantly leave his country and seek other quarters; for he would never suffer the duke of Ireland to inhabit any town of his. When he received this order, he was much alarmed lest he should be arrested and given up to his enemies, and humbled himself exceedingly to those who brought the order, saying he would cheerfully obey the duke's commands. He instantly directed all his accounts to be settled and paid, and embarked on board a vessel, with attendants, for Utrecht, which is a town solely dependent on its bishop, where he arrived, and tarried there until other intelligence was brought him. We will now leave him, and return to the affairs of England.

When the army of the barons had been disbanded at Oxford, I know not if the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the archbishop of Canterbury, did not remain there some days longer; during which time the two knights, sir John Salisbury and the little Beauchamp, were beheaded. After this execution they returned to London, where they stayed some time, expecting to hear from the king; but all they learnt was that he continued in Bristol. It was determined in council, at Westminster, through the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, to send a deputation from the chief barons to the king, to remonstrate with him, in an amicable manner, on his opposition to the principal persons of his kingdom, who were naturally bound to guard his honour, and for having placed his confidence in a set of minions; which conduct had nearly lost him his crown. While this was going forward in the council, sir Nicholas Bramber had been taken in Wales, and brought to London. The king's uncles were rejoiced at this, and said they should not let him wait long, but that he should suffer a similar death to his friends. Sir Nicholas, unable to offer anything to prevent his execution, was led to the usual place, without the town, and there beheaded. He was lamented by some of the citizens, for he had, in former times, been their mayor, and had, during that time, well and honestly governed the city. He had also been of essential service to the king at the time of the peasants' rebellion, by slaying, with his own hand, Lister; which dismayed the insurgents greatly, and put them to flight; and for this the king had created him a knight. He was beheaded like the others, for having too readily put his faith in the duke of Ireland.

The king's uncles, seeing that now all those of the king's council whom they hated were either dead or had quitted the country, thought it time to put the government on a stable footing; for, notwithstanding they had put to death, or banished, all who were obnoxious to them, they never intended to deprive the king of his crown, but only to reform and regulate his government more to his own and country's honour. They therefore said to the archbishop of Canterbury,—"You will go with your state to Bristol, where you will find the king, and remonstrate with him on the affairs of his realm, and the condition they are now in: recommend us to him, and say, that we entreat he will not put any belief in what he may hear to our discredit: for he has too long done so, against his own honour and profit, as well as to the hurt of the kingdom. You will likewise say, that we and the good city of London beg he will return hither, where he will be received with the utmost joy; and we will agree to his having the nomination of his council in any way most agreeable to him. We charge you, however, archbishop, on no account to return without him, for those who are now attached to him will be made discontented. Tell him, also, not to be angered for such traitors as were near his person, who may have been slain or driven out of the kingdom, for by them his crown was in danger of being lost."

The archbishop promised to accomplish the matter as well as he was able, and, having soon made his preparations, set out for Bristol in grand array, such as became so reverend a prelate, and fixed his lodgings in the town. The king lived very privately, for all those who used to be with him were either dead or banished, as you have heard. The archbishop

was one whole day and two nights in the town before the king would see him, so sorely vexed was he with his uncles for having driven away the duke of Ireland, whom he loved above all mankind, and for having put to death his chamberlains and knights. At length, he was so well advised that he admitted the archbishop to his presence. On his entrance, he humbled himself much before the king, and then addressed him warmly on the subjects the dukes of York and Gloucester had charged him with. He gave him to understand, that if he did not return to London, according to the entreaties of his uncles, the citizens of London, and the greater part of his subjects, he would make them very discontented; and he remonstrated, that without the aid of his uncles, barons, prelates, knights, and commons, from the chief towns, he would be unable to act, or to have any compliance given to his will. This he had been charged to tell him, and likewise that he could not more rejoice his enemies, nor more effectually hurt his country, than by making war on his friends. The young king was inclined to listen to the arguments of the archbishop; but the insult that had been offered him, by beheading those of his council in whom he had no fault to find, was too fresh in his memory for him instantly to comply. Many plans were proposed to him: at last, by the good advice of the queen, and of the most prudent of his counsellors, who had remained with him, such as sir Richard Stenor and others, he restrained his choler, and said to the archbishop, that he would cheerfully accompany him to London. My lord of Canterbury was highly pleased on hearing this; and he gained much honour by having brought matters to so happy a conclusion. The king did not remain at Bristol long after this, but, leaving there his queen, set out with his retinue towards London, the archbishop accompanying him. On his arrival at Windsor, he stopped three whole days.

When news was brought to London that the archbishop of Canterbury had so far succeeded in his mission, that the king was on his return to the city, the whole town was rejoiced; and they determined to go out to meet and conduct him, in the most honourable manner, to his palace. The day on which he left Windsor, the whole road from London to Brentford was covered with people on foot and horseback. The dukes of York and Gloucester, and prince John of York, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many barons and prelates, went, in great state, to conduct the king. They met him within two miles from Brentford, and received him most affectionately, as good subjects should their lord. The king, who had their late proceedings still rankling in his heart, scarcely stopped when he met them, nor cast his eyes towards them. The person he talked the most to on his road was the bishop of London. On their arrival in Westminster, the king dismounted at his palace, which had been prepared for him. He there partook of wines and spices, as did his uncles, the barons, prelates, and knights, who were entitled to the honour. Several of them now took leave, and those who resided in London went home, but the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole of the council, remained to keep him company, to be on better terms together, and to consult on the affairs of the nation, for they had formed their plans, and were lodged, some in the palace, and others in the abbey.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—THE KING, BY THE ADVICE OF HIS UNCLES AND COUNCIL, SUMMONS THE NOBILITY AND COMMONERS OF THE REALM TO A PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, AND TO RENEW THEIR HOMAGE TO HIM

A SPECIAL parliament being ordered to meet at Westminster, all the barons, prelates, knights, and chief citizens from the principal towns, were summoned to attend, and all who held fiefs from the king. The reason for this parliament being made so general, was, that the archbishop of Canterbury had remonstrated in the council, and to the king's uncles, that when they had crowned king Richard, though all who held fiefs under him had made their homage, and held their lands accordingly, he was not of a proper age legally to receive their oaths. A king by right must be twenty-one years of age before he can justly govern the kingdom, and, until that time, should be under the tutelage of his uncles, if he have any, or under those of his subjects the nearest related to him. The archbishop added, that as now the king was of the proper age, he advised, for greater security, all who held any lands

under him should renew their homage, and acknowledge him for their lord. This opinion of the archbishop was acceded to by the king's uncles, and was the cause of so general a summons being sent abroad for all persons to attend this parliament. Every one having obeyed, London and Westminster were much crowded.

On the day appointed, the king heard mass royally clothed, with the crown on his head, in the chapel of the palace *, which is very handsome and richly decorated. The archbishop of Canterbury said mass, and performed divine service. He was attentively heard, for he was an excellent preacher. When the service was over, the king's uncles kissed him, in sign of homage, and swore faith and duty to him for ever. Then came the barons, prelates, and all who held anything under him, and with joined hands, as was becoming vassals, swore faith and loyalty, and kissed him on the mouth. It was visible that the king kissed some heartily, others not; for, though he checked himself as much as possible, all were not in his good graces; but he dissembled, for he wished not to act contrary to his uncles. If he had possessed the power, he would not have behaved thus, but have wreaked a cruel revenge on those who had, as he thought, so undeservedly put to death sir Simon Burley and his other knights.

The archbishop of York was summoned by the council to attend to do his homage, and purge himself from the things that had been laid to his charge; for he had always been a partisan of the duke of Ireland, and in opposition to the king's uncles. When he received this summons, knowing he was not beloved by the dukes of York or Gloucester, he was fearful of the event, and therefore sent his nephew, the son of lord Neville, to make his excuses. He instantly set out for London, and, on his arrival waited on the king first, to whom he made excuses for his uncle, and performed, as proxy, the homage of the archbishop. The king received his excuses, for he loved this archbishop more than that of Canterbury, and bore him out before the council, otherwise he would have been heavily fined: through attention to the king the council admitted his excuses, and he was suffered to remain in his diocese. For a long time, however, he was afraid to reside at York, but lived at Newcastle on Tyne, near the castles of his brother Neville and cousins. Thus were affairs in England; but the king had not for some time the command of his council, which was under the controul of his uncles, and the barons and prelates before named. We will now return to what was going forward in Castille and Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL AND DUKE OF LANCASTER UNITE THEIR FORCES.—WHEN DISTRESSED TO CROSS THE RIVER DUERO, A GALICIAN SQUIRE, PRISONER OF WAR, DIRECTS THEM TO A FORD.

It is right, since the matter requires it, that I now say something of the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and how he persevered in it this season in Galicia. I will continue it from where I left off, as I have a great desire to complete its history.

When the duke and his army had conquered the town and castle of Orense, they halted there four days to refresh themselves, as there were plenty of provisions. On the fifth day, they departed, taking the road to Noya. They quartered themselves, for four days, in a large meadow along the river-side; but the ground was already burnt up by the great heat of the sun, and the water was so bad that the horses would scarcely drink it: many that did so died. Orders were given to dislodge and return to Orense: for the marshals, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir Richard Burley, had declared the castle of Noya to be impregnable but by a long siege, with great expense of money, and many assaults. The duke of Lancaster, likewise, when there, received intelligence of the approach of the king of Portugal and his army, consisting of three thousand spears and ten thousand serviceable men: so that, when the two armies should be united, something essential might be done; for the duke had with him fifteen hundred knights and squires, and six thousand archers. This intelligence greatly

* This chapel was afterwards converted into the house of commons, and continued to be used as such till its destruction by fire in 1834. When it was enlarged for the admission of the members from Ireland on the union, many of the paintings and other ornaments were discovered, and have been engraven and published.

pleased the duke; he decamped from before Noya, where he had done nothing, and returned to Orense. He sent for his duchess and ladies, declaring he would there wait the arrival of the king of Portugal.

The king of Portugal and his marshals, having taken possession of Ferrol, marched for Orense to meet the duke of Lancaster. On their road, they came to Ville-de-Padron, which at first showed symptoms of rebellion, but, when the army appeared, they submitted. The king and his army remained in the town and adjoining country fifteen days, and greatly wasted its provisions, notwithstanding a sufficiency came to them from Portugal. Galicia was ruined by these two armies; and the weather was now become so exceedingly hot, that none could venture abroad, after eight o'clock in the morning, without risk of death. While the duke and duchess of Lancaster remained in Orense, their men and horses were suffering greatly for want of forage and water: there were neither fresh grass nor green food, for the ground was too parched for any seeds to spring. The whole country was burnt up; and the English were forced to send their foragers twelve, sixteen, nay twenty leagues, for food for themselves and horses. Consider what their difficulties must have been. The knights and squires of England found the wines so strong and ardent, that they affected their heads, stomachs, and bowels, and they had not any remedy; for there was a great scarcity of good water to temper them with, or to cool them. Their food was contrary to what they had always been accustomed to; for in their own country they live at their ease, whilst now they were burnt with external and internal heat. The greatest lords were in the utmost poverty and distress; and such effects as were natural, followed, which I shall relate to you.

The English knights and squires, seeing their difficulties increase, from the scarcity of forage and the extreme heat of the weather, began to murmur and say, "Our expedition seems drawing to a poor end; for we remain too long in one place." "That is true," replied others: "and we have another thing much against us; we have brought women, who only wish to remain quiet; and for one day that they are inclined to travel, they will repose fifteen. It is this which has checked us, and will be our destruction; for if, on our landing at Corunna, we had advanced into the country, we should have succeeded in putting it under our obedience, for none would have dared to oppose us; but these long residences have encouraged our enemies, who have strengthened their strong places, and reinforced their towns and castles with men-at-arms from France; and have also posted them in the narrow passes, and along the rivers, to guard and defend them. They will defeat us without a battle; for they know it would be more to their advantage to decline it. This kingdom of Castille is not so pleasant a country to make war in as France, where there are plenty of large villages, a fair country, fine rivers, ponds, rich pastures, and agreeable and substantial wines for men-at-arms to refresh themselves with, and a sun and climate finely temperate; but here every thing is the reverse." "What the deuce," said others, "what business had the duke to bring his wife and daughters with him, since he came hither for conquest? It was quite unreasonable, for they have been a great hindrance to him. It is well known throughout all Castille, that he and his brother are the lawful heirs of the crown, in right of their wives, who were daughters of don Pedro; but, with regard to the conquest or the surrender of any towns, ladies can do but little." This was the language held in different parts of the English army, by many knights and squires when among themselves. They were much rejoiced on learning that the king of Portugal was near at hand; and when he was within two miles of the town, the duke of Lancaster and his knights mounted their horses, and went forth to meet him. There was much apparent joy, and the king and the duke, as well as the English and Portuguese knights, testified great pleasure at meeting. The army of Portugal was behind, under the command of six great barons of that country, namely, Ponasse d'Acunha, Vasco Martin de Merlo, the Posdich Dosnedegousse, Salvase de Merlo, sir Alleyne Pereira, marshal, and Joao Rodriguez de Sa. Several barons were with the king, whose escort was but three hundred spears. On their arrival at Orense, the king was lodged becoming his state, and much at his ease, and the place was full of horses. The king, duke, and lords, were five days in council, and determined to make an excursion, with the united armies, towards Medina del Campo and Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, and the largest garrison of Frenchmen, were stationed. They were

puzzled how to cross the Duero, which at times is dangerous, and more so in the summer, from the melting of the snows on the mountains, than in the winter, when it is frozen, like all other small streams. Notwithstanding this difficulty, they resolved to march for Campo, in the hopes of finding a ford; and orders were issued to the armies to this effect. They were well pleased to receive them, for they had suffered very severely at Orense, and in those parts; and many had been carried off by sickness.

The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster left Orense together; but their armies were separated, because they were not acquainted, nor understood each other's language, and likewise to prevent any disputes or riots that might fall out between them; for the Portuguese are passionate, overbearing, and not easily pacified, and the English are spiteful and proud. The constables and marshals of each army, when they sent out parties to forage, ordered them to take separate routes. These armies, which were sufficient to combat what force the king of Castille and his allies could bring to the field, continued their march until they came to the river Duero. This was not easy to pass; for it is deep, with high banks, and full of broken rocks, except at certain bridges, which had either been destroyed, or so strongly fortified and guarded, it was not possible to attempt them with hopes of success. While they were considering how they could cross it, it chanced that sir John Holland, the constable, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir Richard Burley, the marshals, or their foragers, during an excursion, fell in with a squire of Galicia, called Domingo Vargas, who was riding through the country, having passed the river: he knew that all the bridges were broken down, but he was acquainted with a ford that could easily be passed on horseback or on foot; and when he saw the enemy, he had turned back, and was riding for this ford. He was made prisoner, and brought to these lords, who examined him as to a ford; and the constable told him, that if he would show them a safe one, for he had heard there were such, he would not only give him his liberty, but make him a handsome present beside. The squire was not well advised, and too eager to gain his liberty and the constable's gift; he therefore said, that he would show them a place where the whole army might cross in safety. The constable and marshals were so joyful on hearing this, that they sent to acquaint the duke with the good news. The armies followed the vanguard of the constable, which had arrived at the ford. The squire entered the river as their guide; and when they saw there was not any danger, all passed in the best manner they could.

The van, having crossed, halted on the bank to guide the main army over. Sir John Holland kept his promise with the Galician squire, by giving him his liberty and a present; and he instantly set off for Medina del Campo, where the king of Castile then was. It is a handsome and strong city in that country. The duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal rode in company, and came to this ford, which is called Place-ferrade, where the gravel is sound and firm. They crossed without difficulty, as did their armies: the rear division crossed on the morrow, and they all encamped themselves on its banks. News was soon carried to Roales Castroreris, Medina del Campo, Vilalpando, Saliagan, and to the other towns and castles in Castille, that the English had passed the Duero, having discovered a ford. They were much surprised, and said they must have been shown it through treachery; for, if it had not been made known by some of the natives, they would never have found it out. There is nothing but what sooner or later is discovered, by servants or otherwise. The lords attached to the king of Castille learnt that Domingo Vargas had pointed out to them this ford; he was instantly arrested, and having acknowledged what he had done, was condemned to death. He was carried to Vilalpando, and there beheaded.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC ADVISE THE KING OF CASTILLE NOT TO RISK A BATTLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—A PARTY OF THE ENGLISH SKIRMISH WITH THE GARRISON OF VILALPANDO.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS DISPIRITED BY HIS OWN ILL HEALTH AND THE GREAT SICKNESS OF HIS ARMY.

The king of Castille, on hearing that the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster were fast approaching with so great a force, was much alarmed, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he said,—"I am exceedingly surprised that the duke of Bourbon is not arrived. Our enemies have taken the field, and, if no one oppose them, will destroy my whole country. My subjects are very discontented that we do not offer them combat. Tell me, my fair sirs, how I had best act." These two lords, who, from great experience, knew more of arms than the king, and for this had they been sent from France to Castille, replied,—"Sir king, depend upon it, the duke of Bourbon will come. On his arrival, we will consider what is to be done; but, until then, do not make any preparations to meet your enemies. Let them make what excursions they please: they keep the field, and we the towns and castles, which are well provided with everything, and garrisoned by good men at arms. They are suffering from the heat of the sun and weather, while we enjoy the shade and refreshing breezes. They have found the country wasted, and the further they advance they will have so much the greater scarcity of forage. It was for the chance of their entering your country, that all the small forts have been demolished, wherein the farmers intended placing their wealth. This was, sir king, wisely done; for they would by their means have been enabled to keep possession of those parts where they now are; but at present they can find nothing but what they have brought with them, except the great heat of a burning sun, which you may be assured must soon destroy them. Though all your towns and castles are well provided and garrisoned, we can believe that some may be attacked and won, for that is the delight of men at arms. In such way they love to pass their time, and for this do they seek adventures through the world. Do not, therefore, be any way cast down; for in this business, we engage, you shall not suffer any great loss." This speech greatly comforted the king of Castille, and he was well pleased with them, for he felt that what they had said was truth.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who, though they kept the field, would have willingly gained some town to refresh themselves; for the foragers could not find anything, and were forced to unite in large bodies for fear of ambuscades. They were so hard pressed, that when, in their excursions, they saw at a distance a large village, they were rejoiced, and cried out, "Come quick: let us hasten to that village, where we shall find enough to forage and to enrich ourselves." They hastened their march; but when they arrived, they found only the bare walls: there were neither inhabitants, nor even a dog, nor fowl, so completely had the French ruined this part of the country. They thus lost their time and expectations, and returned to their lords empty-handed. Their horses were in sorry condition from the want of proper food, and they were fortunate whenever they could meet with any green pastures. Some were so feeble they could not advance, and dropt dead on the road, through famine and heat. Their masters were not in a much better condition, from fevers caused by the oppressive heat in the day, and the chill of the nights, without having anything proper to refresh or recover themselves. Thus was it in the duke's army; for the English have a weaker constitution than the Portuguese, who bore all these difficulties without hurt, being hardy and accustomed to the climate of Castille. In this melancholy state were the English: many died of their disorders, more especially such as were not well attended, and had not wherewithal to provide proper remedies.

Sir Richard Burley, sir Thomas Percy, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry and William de Soumain, with two hundred lances of such as were desirous to seek renown, mounted the best horses in the army, with the intent to surprise the French garrison in Vilalpando. They had heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, had with him there, in garrison, some of the ablest knights of France.

They left the army one morning, after drinking a cup, equipped like foragers, and came to a small brook that runs below Vilalpando, which they crossed by spurring their horses over it. The alarm was soon spread through the town, that the English were at the barriers. You would have seen, had you been there when this was known, knights arming themselves hastily, and advancing towards the lodgings of the constable, servants saddling horses and hurrying with them to their masters. Sir Oliver du Guesclin would have restrained his companions from sallying forth to meet the English, had he been able; but their courage was too impetuous, so out they sallied, gallantly mounted on horses that had been inactive and well fed. Among the first were, sir John des Barres, the viscount de Besliere, sir Robert and sir John de Braquemont, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Tristan de la Jaille.

When the English had made their course before the town, they repassed the brook in the same manner as before, and retreated to a large sand bank, when they drew up in handsome array, about three bow-shots distant from the brook. The French knights advanced, shouting their cries, with their spears in their rests; and, when near, the English being prepared, stuck spurs into their horses to meet them. The shock was very great; and several of each side were unhorsed on the sand. This would not have ended so speedily, and other weapons would have been resorted to when the lances failed; but the dust, from the movements of the horses, was so great and disagreeable, they could not know each other; their horses were covered with dust as well as themselves; and it was in such clouds that they could not breathe without swallowing large mouthfuls. This caused the attack to cease, and the French and English to withdraw from the combat: the first returned to Vilalpando. There was not any one slain, nor much hurt, on either side. The English knights went not more than one league beyond Vilalpando before they returned to their army, when they disarmed themselves; for they were seized with fevers and other disorders, which brought them to death's door.

The duke of Lancaster was greatly dispirited, and knew not how to act; for he saw his army daily wasting away, and was grieved to find that the greater and better part were confined to their beds. He himself was so unwell, that if he had not been afraid to dishearten his men, he would gladly have kept his chamber. He addressed himself to the king of Portugal, and desired him to say what, in the present circumstances, should be done; for he was much alarmed at this mortality in his army. The king replied; "That, from appearances, it did not seem probable the Castillians would offer them combat at this season; for they showed more inclination that they should waste themselves and their provision." "How then would you advise me to act?" asked the duke. "I will tell you," answered the king: "as the weather is now so exceedingly hot, I would advise that you march your army into Galicia, and give your men permission to recruit themselves wherever they please; but to return prepared to recommence the campaign in March or April. Endeavour to procure large reinforcements from England, under the command of one of your brothers, and provision in plenty for the winter season. A kingdom is not soon conquered, nor a climate instantly rendered agreeable to the constitutions of strangers. Your army will be quartered in the different towns now under your obedience, and will pass their time as well as they can."

"This may be right," said the duke; "but the consequences will be, that as soon as our enemies shall know we have separated, and are acquainted that you are retired to Portugal with your army, and I with mine to St. Jago or Corunna, they will take the field; for I have heard that the king of Castille has four thousand lances, French and Bretons, and he will collect as many, or more, in his own country. Add to this, that the duke of Bourbon is on his march with two thousand men at arms, and will be eager to signalize himself on his arrival. Now, consider, should all this force enter Galicia, what is there to oppose it? Before we can collect our men and form a junction, they will have done us considerable damage." "Well, then," replied the king of Portugal, "in the name of God, let us keep the field: my men are fresh and unhurt, and equally willing with myself to abide the event." The conference now broke up; and it was resolved they would wait the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, to see if, when he had joined the Castillians, they would offer them battle. The English and Portuguese desired nothing more eagerly; for the season was passing, and the heat increasing: it was about St. John's day, when the sun is at its height, and intolerably

hot, especially in Castille, Granada, and countries far to the south There had not fallen any rain or dew since the beginning of April, so that the whole country was burnt up. The English ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and, to quench their thirst, drank of the strong wines of Castille and Portugal: but the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs, and bowels, and was in its effect totally different from their usual liquors. The English, when at home, feed on fresh meats and good rich ale, which is a diet to keep their bodies wholesome; but now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not sparing, to drown their cares. The early part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but, toward sun-rise, it is very cold, which afflicted them sorely; for they slept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and the wine, so that when morning came they were chilled by the change of air, which checked all perspiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, so as to carry them off instantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for these disorders spared none.

CHAPTER XC.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY.—THREE ENGLISH KNIGHTS, HAVING OBTAINED PASSPORTS, WAIT ON THE KING OF CASTILLE, TO NEGOTIATE A RETREAT FOR THE MEN AT ARMS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.

Good or evil fortune depends upon a trifle. You may readily believe that the duke of Lancaster, having gained a footing in Castille, would never have lost, by any defeat in battle, such numbers as he was now daily doing by sickness. He himself was almost dead of the pestilence I have mentioned. Sir John Holland, constable of the army, saw, with great concern, the miserable situation it was in from this disorder, from which scarcely one escaped; and was forced daily to hear the complaints of high and low, in such terms as these,—"Ah, my lord of Lancaster, why have you brought us to Castille? Accursed be the expedition. He does not, probably, wish that any Englishman should ever again quit his country to serve him. He seems resolved to kick against the pricks. He will have his men guard the country he has conquered; but when they shall all be dead, who will then guard it? He shows but poor knowledge of war; for, when he saw that no one came to oppose him, why did he not make an opportune retreat into Portugal or elsewhere, to avoid the losses he must now suffer? for we shall all die of the confounded disorder, and without having struck a blow." Sir John Holland was much hurt on hearing such language, for the honour of the duke, whose daughter he had married; and, as it was increasing, he determined to remonstrate with him on their situation, which he could, from his connexion, more freely do than any other. He therefore addressed him,—"My lord, you must immediately alter your plans, for your army is wholly laid up with sickness. If any attack should be now made on you, you could not draw any service from it; for the men are all worn down and discontented, and their horses dead. But high and low are so discouraged by this disorder, that I repeat, you must not expect any service from them." "What can I do?" replied the duke: "I wish to have such advice as is reasonable." "My lord," said sir John Holland, "I think you had best give permission for your men to retire whithersoever they please; and I would advise that you yourself go to Portugal, or return to Galicia, for you are not in a state to undergo hardships." "That is well considered," answered the duke: "I consent to what you propose; and you may give our men notice, that I permit them to go into Castille, France, or wherever else they may choose, so they enter not into any treaty with our enemies; for I clearly see this campaign is over. Let them be fully paid for their services as far as our treasury can go, and also for the expenses of their journey, and then make our chancellor deliver them their discharge."

The constable replied, that he would see this done. He ordered the intentions of the duke to be signified throughout the army by sound of trumpet, and gave notice to the captains to come to him with their accounts, when they would be settled and paid, to their satisfaction. This order was agreeable to all, particularly to those who hoped change of air would restore them to health. The barons and knights held a council how they were to return to

England: by sea it was impossible, for they had no vessels, and were at a distance from any seaport. They were, besides, so emaciated and weak, from the fevers and fluxes, that they would have been unable to bear a sea voyage. Having considered the matter well, they found they had no other choice than through France; but some said—"How can we go thither? we have enemies in all the countries we must pass. First, there is Castille: we are now carrying on a destructive war against it: then Navarre and Arragon. These two kingdoms are allied, the one to Castille, and the other to France. Arragon has already showed its spite, for the séneschal of Bordeaux informs us, that since our arrival in this country, he has thrown the archbishop of Bordeaux into prison at Barcelona, who had gone thither to demand from the king the arrears that are due to England. Should we send to ask passports from France, the journey would take up too much time; and, when our messenger should be arrived, we have little hopes that the king, who is young, or his council, would grant them; for the constable of France, sir Oliver de Clisson, hates us mortally, and this is increased by his imagining his enemy, the duke of Brittany, intends turning to England. Others, who were farther sighted, and of more sense, said,—"Let all doubts be laid aside. The best thing we can do is to try the king of Castille, who may perhaps not only allow us to pass peaceably through his country, but also obtain for us the same permission from Arragon, France, and Navarre."

This measure was adopted, and a herald, called Derby, sent for, to whom were given letters addressed to the king of Castille. The herald set off, and followed the road to Medina del Campo, where the king then resided. When in his presence, he cast himself on his knees and presented his letters, which were written in French. When the king had read them, and understood their meaning, he smiled, and, turning to a knight who was the steward of his household, said,—"Take care of this herald: he shall have his answer to-night, that he may return early to-morrow morning." The king entered his closet, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he showed the letters, and asked what answer he should send. The substance of these letters was, in a few words, as follows. Sir John Holland, constable of the English army, desired the king of Castille to send passports for three knights to come to him and return, that they might have a conference with him. The two knights replied,—"It will, my lord, be right that you grant these passports, for then you will know what it is they want." "I agree to it," said the king, and instantly ordered a passport to be drawn out for the coming and return of six knights, if it were agreeable to the constable, with their attendants. When this was sealed with the great seal, and with the king's signet, it was given to the herald, and twenty francs with it: having received the whole, he returned to the duke of Lancaster and the constable at Orense.

The herald gave the constable the passport, who appointed sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Thomas Moreaux, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, ambassadors to the king of Castille. They set off as soon as possible, for there was much want of physicians and medicines, as well as of fresh meat for the numerous sick who were scattered in different parts. These ambassadors passed through Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin received them handsomely, and entertained them at supper. On the morrow, one of the knights called Tintemach, a Breton, was their conductor, to secure them against the numerous parties of Bretons which were abroad. They arrived safely at Medina del Campo, where they found the king impatient to know what had brought them thither. When they had refreshed and dressed themselves at an hotel that had been prepared for them, they were conducted by some knights of the household to the presence of the king, who apparently received them with pleasure. They presented him letters from the constable, but from none else; for the duke of Lancaster excused himself, and would not at this time, nor on such a subject, write to him.

The knights and squires of France were not present at this interview, although they were of the king's privy council, and nothing was done respecting the war without their consent. The ambassadors addressed the king, saying,—"Sir king, we are come hither on the part of the constable of the army the duke of Lancaster has brought from England. But unfortunately very great sicknesses and mortality have befallen it: the constable therefore entreats,

that you would have the goodness to open your country and towns to such as may desire to try change of air for the recovery of their health, if it may be recovered, and to enter your towns to recruit their strength; and if some should wish to return to England by land, he begs you would interest yourself with the kings of France and Navarre, that they may, at their own costs, freely pass through their territories, in their way home. This is the sole object of our mission, and the request we have to make you." The king very graciously replied,—"We will consider what will be proper for us to do, and give you our answer." The knights replied, they were satisfied.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS OBTAIN PASSPORTS FROM THE KING FOR THEIR SICK TO PASS IN SAFETY THROUGH CASTILLE, OR TO REMAIN THERE, TO RECOVER THEIR HEALTH.—MANY KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES DIE IN CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DANGEROUSLY ILL AT ST. JAGO.

The English knights, on taking leave of the king, went to their lodgings, where they remained until the third day, when they returned to the palace. The king of Castille was much rejoiced at their request; for he saw there would be an end to the war for a long time, when his enemies solicited leave to march peaceably through his kingdom. He was determined what answer to make, though his council had advised otherwise; and, wishing to pay due honour to the French knights, he sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac. Having explained to them the object of the English knights' embassy, and the request of the constable, he demanded from them how he should act; and desired sir Walter to give him his opinion. Sir Walter was unwilling to speak before the members of the council; but, as the king would have it so, he said,—"Sir, matters are come to the conclusion we always foretold, that your enemies would be worn down and destroyed, without striking a blow. Since their sick so humbly ask assistance and comfort in your country, you should grant their request; but on condition that, if they recover, they do not return to the duke of Lancaster or to the king of Portugal, but continue their road straight homeward, and that they engage not to bear arms against you, nor the realm of Castille, for the term of six years. We also hope you may be successful in obtaining leave for them to pass with safety through Navarre and France." The king was well contented with this advice, for it was what he was inclined to; and he was indifferent what terms were made, so that he got rid of the English. He replied to sir Walter, "You have loyally counselled me, and I thank you: it shall be done as you propose."

The English knights were sent for, and conducted into the presence chamber, where were the king and his whole council. The bishop of Burgos, as chancellor, and a great orator, thus addressed them: "Ye knights of England, attached to the duke of Lancaster, who have been sent hither by his constable, listen to the answer the king gives to your requests. Out of his great pity and goodness he is desirous of doing to his enemies all the kindness in his power. On your return to the constable, you will tell him from the king of Castille, that he may publish, by sound of trumpet, throughout his army, that this country is open and ready to receive, sick or well, all knights, squires, and their attendants, who may be desirous of coming hither, on condition that, at the gates of whatever city or town they may wish to enter, they there lay aside their armour and arms, when they will be conducted, by those ordered for the purpose, to hotels prepared for them. They will then have their names written down and delivered to the governor, in order that those who may have resided in any towns may not, on any pretext whatever, return to Galicia or Portugal, but quit the country as soon as may be. In addition, the king of Castille engages to obtain a safe passage for such as may intend to go to Calais, or any other sea-port they may choose, in Brittany, Saintonge, Normandy, or Picardy, through the kingdoms of France and Navarre. It is the king's command, that those knights and squires, of whatever nation they be, who shall undertake this journey, do not bear arms against the kingdom of Castille, under any pretence, for the space of six years: this they will solemnly swear to

observe at the time the passports are delivered to them. You will carry with you all these conditions, fairly written, to the constable, and to your companions, who have sent you hither."

The knights thanked the king and his council for the answer they had received, but added, "They would not say that all the conditions should be accepted: if they were not, they would send back their herald; and, should he not return, they might conclude the whole were accepted." "We are satisfied," replied the council. The king withdrew to his closet; but sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac remained with the knights, and conducted them to a handsome apartment where a dinner was provided for them. They all dined together: when dinner was over, they partook of wines and spices in the king's closet, and then took their leave, as their passes were ready for them. On their return to their hotel, they instantly mounted their horses; for the king's harbingers had supplied them with all things at his expense, and, leaving Medina, they rode to Villeclope, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they dined at Vilalpando, and lay at Noya. The next day they came to Orense, where they found the constable. During the time they had been on this embassy, the lord Fitzwalter,* one of the greatest barons in the duke's army, had died: he was a valiant knight, and much lamented; but none can strive against death. His obsequies were very honourably performed, and the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster attended them.

The three knights waited on the duke, to show him their papers, and relate what they had seen and heard. Some said the conditions were hard; but others denied it, and said they were courteous enough, considering the situation and danger they were in. It was known in the army, that the duke would discharge all who desired it, and that they might enter Castille with safety. Those who were ill or feeble, and wished to change the air, took leave of the duke and constable, and left the army as soon as they were able, but, before their departure, many received their whole pay in hard money, others had sufficient security for it, so that they were all well contented. Some went to Vilalpando, others to Ruelles, to Noya, to Medina del Campo, to Caleforis, or to St. Phagon. They were everywhere well received, and had lodgings found them, and had their names written down and given to the different governors in the manner I have mentioned. The greater part of the nobility went to Vilalpando, because it was garrisoned by foreigners, Bretons, French, Normans, and Poitevins, under the command of sir Oliver du Guesclin. The English had more confidence in those I have named, and with reason, than in the Castillians.

Thus was the expedition of the duke of Lancaster put an end to, and every one sought the best he could for himself. You may suppose this was a bitter disappointment to the duke, for he saw all his ambitious expectations annihilated: he bore, however, his misfortune like a gallant prince as he was, for he perceived he could not any way amend it. The king of Portugal, finding the business was over, dismissed his army, retaining only three hundred spears, and left Orense, with the duke of Lancaster, who returned with his duchess to Saint Jago de Compostella. The king remained there with them four days: on the fifth he departed, with all who had accompanied him, for Oporto, where his queen resided.

I must now relate what befel many of those knights and squires who, on leaving the duke, had retired into Castille, and were lodged in different towns. Those who had been afflicted with the disorder, notwithstanding they had changed the air and medicines, could never recover, and several died in Vilalpando. Many barons and knights of England died in their beds, to the great loss of their country, while the king of Castille was obtaining for them passports to travel through Navarre and France; but the distance, and other obstacles, delayed the accomplishment. Three great and powerful barons died at Vilalpando; sir Richard Burley, who had been chief marshal of the army, the lord Poinings†, and sir Henry Percy, cousin-german to the earl of Northumberland. Sir Maubrun de Linieres died at

* "Lord Fitzwalter." See Dugdale, who mentions his gallantry in the attack on the block-house before Brest, but omits taking notice of his death in Spain. Indeed, he only says, that,—"he departed this life the year ensuing (10th Richard II.) on a Wednesday preceding the feast of St. Michael. This does not tally with the season of the year when the heats are so great in Spain.

† "Lord Poinings." See Dugdale.

Noya: he was a valiant and able knight from Poitou. Lord Talbot*, a great baron in Wales, died at Ruelles: and of this pestilence there died, in different places, twelve potent barons, full eighty knights, and two hundred squires, all gentlemen. Consider what an unfortunate loss this was, and to be sustained without having a battle or striking a blow. Of archers and other men, upwards of five hundred died; and I was told by an English knight with whom I conversed, on his return through France, whose name was sir Thomas Queensbury, that of fifteen hundred men at arms and about four thousand archers whom the duke of Lancaster had brought with him from England, not one-half ever returned home.

The duke of Lancaster fell dangerously sick, and became very low-spirited, at Saint Jago. He was so ill, that it was frequently reported through Castille and France that he was dead: indeed, he very narrowly escaped. Thierry de Soumain, who was of great valour, and squire of the body to the duke, was attacked by this disorder, and died at Betancos. He was born in Hainault, and his death was much bewailed. His brother William continually attended him during his illness, by which he ran great risk of his life. You must know, that there were none so bold, so rich or so fair, but were afraid, and were daily expecting death. The disorder solely attacked the duke's army, for the French were no way affected.

This caused great murmurings among them and the Castillians: they said,—"The king allows these English to recruit themselves in his towns, which may cost us dear by their bringing the disorder among us." But others replied,—"They are Christians like ourselves, and we ought to have compassion on each other." True it is, that at this period a French knight died in Castille, who was greatly lamented: for he was courteous, gallant, and bold in arms: his name was sir John de Roye, and he was brother-german to sir Tristan, sir Reginald, and sir Lancelot de Roye. I will relate the cause of his death. While in garrison in a town of Castille, called Segbonne, he had an imposthume in his body. Being young and lusty, he paid no attention to it, and one day mounting his courser, in galloping him over the plains, this imposthume broke. On his return, he was laid on the bed, and all seemed well, but on the fourth day he died. There were very great lamentations made after him by all his friends: he was deserving of them for his amiable character and gallantry in arms.

CHAPTER XCII.—SIR JOHN HOLLAND TAKES LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND RETURNS WITH HIS LADY, THROUGH CASTILLE, NAVARRE, AND BAYONNE, TO BORDEAUX.—SIR JOHN D'AMBRETICOURT GOES TO PARIS, TO ACCOMPLISH A DEED OF ARMS WITH THE LORD BOUCICAUT.

Notwithstanding this disorder was so very infectious that the greater part of the English fled from it, sir John Holland and several knights and squires remained with the duke. The knights, seeing there was an end to the war, were impatient to change the air, and said to the constable,—"Sir, permit us to set out on our return to Bayonne or Bordeaux, to escape the effect of this pestilence, for our lord of Lancaster desires it. When he shall wish to have our services, he can easily so do by writing his commands; and we shall serve him more effectually when we have recovered our health, than in the state of languor we now fatally experience." They repeated this so often, that sir John Holland told the duke of their discontents. The duke answered,—"Sir John, I am willing that you and such knights as choose, set out on your return home, and that you take all our people with you. Recommend me to my lord the king, and salute from me my brothers, and such and such persons, whom he named." "I will cheerfully do so," replied the constable; "but my lord, are you aware, that though the council of Castille has handsomely allowed our sick to enter any towns they may please for the recovery of their health, they must not, when well, return to you in Galicia, nor in Portugal? And if we pass through France, in our road to Calais, the French knights of the council of Castille have conditioned that we do not arm against France for the space of six years, unless the king of England command in person."

* This must be a mistake, for lord Talbot did not die until the 20th Richard II.—*Dugdale.*

" Sir John," said the duke, " you must know that the French, whenever they have an opportunity, will take every advantage over us. But I will tell you how you shall act. You will pass through Castille in a courteous manner, and, when you shall be on the frontiers of Navarre, send to the king: he is our cousin: formerly we were strongly united, and the connexion is not broken; for, ever since we bore arms for him in his war against our adversary of Castille, we have constantly kept up a mutual correspondence, like cousins and friends. We have never had any quarrel, nor have we, like the French, made war upon him. For these reasons, he will readily grant permission for you and your men to pass through his country. On your arrival at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, take the road through Biscay to Bayonne: that is our inheritance: and thence you may go to Bordeaux without any danger from the French, to refresh yourselves. When recovered, you may there embark, traverse the deep, and land in Cornwall or Southampton, as the wind may be favourable." Sir John replied, he would punctually follow the plan he had laid down, and began to make his preparations accordingly. It was not long after this that the constable, with all the men at arms and others, took their departure; and the duke and duchess remained at Saint Jago, attended by their household only. Sir John Holland carried his lady with him, and arrived at the city of Zamora, which is large and handsome, where he met the king of Castille, sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac. They politely received him and his company, as lords do when they meet. In truth, the king was more rejoiced at the departure of the English than at their arrival; for it seemed clear to him that the war was completely at an end, and that the duke of Lancaster would never be able to bring again so large a force to Castille from England, for he was well informed how much that country was disunited within itself.

When the English, who had retired to the towns in Castille for the recovery of their healths, heard that sir John Holland was on his march with the remnant of the army homeward, they were greatly rejoiced, and made instant preparations to join him. Among the number were, the lord de Chameaux*, sir Thomas Percy, the lord de Leluyton†, and the lord Bradestan, with many more, to the amount of a thousand horse. Those that were sick looked on themselves as half recovered the moment their hopes were raised of returning to England, so much had they of late suffered.

When sir John Holland took leave of the king of Castille, he showed to him and his barons much affection, and gallantly presented them with handsome mules; he likewise ordered all the expenses of their journey to be defrayed. On their departure, they took the road to St. Phagon, where they rested three days: they were well received in all places they passed; for they were accompanied by some knights of the king's household, who paid for whatever they wanted or wished. They continued their route until they were out of Castille, and arrived at Najarra, where the famous battle had been fought, then they proceeded to Pamiers‡ and Logrogno, where they halted: for they were uncertain if the king of Navarre would allow them to pass through his kingdom.

They deputed to him two knights, whose names were sir Peter Bisset and sir William Norwich, who found the king at Tudela. They had an interview with him, and managed so well, they obtained permission to pass, on paying for whatever they should want. When the knights returned, they left Logrogno for Pampeluna, and passed the Pyrenées at Roncesvalles: they then quitted the road for Béarn, and took that through Biscay, for Bayonne, where they arrived. Sir John Holland and his countess remained there a considerable time, but several of his countrymen continued their route to Bordeaux. Thus ended this expedition of the duke of Lancaster.

It happened, during the most active part of the campaign in Castille, when knights and squires were eager after adventures and deeds of arms, that the lord Boucicaut had taken the field, and had sent a herald to demand from sir John d'Ambreticourt three courses with spears on horseback. Sir John had agreed to meet him, with the addition of three courses with daggers, and the same with battle-axes, all on horseback. Sir John, having so readily assented, sought for him everywhere; but I know not for what reason he had not advanced

* " Lord de Chameaux." Q. Chymwell. † " Lord de Leluyton." Q. Some copies read Helmson.
‡ " Pamiers." Q.

to that part of the country. I do not, however, say, nor mean to say, that the lord Boucicaut was not equal to such a challenge, nor even to one of more hardy adventure. When sir John d'Ambreticourt was at Bayonne, with sir John Holland, he thought much on this challenge, which, having accepted, he considered himself bound to accomplish; and that he could not honourably leave France without doing so, lest the French might say he had returned to England dishonourably. He consulted his companions, but especially sir John Holland, how to act. He was advised to pass through France, as he had a good passport, which the duke of Bourbon had obtained for him, and go to Paris in search of the lord Boucicaut: he might hear of him on his road, or at Paris, and the matter would be settled to his honour. This advice being agreeable to him, he departed, and took the road through the country of the Basques, and came to Orthès in Béarn, where he found the count de Foix. The count received him handsomely, detained him some short time, and, on his going away, presented him with two hundred florins and a very fine horse. Sir John d'Ambreticourt continued his road through Béarn, Bigorre, the Toulousain, and Carcassonnois. He was accompanied by William de Soumain and other squires from Hainault, who were returning to their own country. On their arrival at Paris, he learnt that the king was at that moment in Normandy, and the lord Boucicaut, as they said, in Arragon. Sir John, to acquit himself honourably, waited on the principal barons of France that were then at Paris, and having staid there eight days to amuse himself, he continued his journey to Calais, and those from Hainault went home. Thus were the different captains of the army of Castille separated.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON, ON LEAVING AVIGNON, CONTINUES HIS MARCH TO BURGOS, WHERE HE MEETS THE KING OF CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, BEING INFORMED OF THIS, ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON AFTER A SHORT STAY TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING OF CASTILLE, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.

The duke of Bourbon, who had been nominated commander in chief of the French in Castille, was duly informed of everything that was passing; but, had he imagined the king of Castille had been so much pressed, he would have hastened his march: for he had taken a long time on his journey, and, beside, had followed a round-about road. He went first to Avignon, to visit the person who styled himself pope Clement, where he staid some time, then to Montpelier, where he halted five days, and as many at Bezieres and Carcassonne; from thence he went to Narbonne and Perpignan, and entered Arragon; for he was desirous of seeing the young king of Arragon and his cousin, the lady Jolante de Bar. The duke continued his journey to Barcelona, where he met the king and queen of Arragon, with a numerous body of earls and barons of the country, who had come thither to receive and feast him. When he had been thus entertained for the space of six days, he departed, and went to Valencia. It was there he first heard that the English army had retreated, and that sir John Holland had led the greater part into Navarre; that there had been a great mortality among the English; and that his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, lay dangerously ill at Saint Jago: the report was, that he was actually dead. Notwithstanding this intelligence, which rendered his march useless, he continued advancing, and informed the king of Castille of his arrival, who was much rejoiced thereat, and appointed the city of Burgos for their place of meeting. The king ordered all things to be properly prepared in that city for his reception, and went thither; for many of the French, who were with him, were anxious to see the duke of Bourbon. The duke, having passed Valencia and Saragossa, entered Castille and came to Burgos. He was most kindly received by the king, barons and prelates of the realm. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Passac, sir John des Barres, sir John and sir Reginald de Roye, and several knights of France, were present, who had left their garrisons to meet the duke of Bourbon. They had no longer any fears of the English or Portuguese, for they had all retreated, and the English had already given up those towns they had conquered in Galicia;

for they knew that, as their army had left the country, they could not withstand the power of France.

The news was carried to Galicia that the duke of Bourbon was arrived in Castille, with a large body of men at arms from France; and, as it was spoken of, this force was multiplied to more than double its number. The country, at first, was alarmed lest the duke of Bourbon should march thither to reconquer such towns as had surrendered; and though the duke of Lancaster was with them, and comforted them as much as he could, they could not get rid of their fears. When the duke of Lancaster heard his cousin, the duke of Bourbon, was with the king of Castille at Burgos, he instantly sent to the king of Portugal, to entreat he would not disband his army; for he knew not what the French might intend, now the country was in so defenceless a state. The king of Portugal, having dismissed his army, was desirous to oblige the duke, from the connexion between them, and left Lisbon for Coimbra, whence he issued a summons, for all men at arms instantly to prepare themselves and march to Oporto, to the assistance of the duke of Lancaster, whose illness would not suffer him to take the field in person, although he was daily recovering his health.

The duke of Bourbon remained with the king of Castille at Burgos, where he received the greatest honours from the king, the barons and lords of the realm. Many councils were held, as to what they should now do: whether to enter Galicia or return to France. The king and his ministers saw very clearly which was most to their advantage, and said, when together,—"Our country is ruined and wasted by the French; and although they have defended it against the English, we have paid dear enough. It will be but just we thank the duke of Bourbon for the trouble he has had in coming hither, and entreat him, through affection to us, to withdraw his men, for there was not now any appearance of war to detain them; that as for Galicia, they could invade and conquer that province themselves, whenever they pleased, as it was a trifling matter." The king's ministers added: "If we keep these men, they will expect pay, and, if that be not given to them, they will rob and plunder the country. There are, already, many discontents on this subject; and it behoves us to dismiss them in a handsome manner." This measure was adopted; for the king knew well that his kingdom could not be hurt, without his suffering from it. The archbishop of Burgos therefore, in the presence of the king and many knights from France, proposed the matter to the duke of Bourbon. The duke, as well as his knights, instantly agreed to it; for they most certainly preferred returning to France, which is a different country in all respects from Castille, and gave their orders accordingly. The duke of Bourbon, though he came the last, was the first to return, and declared his intentions were, to pass through Navarre, that his people might make preparations for so doing. On taking his leave of the king, very rich presents were made him: he might have had more, had he chosen it, but he refused several that were pressed on him, and accepted only mules, horses, and dogs called Allans* in Castille.

Proclamation was made for all persons to leave Castille and return to France, according to the orders which had been given by the commander in chief; but sir Oliver du Guesclin and the marshal, with about three hundred lances, Bretons, Poitevins and Saintongers, were to remain behind. The duke of Bourbon, having taken leave of the king, queen, and barons, was escorted as far as Logrogno, when he entered Navarre. Wherever he passed, he was most honourably received, for the duke was courteous, gallant and much renowned. The king of Navarre entertained him very kindly, and showed not any appearance of the hatred he bore to the king of France for having seized his inheritance of the county d'Evreux in Normandy. He knew that the present king, who was so nearly related to the duke of Bourbon, was no way to blame, for at the time he was an infant. He mentioned his complaints in an amicable manner to the duke, and entreated him to mediate between him and his cousin of France, for which he should hold himself much obliged. The duke promised to use his endeavours; and on this they parted, and the duke continued his journey with his men at arms peaceably through Navarre, and, having crossed the mountains at Roncesvalles and traversed the country of Basques, entered Béarn at Sauveterre.

* "Allan,—a kind of big, strong, thick-headed and short-snouted dog; the breed whereof came first out of Albania, old Epirus." "Allan de boucherie, like a mastiff,—Allan gentil, somewhat like a greyhound,—Allan sautre, a cur to bait wolves," &c.—*Cotgrave's Dictionary.*

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE COUNT DE FOIX RECEIVES THE DUKE OF BOURBON MOST MAGNIFICENTLY, AND MAKES HIM HANDSOME PRESENTS.—THE MEN AT ARMS WHO WERE UNDER SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC SACK THE TOWN OF ST. PHAGON, ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM CASTILLE.—THE KING IS VERY WROTH FOR THIS AGAINST THE TWO CAPTAINS WHO HAD REMAINED WITH HIM.

Count Gaston de Foix was well pleased, on hearing the duke of Bourbon was at Sauveterre. He summoned to Orthès, where he resided, a gallant company of chivalry, and set out with a grand array of five hundred knights and squires excellently mounted. They had advanced two leagues before they met the duke, who was likewise attended by a large company of knights and squires. On their meeting, they embraced and showed every token of friendship, such as well-educated princes know how to do. After they had conversed together a short space, as I was informed when at Orthès, the count de Foix withdrew with his company into the plain, but the duke remained where they had met. Then three knights, sir Espaign de Lyon, sir Peter Campestan and sir Menault de Nouailles, advanced to the duke and said,—"My lord, we come to offer you a present from the count de Foix on your return from Castille, as he knows you have been at a heavy expense. He first welcomes you to his country of Béarn, and presents you with eight thousand florins, this mule, two coursers and two palfreys." "My fair sirs," replied the duke, "I am very much obliged to the count de Foix. With regard to the florins, we cannot receive them; but as for the rest we accept them with great pleasure." The florins were therefore returned, and the horses and mule kept. Shortly afterward, the count placed himself beside the duke, and conducted him, under his pennon, to Orthès, when he was lodged in the castle, and his attendants in the town.

The duke of Bourbon remained for three days at Orthès, magnificently entertained with dinners and suppers. The count de Foix showed him good part of his state, which would recommend him to such a person as the duke of Bourbon. On the fourth day he took his leave and departed. The count made many presents to the knights and squires attached to the duke, and to such an extent that I was told this visit of the duke of Bourbon cost him ten thousand francs. The duke took his road to France by Montpelier, the city of Puy, and county of Forêts, of which he was lord in right of his duchess. Though the duke of Bourbon had thus left Castille, the men at arms under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were not impatient to do so. They were upwards of three thousand spears and six thousand others, who in small parties were daily quitting the country. Many of them, having expended their pay, and being weary of the war, set out on their return ill mounted and in rags, so that the meeting them was unfortunate, for they dismounted such as were on horseback, and made war on all passengers and on whoever had remained in the open country, whether churchmen or not, and plundered them, under the pretext that the king of Castille had not given them their pay, and that they had been ruined by the war. They said they would pay themselves, and all towns not well inclosed were under great alarms. Every place shut its gates against them, for whatever they could find was seized on unless well fought for. Such knights and squires as returned through Foix, and waited on the count, were well received by him, and received magnificent presents. I was told that this expedition, including the going to Castille and return, cost the count de Foix, by his liberalities, upwards of forty thousand francs.

After the departure of the duke of Bourbon, an accident befel the town of St. Phagon, that I am about to relate, which caused the deaths of five hundred men. You must know, that when sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac first came into Castille, their force, which was very considerable, quartered themselves over the country near St. Phagon, which is rich, and abundant in all sorts of provision. Among these men at arms were many Bretons, Poitevins, Saintongers, who, riding first to St. Phagon, entered the town in parties of six, ten, fifteen and twenty, so that at last they amounted to more than five hundred, including servants. As they entered, they lodged themselves, and began to pillage and pack up every valuable they could find. The inhabitants, noticing their conduct, secretly closed their gates, that no more should enter; and, when these strangers thought to repose them-

selves, the townsmen cried "To arms!" and entering the chambers where they lay, slew them without pity or mercy: happy were they who could escape, for they murdered upwards of five hundred. News of this was brought, in the morning, to the French lords quartered near the town, and they held a council to consider how they should act. They thought it improper at the moment to retaliate on them for this conduct, for if they should begin by burning towns and villages, the whole country would rise against them, to the great joy of their enemies; but they determined that, when the expedition should be ended, and they on their return, they would then talk to them, and make them pay severely.

When this army was on its return to France, which included all except those who remained with sir Oliver du Guesclin, they said among themselves, "Our arrival at St. Phagon cost us dear, but they shall fully repay us on our return." They were all of this mind, and, having assembled about one thousand, they entered the town, as there was neither guard nor watch; for the townsmen had forgotten what had passed, and hoped the French had done so likewise, and that no more quarrels would happen between them. It was not so, to their great loss; for, when they thought themselves secure, the cry of "To arms!" resounded from more than one hundred places, accompanied with voices shouting, "Let us kill and destroy all the scoundrels of this town, and plunder what they may have, in revenge for their murders of our countrymen." The Bretons instantly began to put these threats into execution, and to enter every house where they expected pillage, killing the inhabitants, breaking open desks and trunks, and doing every mischief in their power. There were, this day, more than four hundred slaughtered, the town robbed and half burned, which was a great pity. Such was the revenge the companions took on St. Phagon, and then marched away.

Intelligence was sent to the king of Castille that the men at arms, who had been under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, had, on their return, pillaged the good town of St. Phagon, murdered upwards of four hundred of its inhabitants, and set the town on fire. They added, that if the English had taken it even by storm, they would not have treated it so cruelly. At the time this was told the king, the two above-named knights were with him, and were severely reprimanded by him and his council. They excused themselves, saying,—"That as God may help them, they were ignorant of the intentions of their men: they had, indeed, heard they were much displeased with the inhabitants of St. Phagon, who, on their coming to Castille, had murdered many of their companions, for which revenge had lurked in their hearts; but that, in truth, they thought it had been forgotten." The king of Castille was forced to pass it over, as it might have cost him more had he thought of punishing it; but he was very ill pleased with these two commanders, which he showed, when they took leave of him to return to France. Had he been contented with them, it may be supposed they would have had more magnificent presents. The duke of Bourbon, his knights and squires, having quitted the king to his satisfaction, and left the country first, had carried off the flower of the presents.

The French marched out of Castille in various directions, some through Biscay, others through Arragon. Many knights and squires, who had lived on their pay, disdaining to plunder, returned poor and sorrily mounted; while others, who had seized on whatever they could meet with, were well furnished with gold and silver, and heavy trunks. Thus it happens, in these adventures, some gain and others lose. The king of Castille was very much rejoiced when he found himself and kingdom freed from such men.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LEAVES SAINT JAGO, FOR COIMBRA, AND THENCE GOES TO BAYONNE.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster, whom we left ill in bed at Saint Jago, where he resided with his duchess and daughter Catherine. You may suppose, the duke felt many mortifications, from the complete failure of his hopes of the crown of Castille, and the great loss of his chivalry, whom he daily and nightly lamented, and whom he had brought with such difficulty from England. He had now no expectation of making a treaty of peace that

should allow the duchess any right to the crown, or yield up, by way of composition, to her any part of the kingdom; for he had heard from pilgrims, to Saint Jago, from Brabant, Hainault and other countries, who had passed through the French army in Castille, that the Castillians and French made their jokes on him, saying to the pilgrims,—"Ye are going to Saint Jago, are ye? Ye will find there the duke of Lancaster, who, for fear of the sun, keeps his chamber. Give our compliments to him, and ask him, on his faith, if we French know how to make war, and if we have not fought him fairly, and if he be contented with us. The English used to say, that we knew better how to dance and sing than to fight; but the tables are now turned: it is they who repose and sing, and we keep the field and guard our frontiers, so that we have not lost anything."

The duke of Lancaster, like a wise man, bore all this patiently, for he could not do otherwise; and, when he was able to ride, he departed from Saint Jago with his duchess and family. The king of Portugal had sent his constable, the count de Novaire, and sir John Fernando Portelet, with five hundred lances, to escort him. Among these knights were the Ponnasse d'Acunha, Egeas Colle, Vasco Martin de Merlo, Galopes Fernando, sir Alvarez Perez, John Radighos de Sar, Gaynes de Falnes, all barons. With this escort, the duke and his family left Compostella, and continued their march to Oporto, where the king and queen of Portugal were waiting for them, and entertained them handsomely. Soon after the arrival of the duke, the king and queen left Oporto, and went to Coimbra, which is but one day's journey distant. The duke of Lancaster remained there for two months and attended to his affairs, and to the making of preparations for his departure. By the king's orders, the high admiral of Portugal, don Alphonso Brecart, had equipped some galleys for his reception; on board of which, when the weather and wind were favourable, they embarked, and, weighing anchor, took to the deep, and in one day and a half were at Bayonne, which is upwards of seventy-two leagues. On their arrival, they were disappointed in not meeting sir John Holland and the other English; but they had left it for Bordeaux, where they had embarked, and had landed in England.



Bayonne, as it appeared in the seventeenth century. From an old French print.

The duke of Lancaster made a long residence at Bayonne, and enforced the payments of arrears, and other dues from the duchy of Aquitaine, and such parts as were under the obedience of king Richard; for he had a commission to impose and receive all taxes to his own use, and he styled himself duke and governor of Aquitaine. We will now leave the duke and the English, until it shall be proper to return to them, and speak of other matters.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC TAKES GREAT PAINS TO PREVAIL ON THE FREE COMPANIES TO GIVE UP THEIR FORTS FOR A SUM OF MONEY.—THE COUNT DE FOIX, UNDERHAND, PREVENTS HIS SUCCESS.

The count d'Armagnac, at this period, resided in Auvergne, and was negotiating with such free companions as held forts in Auvergne, Quercy and Limousin. The count took great pains, from his attachment to France, to make the leaders of these garrisons, who did great mischief to the country, surrender them up, and depart to other places. All the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noire, who held Ventadour, seemed willing to accept his terms, and receive, in one sum, two hundred and fifty thousand francs. On payment of this sum, they were all to quit the country, which would gladly have seen them depart; for the inhabitants could not till the earth, nor carry on trade, for fear of these pillagers, unless they had entered into composition with them, according to their wealth and rank; and these compositions amounted, in the year, to as much as was now demanded for the evacuation of the forts. Although these garrisons made war under pretext of being English, there were very few of that nation; but the greater part Gascons, Germans and Foixiens, and from different countries, who had united together to do mischief.

When this treaty had been fully concluded with all the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noire, the count d'Armagnac entreated the count dauphin d'Auvergne, who was a great baron and able negotiator, to join him in this treaty, and from his affection to him, to undertake a journey to Paris, to the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the kingdom, to explain what he had done in regard to these free companions, and to have their consent; for without their orders the sum of money to pay them could not be raised in the country. The count dauphin complied with this request, and rode to Paris; but the king was gone to Rouen, whither the count followed him. He there explained to the king and his council the state of the country, and the treaty the count d'Armagnac had made with the companions. He did not soon accomplish the object of his coming; for the lords of the council, knowing well what sort of people these free companions were, had no faith in their professions, and dreaded they would not abide by any treaty. They said to him,—"Count dauphin, we know that you and the count d'Armagnac are anxious to promote everything for the honour and advantage of the kingdom; for both of you have rich and extensive inheritances within it: but we very much suspect that these Gascons and Béarnois, when they shall have received the sums agreed for, and the country shall be weakened, will, in the course of three or four months, return, regain possession of their castles, and commit greater waste than they have hitherto done." The count dauphin replied to the council,—"My lords, it is our intention, that when this sum be raised, it shall be deposited at Clermont or Riom, and there remain until we have certificates of these companies having quitted the country."

"That is well said," answered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy: "we are willing the money be raised and put in a place of safety; for at all events, should they refuse to conform to the treaty, it will serve to collect forces to make war upon them, and drive them out of their forts. This sum shall be under the direction of you, the count d'Armagnac, and the bishops of Clermont and Puy: you will take care that it be honourably disposed of, and for the advantage of the realm." Having declared he would do so, he took leave of the king, his uncles, and council, and departing from Rouen, continued his road until he came to Clermont, where he found the count d'Armagnac, his brother, and numbers of lords, waiting his arrival. He related to them that the king and his council had their doubts of the captains of the free companies, and the manner this money was raised, and deposited in a place of security until the intentions of these captains, who by force kept possession of forts and castles in the realm, should be clearly known. They replied,—"that such were their wishes; and, since it is agreeable to the king, we will finish the business; but we must first conclude a peace or truce with the leaders, that the country may be assured the tax we are about to raise will be properly applied for their security." Commissaries were sent by the count d'Armagnac to parley with Perrot le Béarnois, and Amerigot Marcel, who were the principal chiefs of the forts on this side the Dordogne, in conjunction with the bourg de Compane, Bernard des Isles, Olim Barbe, Abton Seghin, the lord de l'Exemplaire, and many more.

These captains could never agree as to terms, for what one party acceded to in one week, the next it was refused: the reason was, that being from different countries, they had various opinions. Those from Armagnac, who were a sort of retainers to the count, readily assented to what he offered; but the greater part, and most determined pillagers, were from Béarn and Foix.

I do not mean to say that the count de Foix ever wished anything but what was honourable and advantageous to France; but when he first heard of these negotiations with the captains of strong places in Auvergne, Quercy, and Rouergue, he was desirous to know upon what terms they were made, and the cause why the count d'Armagnac was so busy in the matter, and would be informed, when these places should be evacuated by the companions, what road they intended to take, and where they meant to fix themselves. He was answered: "My lord, it is the intention of the count d'Armagnac to engage these men at arms, when they shall have surrendered the forts, to lead them into Lombardy, where his brother-in-law (who, you know, married his sister, the widow of your son Gaston) has great difficulty in defending his inheritance, for there seems every probability of a war in Lombardy." The count de Foix made no answer to this, seeming not to have heard it, but turned about to others present, and conversed with them. He was not, however, the less thoughtful about what had been said, and determined secretly to prevent any of these treaties being concluded: at least, from the sequel it so appears.

The count d'Armagnac could never succeed, notwithstanding his repeated attempts, towards inducing any of the captains who were from Béarn, or Foix, to yield up their forts, or accept of any engagement, to serve the count or his brother Bernard. The count de Foix, who was prudence itself, considering that these two lords, his cousins, and those of Albreth, were very powerful, and acquiring friends on all sides, was unwilling to add to their strength by those who were his retainers: he therefore determined what line he would follow, as was told me, when at Orthès, by sir Espaign de Lyon, the bourg de Compane, captain of Carlat in Auvergne, and the bourg Anglois. The count de Foix was at war with the Armagnacs, though at this moment there was a truce, which was usually renewed five or six times every year; and, should the Armagnacs and Albreths obtain the assistance of these captains of free companies, who were so hardy and cunning in war, they would be enabled to bring a large force into the field, and do the count de Foix great mischief. This was the principal cause why the captains who were dependent on him would never accept terms from the count d'Armagnac.

They indeed gave him hopes of agreeing with him; but although many appointments were made for a meeting, they kept none, but ran over the country, and pillaged it at their pleasure, just the same as before any treaty was talked of. The count was daily expecting to conclude one; and the captain he was most anxious to gain over was Perrot le Béarnois, who held the strong castle of Chalucet, and was the principal commander in Auvergne and Limousin, for his compositions extended as far as La Rochelle. The others were, William de Sainte Foix, who held Bouteville; Amerigot Marcel, who resided at Loyse, near St. Flour in Auvergne; the bourg de Compane and the bourg Anglois, who held Carlat. He said, he could at any time have Amerigot Marcel; but he was desirous of gaining over Perrot le Béarnois, and Geoffry Tête-noire, who held Ventadour, and was the chief of them all. They only laughed, and made their jokes of the count, disdaining to enter into any treaty with him or any one else. Geoffry knew his castle was impregnable, and provided with stores and a sufficient garrison for seven or eight years; and it was not in the power of any lord to shut him up, so that he could not be prevented from making sallies whenever he chose. Geoffry began all his passports and treaties of composition with, "Geoffry Tête-noire, duke of Ventadour, count of Limousin, sovereign lord and commander of all the captains in Auvergne, Rouergue, and Limousin." I will now leave these matters, and speak of what was passing in my own country, from the peace which was granted to the Ghent men, on the conclusion of their war, by the duke and duchess of Burgundy, who signed and sealed it in the noble city of Tournay. To add strength to my history, I must speak of what was passing in Gueldres and Brabant; for the king of France and duke of Burgundy were much affected by the events that happened in those countries, and took great part in the war that ensued.

CHAPTER XCVII.—A DIGRESSION ON THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES.—THE LIFE OF COUNT REGINALD OF GUELDRES AND HIS SUCCESSORS, UNTIL THE REIGN OF CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, BEING AN ALLY OF ENGLAND, SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO FRANCE.—THE CAUSE OF THIS CHALLENGE.

THERE had been, for some time, a hatred between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres: their countries border on each other; but the origin of this hatred of the Brabanters was on account of the town of Grave, which the dukes of Gueldres had taken possession of, and kept by force. This the Brabanters complained of, as it is situated on their side of the river Meuse; and, though many conferences were held on the subject, their hatred was not abated. Those of Gueldres complained, that the duke of Brabant had, in revenge, seized on three castles on their side of the Meuse, and at the entrance of their country, called Gambet, Buct, and Mille*. These quarrels between the two dukes were frequently embittered; but it was the opinion of many able knights and squires in arms, that if the lord Edward of Gueldres (who was unfortunately slain by an arrow from an archer of the dukes of Luxembourg or Brabant, at the battle of Juliers†,) had survived and gained the victory, he was so valiant, he would have reconquered these three castles.

I will now relate, according to my promise, how these castles came into the possession of Brabant, that I may embellish my history; and I will begin with speaking of the dukes of Gueldres‡. It was not long before I began to indite this work, that there lived a count of Gueldres, called Reginald. Gueldres is not so rich, nor so extensive a country as Brabant: notwithstanding this, count Reginald, coming to his property when a young man, had every inclination for expense, and cared not what his pleasures cost him. He attended all tilts and tournaments in the greatest magnificence, and expended, yearly, four times more than his usual revenue. He was generous and liberal, and made extravagant presents, so that he borrowed from the Lombards on all sides, and was soon so indebted he knew not whither to turn himself. His relations were greatly angered by such conduct, and blamed him exceedingly; but in particular the archbishop of Cologne, who was his uncle by his mother's side. One day, when he had him in his closet, he said,—"Reginald, my fair nephew, you have managed your affairs so well, that you will soon find yourself a poor man; for your lands are mortgaged all round. In this world, poor lords are not valued. Do you imagine that those to whom you have made such great gifts will return them to you? No, as God may help me: they will fly from you when they know you have nothing more to give, and will laugh at and mock you for your foolish expenses, and you will not find one friend to assist you. Do not depend on me; for though I am archbishop of Cologne, I will not curtail my establishment to repair your fortune, nor give you the patrimony of the church: no, I vow to God, my conscience forbids it, and neither the pope nor cardinals will consent to it. The count of Hainault, who has not kept the state you have, has married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany. He has three more whom he will also marry very nobly. Had you lived as was becoming you, and had you not mortgaged your lands, towns, or castles, you were a proper person for such an alliance; but, situated as you now are, you will never obtain one of them. You have nothing to dower a wife with, if you had one: not even one poor lordship."

The earl of Gueldres was thunderstruck at this reprimand of his uncle, for he felt the truth of it. He requested, out of love to him, he would give him advice. "Advice!" replied the archbishop: "It is now, my fair nephew, too late: you wish to shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. I see but one remedy for your distress." "And what is that?" said the count. "I will tell you," answered the archbishop. "You are much indebted to Bertaldo of Mechlin, who is at present the richest merchant in the world, from the great commerce he carries on with all parts of it by sea and land. His galleys and vessels sail as far as Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus, with cargoes of the value of one

* Q. Goch, Beeck, and Megen. † 1372.

‡ They were first created dukes of Gueldres by the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, 1339, at Frankfort.

hundred thousand florins: he also has a mortgage on the greater part of your lands. Bertaldo has one daughter now of an age to marry, and no other children. Several great barons of Germany and other countries have demanded her in marriage, but, I know not why, unsuccessfully: he may perhaps fear some as being too high, and others he may hold cheap: I therefore advise you to treat with Bertaldo, who may listen to you, and give you his daughter, that you may clear yourself of all your debts, and regain possession of your lands; for I should suppose, from your birth and in consideration of your having your possessions, between the Meuse and the Rhine, so well filled with populous towns, he will comply with your request." "By my faith, uncle," replied the count, "you advise me well, and I will follow what you have said."

Count Reginald, shortly after, summoned those of his friends in whom he had the greatest confidence and affection, and declared to them his intentions of marrying the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin. He requested them to go thither and demand her, and he would make her countess of Gueldres, on such conditions as the archbishop of Cologne should be agreeable to. His friends complied cheerfully, and made instant preparations for their journey to Mechlin, where they waited on Bertaldo, and told him the object of their coming. Bertaldo received these knights and clerks from the count de Gueldres very graciously, entertained them well, and said he would consider of their demand. Being so very rich, for he was worth at least five or six millions of florins, he was anxious for the advancement of his daughter, and, thinking he could no way ally her more nobly than to the count de Gueldres, had partly in his own mind assented to it. Before he declared it, he had many doubts, and said to himself,—"If I give Mary to the count, he will wish to be my master, and I shall no longer have a will of my own. Beside, should she have children and die, which may happen, he, who will be enriched by my wealth and re-possessed of all his lands in the country of Gueldres, may marry again, and as nobly as he pleases, and have children by his second wife, who, from the high blood of their mother, may hold my daughter's children in contempt, and perhaps disinherit them. I must have all these doubts cleared up before I give my consent. I will, however, mention all this to the friends of the count, and make them such an answer as this: That their coming has pleased me much, and that my daughter would be very happy to be so nobly married as to the count de Gueldres: but at this moment it was well known the affairs of the count were in the utmost disorder; that all his lands between the Meuse and Rhine were under mortgage, and that, to clear off his incumbrances, he has demanded my daughter in marriage. Before I consent to this union, I wish to know how he means to settle his estates, and that my daughter's children, should she have sons or daughters, may succeed to the inheritance of Gueldres, notwithstanding any other marriage take place in case of her death. On this point I am determined, and I must likewise have this succession assured by himself, his relations, and all who may have any claims thereto, as well as by the nobility and principal towns in the country." Thus did Bertaldo form the answer he was to give to the commissioners from the count de Gueldres.

On the morrow, at a proper hour, Bertaldo signified to the count's friends he was prepared with his answer. They were well pleased on hearing this, and repaired to the hôtel of Bertaldo, where every thing displayed his riches. He met them in the hall, and, after some agreeable conversation, conducted them to an apartment fitted up in a manner becoming a king, where some of his friends were assembled. When the door was closed, Bertaldo desired them to declare the cause of their visit to him, and he would give them his answer. Upon this, the dean of Cologne, cousin to the count de Gueldres, and a valiant clerk, explained so eloquently the object of their embassy, it was a pleasure to hear him. Of his speech I need not make any further mention, for the subject of it has been told, and it related solely to the advantages of this alliance, and its conveniency to both parties.

Bertaldo, who, the preceding day, had formed his plan, answered as follows: "My fair sirs, I and my daughter shall hold ourselves much honoured by so noble an alliance as the one you have proposed; and when such matters are brought forward, the less delay afterward the better. I say this, because an alliance by marriage, between so powerful and renowned a lord as count Reginald de Gueldres, with Mary, my daughter, pleases me right well. You require that his estate, which is now much entangled, by his debts to Lombards and

others, should be cleared by this marriage, and every incumbrance done away. Thanks to God, I have the ability as well as inclination so to do; but I must first see the following settlements fairly engrossed and sealed, so that, hereafter, no contention ensue between any of the parties: first, my daughter's children shall inherit the country of Gueldres, comprehended within its present limits; and, if my lord Reginald should die before her, without having any heirs from her body, she shall peaceably retain the possession of that country during her life, and then it may revert to the next lawful heir. If it should happen that my daughter have an heir or heirs by my much honoured prince, count Reginald, and she die before him, the count de Gueldres shall not, on account of any secondary marriage, disinherit, or otherwise deprive the heir or heirs of my daughter of the succession of Gueldres. I consent, however, that if it shall be his good pleasure in such case to marry again, he may dower the lady with those acquired lands on the other side of the Meuse, bordering on the bishopric of Liege and duchy of Brabant, but without charging any part of the country of Gueldres. When the relations and friends of the honourable prince, count Reginald, and all those who may, from their family-connexions, have any claims on the duchy of Gueldres, and the chief towns, shall have signed and sealed settlements drawn up in the manner I have mentioned, I give my consent to the marriage. You may now, therefore, make any reply you have been charged with."

The knights from Gueldres, after some short conversation together, said: "Sir, we have well heard your terms; but, not being commissioned to say anything in confirmation, or otherwise, on the subject, we must be silent. We will return to our lord, and relate punctually to him and his council what you offer, and very shortly you shall have from him his answer." "God grant it may be favourable," replied Bertaldo; "for I wish it." On this they all left the apartment and went away. As you have heard everything that passed on this subject, I shall not dilate on it more. When the commissioners were returned home, matters seemed likely to be soon brought to a conclusion; for the count thought, in his present situation, he could not do better than marry the daughter of Bertaldo, who was powerfully rich. For greater security, all the settlements were drawn up, and engrossed in his house: when they were finished, the count signed and sealed them, as did all his relations whose names were mentioned therein, and the nobility and magistrates of the principal towns.

Bertaldo being now satisfied, the marriage was consummated, the debts of the count were paid, and all his lands freed from every incumbrance. Thus was the count de Gueldres made rich: he took a new hôtel, and formed a different establishment. If, formerly, he had been thought to keep a magnificent one, this was much superior; for he had now wherewithal to support it, as he never wanted for any money Bertaldo could give him. The count behaved right honourably to his lady, who was very handsome, good, prudent, and devout. At the end of four years, the lady died, leaving a daughter of the name of Isabella. The count, being a young man when he became a widower, married again very nobly; for king Edward of England, father of that king Edward who besieged Tournay and conquered Calais, gave him his daughter Isabella*. By this lady he had three children, two sons and a daughter, sir Reginald, sir Edward, and Joan, who was afterwards duchess of Juliers†.

When king Edward III., who was uncle to these children of Gueldres, came first into Germany to visit the emperor, and had been appointed by him vicar-general of the empire ‡, as is contained in the first volume of this history, the county of Gueldres was made a duchy, and the marquisate of Juliers a county, to elevate those families in dignity. But to come nearer to our times, and connect this with our history, it happened that, after the decease of this count Reginald we have been speaking of, his son, also called Reginald, nephew to the king of England, died without heirs §. Sir Edward of Gueldres succeeded to both: he was

* There seems some mistake here, but I cannot make it out, nor find in any of the genealogical accounts of the counts of Gueldres, notice of this marriage with the daughter of *the merchant* Bertaldo of Mechlin.

"Reginald II., the 9th count of Gueldres, married, in 1343, Sophia, *countess of Mechlin*, and 1355, Eleanora of England."— *Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

† William, the sixth marquis, and afterwards duke of Juliers, married Mary, a daughter of the count de Gueldres, but by his first wife, Sophia of Mechlin. Two children only, Reginald and Edward, are ascribed to the second marriage in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*—Ed.

‡ In 1338.—Ed.

§ Reginald III. died in 1371, leaving no children by his wife Mary, the daughter of John duke of Brabant.—Ed.

married to the eldest daughter of duke Albert of Hainault * ; but she was so young, that sir Edward never carnally knew her, and he died also without heirs; for, like a valiant knight, he was slain in battle, in a war against duke Winceslaus of Brabant, before Juliers †.

Sir Edward's sister-german was married to count William of Juliers, and her brother dying without issue, she claimed Gueldres as her inheritance, and brought forward her pretensions. Her elder sister, by the first marriage ‡, made a similar claim, and said, since no male heirs remained from the second marriage, the duchy became her right, according to the settlements that had been made and signed. As this dispute ran high between the two sisters, the elder was advised to unite herself, by marriage, with some person well allied, that would defend her rights. She followed this advice, and desired the archbishop of Cologne, at that time with the lord John de Blois §, whose brother, count Lewis, was still alive, to open the matter to him, and, if he were agreeable, she would make him duke of Gueldres; for, by the death of her two brothers, without male issue, the duchy had become her inheritance, and none other had any legal claim to it. The lord John de Blois, who had been brought up in Holland and Zealand, having fair inheritances there, and speaking the language, willingly listened to the proposal; for he would never marry in France, thinking he should acquire a large tract of country in the parts he liked best. The knights of his council, in Holland, advised him to accept of the lady. He consented to this; but, before he made it public, he rode to Hainault, to consult his cousin, duke Albert, and hear what he would say to it.

Duke Albert, in truth, knew not what advice to give him, or, if he did, he kept it to himself, and delayed so long, before he could make up his mind, that lord John de Blois was tired of waiting, and, mounting his horse, rode to Gueldres, married the lady I have mentioned, and took possession of the duchy. He was not, however, acknowledged duke by the whole country, nor were her claims universally allowed; the majority of knights, squires, and chief towns, inclined more to the lady of Juliers, who, having a handsome family of children, had gained their hearts. The lord John, therefore, had with his wife a war, which cost him much. By the death of his brother, count Lewis, he became count of Blois, lord of Avesnes in Hainault; and the rich inheritances of Holland and Zealand fell likewise to him. Notwithstanding this, his council advised him to pursue the claim of his lady on Gueldreland. He did so, to the utmost of his power; but Germans are a covetous people, and they only continued the war as long as they were duly paid. The dispute cost lord John very large sums, and was never of any service to him. This gallant count, lord John de Blois, died in the castle of the good town of Schoonhoven, in the month of June, of the year of grace 1381, and was carried to the church of the Cordeliers at Valenciennes, and buried beside his grandfather, sir John of Hainault ||.

The lord Guy de Blois succeeded his brothers in all their possessions in France, Picardy, Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, as well as in the country of Blois. I know not how many years the lady of lord John survived him, but, on her decease, her sister, the countess of Juliers, remained peaceable possessor of the duchy of Gueldres. It was, however, settled, at the request of the nobility and inhabitants of the duchy, that lord William de Juliers, eldest son of the count of Juliers, should be duke of Gueldres; for it had reverted to him in direct succession from his uncles, and, on this account, duke Albert and his duchess had given him their daughter in marriage, who had been betrothed to duke Edward, as before mentioned. Thus was this lady still duchess of Gueldres, and this last marriage was more suitable, for they were both nearly of the same age. The duke resided constantly in his own country;

* He married Catherine, daughter of Albert, regent of Holland, on the 16th May, 1371.—Ed.

† He died on the 24th August, 1371, from the effects of a wound received at the battle of Battweiler, two days before. He was only thirty-six years old.—Ed.

‡ Froissart's account of the genealogy of this family is not correct. The dispute was between Mary, countess of Juliers, the half-sister of Edward and Reginald, and William, her grandson, on the one part, and Matilda, Mary's elder sister, widow of John, first count of Cleves, on the other part. Whether Mary and Matilda were both the daughters of Sophia of Mechlin, or whether Reginald the second married thrice, and had Matilda by a prior wife to Sophia, is uncertain; but no mention of a third marriage is to be met with in any records of the time.—Ed.

§ John de Chatillon, count of Blois, married Matilda in 1372.—Ed.

|| The lords Lewis, John and Guy, were sons of the count Guy de Blois, brother to Charles de Blois, duke of Brittany, by a daughter of sir John of Hainault, who conducted queen Isabella of France to England, with her son Edward III. Annotation X.—*Denys Sauvage.*

but the more he increased in age the greater was his love for tilts, tournaments, and such amusements, and he was more attached to the English than to the French, which he showed as long as he lived. He had always rankling in his breast a similar hatred to what had subsisted between his ancestors and the dukes of Brabant, and was ever seeking for occasion of quarrel with them for two reasons: one, because he was the ally of king Richard II.; the other, because Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg, had purchased from the count de Mours, a great baron in Germany, those three castles I have before mentioned, but will now mention again, to make the matter clearer, Goch, Beeck, and Megen, they are situated beyond the Meuse, on the territory of Fauquemont. The dukes of Gueldres had in former times been lords of these castles, and the present duke was much vexed that he could not add them to his inheritance, but as long as duke Winceslaus lived he kept all this to himself.

CHAPTER XCVIII. — FROISSART RETURNS TO THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES, WHICH HE HAD LEFT UNFINISHED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, AND CONTINUES THE HISTORY OF THE DUKES OF GUELDRES TO DUKE WILLIAM, WHO SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE.

Duke Reginald of Gueldres, cousin-german to the prince of Wales, had mortgaged the three above-mentioned castles for a sum of florins to a great baron of Germany, called the count de Mours. He kept possession of them for a time; but, when no intention was shown of paying back the money he had lent on their security, he grew melancholy, and sent legal summons for payment to duke Reginald. But he made light of this, as he had not any money to acquit himself of the debt, which frequently happens to many great lords when they are called upon for payment. When the count de Mours perceived this, he made advances to the duke of Brabant, and offered him these castles for the money for which they were mortgaged. The duke eagerly accepted the proposal, for they were on the confines of the territory of Fauquemont, of which he was lord. The duke was desirous to increase his inheritance, for he thought surely to survive his present duchess, the lady Johanna *.

He took possession of these castles, and placed in them, as governor, the lord de Kale. When, upon the death of duke Reginald, the lord Edward succeeded to the duchy of Gueldres, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Brabant, to request he might have his castles for the money he had paid for them. The duke, not having purchased them for this end, returned a positive refusal. The duke of Gueldres was highly indignant at this answer, and in consequence was hard on his sister-in-law, the widow of the lord Reginald, and younger sister to the duchess of Brabant, by preventing her from receiving her dower. The lady went to Brabant, and laid her complaints of the vexations the duke of Gueldres was occasioning her, before the duke and duchess. On account of the long-subsisting hatred between the Brabanters and those of Gueldres, for the seizure of Grave, the first were well inclined to aid the lady by force of arms. A large body of men at arms were indeed once collected in Brabant, and advanced to Bois-le-Duc, to the amount of twelve hundred spears. The duke of Gueldres had likewise assembled his forces, and it was generally thought a battle would have been the consequence; but duke Albert, the count de Mours, and the count of Juliers this time interfered, and they separated without coming to blows.

This same year duke Winceslaus was victorious over some free companies, who had overrun and despoiled his lands in Luxembourg: he banished many, and put to death their leader, called the Little Mesclin, in the tower of the castle of Luxembourg. In this year also, the lord Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, appointed the duke of Brabant chief of an institution called in Germany Languefride, which signifies an association for the repairs and security of the public roads, so that persons may travel from one part to another without danger. The emperor gave him also great possessions in Alsace on both sides of the Rhine,

* Winceslaus was the second husband of Johanna, heiress of Brabant and Limbourg. She was married to him, 1355. After the death of Winceslaus, the 8th December, 1384, and his son, she constituted Anthony, second son of the duke of Burgundy, her heir, 1404. Her first husband, William, count of Holland, died, 1345, without issue. Johanna died 1406.—*Anderson's R. G.*

that he might guard the country against the Linfars, who are a most wicked people, robbing all without mercy. He gave him likewise the sovereignty of the large city of Strasburg, and, to add to his dignity, created him a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He certainly could not give him too much, for this duke Winceslaus was generous, amiable, courteous to all, and gallant in arms. Great things might have been expected from him, had he been granted longer life, but he died in the flower of his age; on account of which I, the author of this history, greatly grieve, and wish he had enjoyed a course of eighty years or more, for he would have done much good to mankind. The schism in the church afflicted him greatly, as he often expressed himself to me, who lived with him on the most intimate and friendly footing. And notwithstanding that I have seen and personally known upwards of two hundred powerful princes in my various travels, I have never found any more courteous and amiable than this duke of Brabant, and my very good lord the count Guy de Blois, who commanded me to indite this Chronicle. These were the two princes, of my time, of the greatest liberality, humility, and goodness, who lived magnificently on their revenues, without malice or any way oppressing their subjects by taxes, and issuing any hurtful edicts through their territories. But I will now return to the principal subject of this chapter.



THE EMPEROR CONSTITUTING THE DUKE OF BRABANT LANGUEFRIDE, OR KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC ROADS.
Designed from MSS. Illuminations of the Fifteenth Century.

When the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, who were brothers by marriage, and whose hearts were too much attached to the English (for they had long been the allies of the kings of England, and strongly united to each other), heard of the dignities conferred by the emperor on the duke of Brabant, they were much exasperated; not from any wish to do good or correct the wicked, but that such honours should be conferred on their enemy: more particularly that he should have the appointment of Languefride, and execute the office with severity, for it affected their lands. This institution had been first formed for the security of those merchants of Hainault, Brabant, France, Flanders, and Liege, who travelled thence to Cologne, Treves, Lucca, Constance, and other cities and fairs in Germany. Merchants could

not enter those countries without risk, through the states of Juliers or Gueldres. It happened there were some robberies committed on the highways by these Linfars, who had escaped into the territory of the duke of Juliers; and it was told me, that the duke had even lent them horses and the use of his castles. Heavy complaints were made of this to duke Winceslaus, who at that time was resident in Brussels, and that the Languefride was held in contempt; that the persons who had violated it were retired into the duchy of Juliers, where they lived unmolested.

The duke of Brabant, at that time young and chivalrous, high in birth and rich in fortune, was greatly piqued at this conduct, and hurt by the complaints of those who had been robbed; he declared he would speedily provide a remedy, and, being nominated chief of the Languefride, would not that any blame should fall on him for negligence in the due support of it. To be assured of the fact, and through the advice of his friends, he sent to the duke of Juliers some of the first men in his country, such as the lord d'Urquon, the lord Bourgueval, sir Scelar archdeacon of Hainault, Geoffry de la Tour grand-routier of Brabant, and several more, to remonstrate with him in an amicable manner on the impropriety of his conduct, and that proper excuses must be made for the offence, as it affected too strongly the duke of Brabant as chief of the Languefride.

The duke of Juliers paid but little attention to their remonstrances, for he seemed rather to prefer war to peace, which displeased so much the envoys from the duke of Brabant, that they took leave of him, and returned to relate all that had passed. The duke of Brabant, having heard them, asked their advice how to act. "Sir," they replied, "you know it full well yourself: speak your will." "Well, then," said the duke, "it is not my intention to let this matter sleep, nor shall it be said, through cowardice or weakness of heart I have suffered any robberies to be committed within my jurisdiction with impunity, as I will make my cousin, the duke of Juliers, and his adherents, very soon feel, and that the business is personal to me." The duke was not idle, but instantly set clerks to work in writing letters to all from whom he expected any assistance: some he entreated, others he commanded, and gave sufficient notice to the duke of Juliers and his allies of his intentions. Each of these lords provided themselves as ably as they could: but the duke of Juliers would have made an indifferent figure without his brother-in-law the duke of Gueldres, who greatly reinforced him with men-at-arms and friends. These two lords collected men secretly from Germany; and as the Germans are avaricious, and had not for some time had any opportunity of gain, they accepted their pay, and came in greater numbers as they were ignorant they were to be employed against the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Brabant left Brussels in grand array, and went to Louvain, thence to Maestricht, where he found upwards of one thousand good spears waiting for him: other forces were coming to his aid from France, Flanders, Hainault, Namur, Lorrain, Bar, and different parts, so that his army amounted to full two thousand five hundred lances. Four hundred spears, under the lord of Geant, were on their march to join him from Burgundy; but they arrived too late, from not knowing when an engagement would take place, and were much vexed when they heard that it was over without their being present. While the duke of Brabant remained at Maestricht, he could not obtain any intelligence of his enemies: he therefore determined to advance and enter their lands, which he did on a Wednesday, and there encamped. He halted that day and the next, and learnt from his scouts that the enemy had taken the field. He commanded the army to advance into the territory of Juliers and burn it. This Thursday he halted at an early hour. The van was commanded by Guy de Ligny, count de St. Paul, and the lord Waleran his son, who though very young, being no more than sixteen years old, was then made a knight. The Brabanters encamped very close together, and, as it appeared, the Germans were better informed of their state than the Brabanters were concerning them: for, on the Friday morning, as the duke had heard mass, and all were on the plain, not thinking a battle would soon take place, the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres made their appearance, with a large and well-mounted body of men at arms. The duke of Brabant was told: "Sir, here are your enemies: put on your helmets quickly, in the name of God and St. George." He was well pleased on hearing this; and that day he had near his person four squires, well informed, and of courage to

save such a prince, having been engaged in many deeds of arms and pitched battles: their names were John de Valcon, Baldwin de Beaufort, Gerard de Bles, and Orlando de Cologne.

The men of Brussels surrounded the duke: some were mounted with their servants behind them, who carried flaggons of wine, and salmon, trout, and eel-pies, neatly packed in handsome towels attached to their saddles. These people, with their horses, filled up the place so much, that no proper orders could be given. At length, Gerard de Bles said to the duke,—"Sir, order all these horse away that surround us: they are greatly in our way, and prevent us from knowing what is become of the van and rear division, under your marshal sir Robert de Namur." "I consent," replied the duke, and gave his orders. Upon this, Gerard and his companions, sword in hand, began to lay about them, on helmets and horses, so that the place was instantly cleared; for no one would willingly have his horse wounded or killed. To make an end of the business, the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres advanced full gallop on the van, under the command of the count de St. Paul and his son, which they broke and defeated, and many were slain and made prisoners. This division made the greatest resistance, and the count de St. Paul and his son were among the dead. Fortune was unkind to the duke of Brabant and his allies; for this battle was so severe, few men of honour escaped death or captivity.

The duke of Brabant, sir Robert de Namur, sir Lewis, his brother, sir William de Namur, son to the count de Namur, were made prisoners, and such numbers of others, that their enemies were fully occupied when they surrendered to them. There were many slain on the side of the duke of Juliers: but you know it is a general observation, a defeated army always suffers the most. The Brabanters, however, had one satisfaction in their great loss, in the death of duke Edward of Gueldres; for it was the opinion of all, that had he survived, he would have overrun the country, and conquered the whole, as well as Brussels, without meeting any opposition; for he was a most outrageously bold knight, and detested the Brabanters, on account of the three castles they held from him. The duke of Juliers gained this victory on a Friday of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1371.

The duchess of Brabant, in her distress, had recourse to king Charles V. of France, who was nephew to the duke. The king advised her to apply in person to the emperor of Germany, as being brother to the duke of Brabant, and because he had suffered in the support of the emperor's rights. The lady did so, and went to Coblentz, where she found the emperor, to whom she made her complaints. The emperor heard her with attention, and was bound by several reasons to grant her relief and comfort; first, because the duke was his brother, and because he had appointed him his vicar of the empire, and chief of the Languefride. He consoled the duchess, and told her, that before the ensuing summer were passed, he would provide an ample remedy for what had happened. The duchess returned to Brabant greatly comforted. The emperor, lord Charles of Bohemia, was not inactive; for as soon as the winter was passed, he went to the noble city of Cologne, where he made such vast provision of stores, as if he were about to march to the conquest of a kingdom. He wrote to all counts and dukes who held lands under him, to meet him the third day of June*, at Aix-la-Chapelle. each accompanied by fifty horse, under pain of forfeiture of his lands for disobedience. He particularly summoned duke Albert, earl of Hainault, to Aix, with fifty horse, who obeyed.

When all the lords who had been summoned were arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, the place was much crowded, and the emperor then declared he would instantly enter the duchy of Juliers to destroy it, on account of the great outrage that had been offered him, by the duke of Juliers taking up arms against his vicar and brother; for such had been the sentence adjudged in the courts of the empire. The archbishop of Treves, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Mentz, the bishop of Liege, duke Albert of Bavaria, the duke Otho of Bavaria†, his brother, and many great barons of Germany, relations of the duke of Juliers, having consulted together, thought that to destroy the whole of the territories of so valiant a knight, was a punishment too severe. They therefore proposed that the duke of Juliers

* 1372.—Ed.

† Otho V., surnamed "le fainéant," margrave of Brandenburg.—Ed.

should be summoned, and brought to acknowledge his error. This being agreed to, all parties laboured to bring about a reconciliation.

Duke Albert and his brother went to Juliers, where they found the duke so much dismayed at this large armament of the emperor, that he knew not how to act, nor what counsel to follow, for he had heard it was intended against him, unless his friends exerted themselves to avert it. The duke of Juliers was much rejoiced and comforted by the arrival of two such lords as duke Albert of Bavaria and the duke Otho, his brother, beside being his relations; for he knew they would not allow him to suffer any disgrace, but would give him the best advice for his conduct. They counselled him as follows: to send some of his principal knights for his cousin the duke of Brabant, whom he had detained a prisoner at large in the town and castle of Judeque*. When he was brought to them, these lords paid him every respect that was his due. They then all left Juliers together, and rode to Aix, where they dismounted at the hotels which had been prepared for them. Duke Albert, his brother, and the before-mentioned prelates, who had been mediators in this business, went to the emperor and his council, and told them, that the duke of Juliers was, of his own free will, come to wait on him, and was willing to put himself, without reservation, in his power, as he acknowledged him for his sovereign and liege lord. These humble words greatly softened the anger of the emperor, and he replied,—"Let the duke of Juliers come hither."

When the duke of Juliers was in the presence of the emperor, he cast himself on his knees, and said,—"Most redoubted and sovereign lord, I understand you are much displeased with me for having detained so long in prison your brother of Brabant. I am willing to refer the whole matter to your noble self, and will conform to whatever may be your judgment and that of your council." The emperor made no answer to this speech; but his son, the king of Bohemia, replied,—"Duke of Juliers, you have behaved very outrageously, in keeping so long our uncle of Brabant prisoner; and had it not been for your well-beloved cousins, the dukes of Bavaria and Austria, who have so warmly interceded for you, this matter would have turned out very disagreeably to you, and you would have well deserved that it should do so. Continue your harangue, and manage that we be satisfied with you, and that we have never again any cause to complain of your conduct; for another time it will cost you very dear."

The duke of Juliers was still on his knees before the emperor, seated on his imperial throne, and thus spoke:—"My very redoubted and sovereign lord, I acknowledge that I have been guilty of contempt to your imperial dignity, by raising an army, and engaging with it my cousin, your brother, the vicar of the holy empire. If the fortune of war gave me the day, and your brother was taken prisoner, I now restore him to you free of all ransom; and, if you please, there shall never again be ill-will or revenge thought on between us." The prelates and princes, standing round, said,—"Most renowned lord, accept the excuses and offers which your cousin the duke of Juliers makes you, and let them satisfy you." "We are willing to do so," said the emperor; and, as it was told me, in further confirmation he took the duke of Juliers by the hand, as he rose, and kissed him on the mouth. The king of Bohemia and duke of Brabant did the same.

Thus was Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, delivered from prison, by the power of the emperor, without ransom, as were all that had been made prisoners by the duke of Juliers, and who had not paid their ransoms, by the treaties that were drawn up in consequence of this reconciliation. When this matter had been concluded, the assembly broke up, and all returned to their homes. The emperor went to Prague, the duke of Brabant to Brussels. When the duke of Brabant had there arrived, he imposed a very heavy tax on the country, to make restitution to the knights and squires for some part of the losses they had suffered.

* "Judeqne." Q. if not Jülich, Juliers.

CHAPTER XCIX.—A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN BRABANT AND GUELDRES.—ON THE DEATH OF DUKE WINCESLAUS, THE YOUNG WILLIAM OF JULIERS, DUKE OF GUELDRES, ENDEAVOURS BY EVERY MEANS TO REGAIN THE THREE CASTLES.—HE ALLIES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BECAUSE FRANCE SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF THE WIDOW-DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

I HAVE taken much pains to detail all the particulars of this matter in my history, to bring it to the point I aim at, which is to explain why king Charles of France led a powerful army into Germany. I might indeed have passed it more briefly over, if I had chosen; but the dates of all these circumstances ought to be inserted in this history. In truth, I have my own manner of relating things, which, though pleasing to me, is indifferent enough. When I learnt that the kings of France and England were about to interfere in this business, I exerted myself to examine more deeply into the subject than I had hitherto done, and shall continue it as follows.

On the return of duke Winceslaus to Brabant, freed from all dangers of prison, as you have heard, he was desirous of visiting his states and castles, as well in the duchy of Luxembourg as elsewhere. He took therefore his road towards Alsace and the city of Strasburg, through the territory of Fauquemont. He visited those three castles which had caused the hatred of the duke of Gueldres, and found them strong, handsome, and well situated. If he liked them before, he was now still more pleased with them, and ordered the tenants around to assist in strengthening their fortifications. He employed masons, carpenters and ditchers, to repair and ornament them; and before his departure, he appointed a prudent and valiant knight called sir John Grosset, as governor in chief, with orders to guard and defend them at his peril. The duke continued his journey through his states, stopping at various places, according to his pleasure, and then returned to Brabant, which was his fixed place of residence.

Sir John de Blois had at this period married the duchess-dowager of Gueldres, to whom that duchy had fallen by the death of lord Edward, slain, as you have heard, at the battle of Juliers: but the duchess of Juliers opposed her claim on Gueldres, and was supported by the majority of the nobility and principal towns; for she was more popular with them than her eldest sister because she had a fine son, of an age to defend them in war, and neither her sister nor her husband, sir John de Blois, had ever peaceable possession of the duchy. The war to support the claim of the duchess, in which he was forced to engage, cost him upwards of one hundred thousand francs; and after all William de Juliers, son to the duke of Juliers, (who had early shown in his youth that chivalry and love of arms had descended to him by blood on both sides) remained duke of Gueldres. A union was concluded between him and the eldest daughter of duke Albert, who was married to the lord Edward of Gueldres, but the marriage, on account of her extreme youth, had never been consummated. By this union with lord William, she remained duchess of Gueldres.

Time and seasons pass and change; and this young duke increased in honour, strength, and understanding, with a great desire for deeds of arms, and a strong inclination to add to his states. His heart was more English than French, and he had declared in his younger years that he would always aid the kings of England in their wars; for, being more nearly connected by blood with them than with the kings of France, he bore them greater affection. When his council gave him to understand that the Brabanters did him much injury by the detention of the three castles which the duke and duchess held from him, he replied, "Be it so: wait a while: every thing has its turn. It is not yet time for me to exert myself, for our cousin of Brabant has too many powerful friends; but a time may come, when I will rouse myself in earnest." Things remained in this state, until God was pleased to call to him duke Winceslaus, who died duke of Brabant and Luxembourg, as has been already related in this history. The duchess and the states suffered a great loss by the death of this gallant duke.

The young duke of Gueldres, who was now of an age to maintain his pretensions by arms against his enemies, began to take measures for the regaining these three castles, which

had created such hatred between Brabant and his uncle, the lord Edward of Gueldres. He sent persons properly authorised to treat with the duchess of Brabant for the surrender of the castles, on payment of the sum they had been mortgaged for: but the lady replied that, as they were now legally in her possession, she would keep them for herself and her heir, as her lawful inheritance; and that if the duke were in earnest in his professions of friendship to Brabant, he would prove it by yielding up the town of Grave, which he unjustly detained. The Duke of Gueldres on hearing this answer, which was not very agreeable to him, was much piqued, but did not the less adhere to his plans. He now attempted to gain over to his interest the governor of those castles, sir John Grosset, by purchase or otherwise. The knight was prudent and steady: he told those who had been sent secretly to treat with him, never again to mention the subject, for, were he to die for it, he would never act dishonourably, nor be guilty of treason to his lawful sovereign. When the duke found he had not any hopes of succeeding with the governor, he (as I was informed) addressed himself to sir Reginald d'Esconvenort, and excited such a hatred between him and sir John Grosset, for a very trifling cause, that the knight was shortly after murdered in the plains, either by sir Reginald, or by his people, or through an ambuscade, to the great vexation of the duchess of Brabant and that country. The three castles were put under another governor by order of the duchess and her council. Affairs remained some years in this state; but their mutual hatred was privately kept up, as well for these castles as for the town of Grave. Those of Gueldres that bordered on Brabant did as much mischief as they could to their neighbours, more particularly the inhabitants of Grave, which is but four leagues distant from Bois-le-Duc, and a fine open country to ride over: they therefore harassed greatly the Brabanters near that part.

During the time these things were passing, the duke of Gueldres crossed the sea to England, to visit his cousin king Richard, and his other relatives the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, who were then at home, and the great barons of England. They made him good cheer, for they were desirous to see and make acquaintance with him, having before heard how much the duke was attached to England. In this journey he entered into an alliance with the king of England; and, although he had not hitherto received anything from the king to induce him to become his liegeman, he now accepted a pension of one thousand marcs on the king of England's treasury, which, according to the value of the coin, was equal to four thousand francs ready money*. He was advised to renew his claims on Brabant, and was promised to be effectually assisted by England, that no loss should accrue to him. In return for which, he swore to be for ever loyal in his services to England: all this he too readily entered into. When this treaty had been concluded, he took leave of the king and his barons, and returned to Gueldres, when he told the duke of Juliers what he had done, and how he had strengthened himself by his alliance with England.

The duke of Juliers, who, from age, had more experience than his son, was not much rejoiced on hearing it, and said,—"William, what you have done may be the cause that both you and I shall dearly pay for your visit to England. Are you ignorant of the power of the duke of Burgundy, and that he has not his equal in this respect? He is the next heir to the duchy of Brabant, and how can you think of succeeding in any opposition to him, or of resisting so potent a prince?" "How!" replied the duke of Gueldres, "the more rich and powerful he is, the better to make war on. I had rather have for my enemy a rich man, who has large possessions, than a little baron from whom nothing can be gained: for one blow I receive, I wish to give six; besides, the emperor of Germany is so much connected with England, that I may look for assistance from him should there be occasion." "By my faith, fair son William, you are mad; and more of your schemes will fall to the ground than will be accomplished."

I will explain why the duke of Juliers thus checked his son, and doubted of the success of his enterprises. The late king of France exerted himself much to gain friends in different parts: and, though he could not prevail on many to join him in his wars, yet, by gifts and other compliments, he kept them quiet, and by such means acquired several friends in the

* See the Fœdera, an. 10 Ricardi II. where the treaty is at length. The pension was for life, of one thousand pounds sterling.

empire and elsewhere. When the emperor had forgiven the duke of Juliers' conduct to the duke of Brabant, and the last, by obtaining his liberty, was reconciled to the duke of Juliers, he, at the desire of the king of France, waited on him at Paris, where he was most kindly received. The king gave to him and his knights very rich presents of jewels, to the great satisfaction of the duke. In this visit the duke was presented with Vierson* and its lordships, which he held as a fief from the king, to whom he swore he would never bear arms against France. Vierson was originally dependent on the counts de Blois, is situated between Blois and Berry, and may be worth about five hundred francs a year. During the reign of Charles V. he truly kept his oath, and, as long as this king lived, neither bore arms himself, nor entered into any treaty with the enemies of France. When Charles VI. began his reign, he was so much embroiled with the wars with Flanders and England, that he could not attend to everything. The duke of Juliers, not being summoned, did not renew his homage for Vierson; and the duke of Berry, noticing this, seized the lands, which he said were dependent on him, and thus deprived the counts of Blois of their rights. This, however, caused no quarrel between the families, for I saw them frequently together, and, indeed, from their connexion it was right they should be good friends; for Lewis, son of the duke of Berry, was married to the lady Mary, daughter of the count de Blois. The duke of Juliers had thoughts of claiming the lands of Vierson, until he found his son had so hastily, and, as he thought, imprudently allied himself with England, which he imagined would never turn out to his advantage. He had therefore spoken to him in the manner I have related, when the duke of Gueldres returned from England; but he paid not any attention to it, and, as he was young and rash, replied to his father, that he would not do otherwise than he had said; and that he preferred war to peace, and war against the king of France to a contest with a poorer person.

CHAPTER C.—THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO FRANCE FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THEY ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME THE DUKE'S CHALLENGE IS BROUGHT, AND RECEIVE FAVOURABLE ANSWERS.

The duchess of Brabant, who resided at Brussels, was well informed of everything that was passing, and that the duke of Gueldres menaced the Brabanters with war. She was fearful that he would put his threats in execution, and said,—"Ah, may God graciously pardon my deceased lord; for, had he been alive, the duke of Gueldres would not have dared to use the expressions I hear he has done; but, because I am a woman, and old, he wants to attack and make war on me." The duchess assembled her council on the occasion; for she knew her opponent was of a hasty temper, and that action would soon follow his words. At the time this council was held, the duke of Gueldres had sent his defiance to the king of France, which had caused great slander in all countries where it had been told; for the duke was but a petty prince in comparison with others; and the tenor of this challenge was, as I heard, written in such imperious and coarse language as astonished all who saw it. This challenge was spoken of variously, according as the different persons to whom it was told were attached.

The council of the duchess, in answer to her when she demanded their advice, said,—"In the name of God, lady, what you ask may be speedily given. We advise, that you send ambassadors to the king of France and to the duke of Burgundy. You have a good opportunity; for the duke of Gueldres has sent his defiance to the king of France and all his allies. Should he carry his threats into execution, and, as it is reported, make war on that kingdom, in conjunction with the English and Germans, he cannot gain a more convenient entrance into it, than through your duchy. It is right, therefore, the king and the duke of Burgundy be prepared, and that all your castles on the frontiers be well supplied with men at arms; for there is no enemy so contemptible, but that he should be feared.

* "Vierson,"—a city of Berry, on the Cher, diocese of Bourges, twenty-two leagues from Orleans.

We do not mean to say that against him alone, nor for what the Gueldrians may be able to do against us, we should seek for assistance or allies: oh, no; but on account of the connexions he may have formed with foreign countries, especially with the English, in whose cause he is now arming, and the Germans, who are avaricious, and eager to make war on France for the wealth they hope to find there." The duchess replied, "Your advice is good, and I will that attention be paid to it." The envoys to France were chosen from among the privy counsellors of Brabant, and were the lord de Bourgueval master of the household, sir John Opem, a most amiable knight, sir Nicholas de la Monnoye, and John de Grave, a clerk. When their credential letters were drawn out and sealed, they left Brussels and took the road to Paris. At this time, however, the king and the duke of Burgundy were at Rouen, whither the ambassadors went.

On their arrival at Rouen, they waited first on the duke of Burgundy, who entertained them handsomely, as he knew them well, and showed him their credential letters. The duke having perused them, at the proper hour led them to the king, who received them graciously, from his regard to their duchess. The king, after reading their papers, said,—"What you request, demands consideration: keep near our fair uncle of Burgundy, and your business shall be attended to, and concluded as speedily as may be." This answer was satisfactory to them, and, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Burgundy, they returned to their lodgings. The king of France, his uncles and the lords of his council, had, at this moment, full employment, and were daily in council respecting different matters which required it. The challenge of the duke of Gueldres was not very agreeable; and they knew not the intentions of the duke of Brittany, from his strange conduct in regard to the constable of France. They had likewise heard he was busy in providing all his towns and castles with stores and men at arms; and that his correspondence was now more frequent than ever with the king of England and his two uncles: for the duke of Lancaster was still in Galicia. The council of France had, therefore, enough to do, to weigh well these matters; and were so much occupied on them, that the Brabanters waited some time for their answer. At length the duke of Burgundy gave it them as follows: "You will return to our fair aunt, and salute her many times in my name. Give her these letters from the king and from me; and tell her, that we consider her affairs as our own, and desire her not to be alarmed at anything, for she shall have speedy aid; and tell her that the country of Brabant shall not, in any way, be hurt or damaged." This answer was very agreeable to the ambassadors, who instantly returned to Paris, and thence to Brussels, and gave the duchess a detailed account of what had passed, and of the answer they had received, so that she was perfectly contented.

CHAPTER CI.—CONCERNING THE RUMOURS OF THE SIGNS OF SANCTITY WHICH WERE MANIFESTED BY THE CARDINAL DE LUXEMBOURG AFTER HIS DEATH.—THE EXTRAORDINARY END OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.

About this period, there were many rumours, that the body of Saint Peter de Luxembourg, who had been a cardinal, showed miraculous powers in the city of Avignon. This holy cardinal was the son of the lord Guy de Saint Paul, slain at the battle of Juliers. I must say, that the cardinal led a most holy and devout life, doing works agreeable to God; for he was courteous, modest, chaste, and a great almsgiver. He kept from his church preferments merely sufficient for his maintenance, and gave all the rest to the poor. He was the greater part of the day and night in prayer, and shunned all worldly vanities. His life was so devout that it pleased God to call him in his youth; and, instantly after his death, his body, which he had ordered to be buried in the common sepulchre with the poor, performed miracles, for his whole life was full of humility, but it was interred in the chapel of St. Michael. When the pope and cardinals perceived that miracles increased from this holy body, they sent an account of them to the king of France, and to the elder brother of the saint, count Waleran de St. Paul, inviting him to come to Avignon. The count could not refuse, and, when he went thither, presented those fine silver lamps which are now before his altar.

It was wonderful the great faith that was in this saint, and the numbers who came thither when I was at Avignon; for by that city I returned from Foix, to witness this. His miracles and votaries daily multiplied, and it was said he would be canonized; but I never heard more about it.

Since I have related the death of this holy cardinal, I will mention that of a different person, for I have not yet spoken of the death of a king who has supplied ample materials for many parts of this history. His actions, however, were the reverse from those of the preceding personage, for by them the realm of France was nearly destroyed. You will readily guess I mean the king of Navarre. It is a truth well known, that nothing is more certain than death. I repeat it because the king of Navarre, when he died, did not think his end so near. Had he supposed it, he probably would have taken more care of himself. He resided in the city of Pampeluna, and took it into his head that he would raise two hundred thousand florins by a tax on his country. His council dared not contradict him, for he was a cruel man to all who did so. The principal inhabitants of the great towns were summoned, and, fearful of disobeying, they came. When all were assembled in the palace, the king himself, who was a subtle and eloquent man, explained to them the reasons why he wanted money; and that two hundred thousand florins must be raised from the country, in such wise that the rich should pay ten francs each, the middling ranks five, and the poor, one franc. This demand much astonished his audience; for the preceding year there had been a battle in Navarre, which had caused a tax to be laid for one hundred thousand florins: he had, beside, in the same year, married his daughter the lady Jane to the duke of Brittany, and there were large arrears of the tax of her dower yet unpaid.

The king having demanded their answer, they requested some time to consult together: he allowed them fifteen days, when they were all to meet again in the same place, that is to say, those who had come from the cities and towns; on which they departed. When news of this heavy tax was known, the whole country was in consternation. At the end of the fifteen days, they assembled again at Pampeluna, and the deputies from the principal towns amounted to about sixty persons. The king would hear their answer in person, and he ordered them to make it in a large orchard, which was distant from the palace, and inclosed with high walls. In giving their answer, they explained how impossible it was for the country to pay this new tax, from the poverty of the kingdom, and from the arrears of former taxes being still unpaid. They were unanimous in this declaration, and begged of him, for God's sake, to have pity on them, for the country could not in truth bear any additional tax.

When the king of Navarre found he had not any hopes of success, he was silent and discontented: on leaving them he said, "You have been badly advised: consult together again:" and then went away, followed by his council. The deputies were shut up in this orchard, with orders for no one to be suffered to go out of it, and very little meat or drink to be given them. They remained thus in great fear of their lives, and none dared open their lips. It may be supposed he succeeded at last in his plan; for he beheaded three of the most determined in their opposition, to frighten the others to his will. At this moment an extraordinary event happened at Pampeluna, which seemed a judgment from God. I will relate it, as several persons from Pampeluna told it me at Foix, which is but three days' journey off.

It was reported, that the king of Navarre was fond of women, and had at this time a very handsome lady for his mistress, with whom he occasionally amused himself, for he had been long a widower. Having passed a night with her, he returned to his own chamber, shivering with cold, and said to one of his valets, "Prepare my bed, for I want to lie down and repose myself a little." When ready, he undressed himself and went to bed; but he was no sooner laid down than he began to shake, and could not get warm. He was of a great age, about sixty, and accustomed to have his bed well warmed with heated air to make him sweat; and this practice he had long continued without any visible harm. He ordered his servants to warm the bed as usual; but this time, either by the will of God or the devil, it turned out very unfortunate, for the flames somehow set fire to the sheets, and it could not be extinguished before they were destroyed, and the king, who was wrapped up in them, horridly burnt as

far as his navel. He did not instantly die, but lingered on, in great pain and misery, fifteen days; for neither surgeon nor physician could apply any remedies to prevent his death. Such was the end of the king of Navarre, which, however, freed his poor subjects from the tax he would have laid on them. His son Charles was a young, handsome, and gallant knight: he was acknowledged king of Navarre by all his subjects, and, soon after the obsequies of his father, was crowned in the city of Pampeluna*.

CHAPTER CII.—THE DUKE OF BERRY BESIEGES VENTADOUR†.

You have before read of the treaties the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne attempted to make with the captains of the free companies who held castles and forts in Auvergne, the Gevaudan, and Limousin, and were at war with their neighbours. Many of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, for they thought they had sufficiently plundered France, and wished to do the same elsewhere. The count d'Armagnac promised to lead them into Lombardy; but the count de Foix, whom it was not easy to deceive, imagined that was not his intention, and made secret inquiries as to the progress of the business, and whither the men at arms were to march on quitting their strongholds. The common report was, that they still continued their courses, for the men of the country so related it to him. Upon hearing this, he shook his head, and said,—"Such men at arms will not be trifled with. The count d'Armagnac and his brother Bernard are young, and I know they neither love me nor my country: these men at arms, therefore, may perchance fall on me, unless I shall take proper order to guard against them. The proverb says, 'Long provision beforehand maketh sure possession.'"

The count de Foix was not, in truth, wrong in his conjectures, as appearances at one time showed, which I shall relate, if I carry my history to that length. You have heard how that Breton, Geoffry Têtenoire, had long held the castle of Ventadour, on the borders of Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and had refused to surrender for any money that had been offered him. He considered this castle as his own inheritance, and had forced all the surrounding country to enter into composition with him to avoid being plundered. By this means every one could labour the ground at their pleasure, and he was enabled to keep the state of a great baron. He was a cruel man, and very ferocious in his anger, minding no more killing a man than a beast. You must know, that when the tax for the redemption of these castles was first raised, those in Auvergne, imagining that Ventadour would be surrendered to the duke of Berry, and the country delivered from the oppressions of the garrison, very cheerfully paid their quota. But when they saw, that of those garrisons who continued their inroads, that of Ventadour was the most daring, they were very disconsolate and considered the tax that had been raised as thrown away. They declared, that until the garrison of Ventadour was prevented from overrunning the country, they would never pay one farthing of any future tax. This was carried to the duke of Berry, who was lieutenant of Limousin, Gevaudan, and Auvergne, and he declared to his council, that those who had made such declaration were in the right, and that the promises that had been held out were

* "Charles king of Navarre died in 1387, aged 55 years. His death was worthy of his life. He was wrapped up in cloths that had been dipped in spirits of wine and sulphur to re-animate the chill in his limbs, caused by his debaucheries, and to cure his leprosy. By some accident, they caught fire, as they were sewing them about him, and burnt the flesh off his bones. It is thus that almost all the French historians relate the death of Charles; but in the letter of the bishop of Dax, his principal minister, to queen Blanche, the sister of this prince, and widow of Philip de Valois, there is not one word said of this horrid accident, but only of the great pains he suffered in his last illness, and the resignation with which he bore them. Voltaire pretends that Charles was not worse than many other princes. Ferreras had said before him, that the French sirnamed him Charles the Bad, on account of the troubles he had fomented in the kingdom; but that, if his actions were examined, he would be found not sufficiently wicked to deserve such a sirname. It is, however, precisely his actions that have caused it. He was, says father Daniel, treacherous, revengeful, cruel, and the sole cause of the ruin of France. Father Daniel speaks exactly like Mariana, who has painted with energy his cruelties, his infamous debaucheries, and his treasons. Our best historians have done the same. But it is one of the follies of our age to attempt the re-establishment of the most worthless characters, and to cry down those reputations that have been the most exalted."—

Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique.

For more of Charles de Navarre, see les Mémoires de l'Académie.

† "Ventadour,"—a castle in the diocese of Limoges.



The retaking and surrender of the strong
Castle of Montaubon.

badly kept, by their not having so closely besieged the place, as to prevent the garrison sallying forth. The duke then ordered that four hundred spears should be collected, and paid by the country, and placed under the command of sir William de Lignac and sir John Bonne-lance, a courteous and valiant knight from the Bourbonnois, for them to invest Ventadour completely on all sides with block-houses.

These knights and men at arms laid their siege as closely as they could to the castle, and erected four block-houses: they also had large trenches cut by the peasants, and every obstruction thrown across the roads they used to take, so that the garrison was completely shut in. Geoffry, however, was indifferent to this; for he knew he had provision and stores to last for seven years, and that his castle was so strongly placed upon a rock that it could not be taken by storm; and, notwithstanding these block-houses, and this supposed complete blockade, he, at times, with some of his companions, made sallies through a postern that opened between two hidden rocks, and overran the country in search of wealthy prisoners. They never brought anything beside with them to the castle, on account of the difficulty of the passes. This opening could not be closed, and, to the surprise of the country, they were found abroad seven leagues distant: if they were by accident pursued, and had once regained their mountains, though the chase lasted for three leagues, they considered themselves as secure as if in their fort. This manner of harassing the country was long continued; and the siege of the castle, in the manner I have related, lasted for more than a year: by it the country was saved the large sums they used to pay as composition-money. We will, for the present, leave Ventadour, and, by way of variety speak of other matters.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS FOUR HUNDRED SPEARS TO THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT.—THEY SURPRISE AND BURN THE TOWN OF SEAULLE IN GUELDRES.

The duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of his promise to his aunt, the duchess of Brabant. He assembled a body of four hundred good men at arms, from Burgundy and other parts, and appointed two knights for their commanders: the one was sir William de la Trémouille, a Burgundian; the other, sir Gervais de Merande, a German: and said to them,—"You will conduct these men at arms to that part of the frontiers of Brabant and Gueldres our fair aunt and her council have fixed on, and make a severe war on her enemy, for such are our commands." The knights replied, they were ready and willing to obey his orders. When all their stores and men were assembled, they set out for Brabant, and, having entered the duchy of Luxembourg, sent to inform the duchess of their coming. The marshal of Brabant went to meet and conduct them, and, by the directions of the council, quartered them in the three castles the duke of Gueldres claimed, of which they now formed the garrison, and, being on the enemy's land, went forth daily in hopes to meet them. The duke of Gueldres, perceiving that hostilities were begun, reinforced all his towns and castles, and made every preparation to withstand his opponents. Sir William de la Trémouille, desirous to gain renown, and to do some act that should make it known he was in the country, cast his eyes on a town of Gueldres, about four leagues from the castle wherein he was, in hopes to gain it: it was called Seaulle. Having secretly opened his mind to sir Gervais de Merande, and explained his intentions, he agreed to accompany him; for he was equally anxious for deeds of arms. Having collected men from the different garrisons, they marched off at midnight, at a brisk trot, under the care of able guides, who brought them to Seaulle near the point of day. They then halted, and formed another disposition, which, as it was told me, was as follows: sir Gervais, with only thirty lances, was to leave the main body, and, if possible, to gain and keep the gate, until sir William should arrive with the remainder; for if the whole had advanced, an alarm might have been given, but so few would possibly be taken for a party whom the duke of Gueldres had sent to reinforce the place, or some of his men who were riding from one town to another.

As they had planned, so was it executed: sir Gervais left the army with thirty German spears, and rode towards the town. He passed indeed many people on his road thither; for it was market-day, and, as he passed, saluted them in German, which made them all suppose

they were their countrymen, attached to the duke of Gueldres, and going to the garrison. Sir Gervais rode on until he came to the gate, which he found wide open and slightly guarded: indeed it was so early, that few were out of bed. They there halted, and were scarcely masters of the gate, when sir William de la Trémouille, with the main body, came up full gallop, and entered the town, shouting their cry. Thus was the town won without any defence being made: the garrison never imagined the French would have been so enterprising, and the greater part were still in bed. It was on the Martinmas eve this deed was done. Three days before, an English knight had entered the town with ten spears and thirty archers, whom the king of England had sent thither. The knight's name was sir William Fikaoul* ; and, at the moment of the first noise and bustle, he was getting out of his bed. Hearing the town was taken, he asked by whom ; he was told by Bretons. "Ha!" said he, "Bretons are wicked fellows: they will pillage and burn the town, and then leave it: whose cry have they?" "In the name of God," replied a knight, "they cry Trémouille!"

Sir William Fikaoul, upon this, armed himself, and made his men do the same, and barricade his house, to see if any would come to his rescue, but in vain; for every one was so frightened, they were flying in all directions, some for the church, others to escape by an opposite gate to that the enemy had entered, abandoning all they possessed. The French set fire to the town to alarm others at a distance, but there were many houses of stone and brick which could not be affected by it: however, the greater part was burnt down and pillaged, for nothing worth taking was left; and they carried away some of the richest inhabitants prisoners.

The English knight was taken doing his duty. When he saw all was lost, he ordered his house to be cleared of the barricades; for he was fearful of fire, as his hall was full of smoke, and, placing himself and men in front, fought very valiantly, but at length was made prisoner by sir William de la Trémouille: his men were likewise taken, for few were slain. When the French had done all they listed at Seaulle, in Gueldres, and their servants had packed up the plunder, they departed, for it would have been folly to have remained longer, and marched to their different garrisons. Such was the success of this first blow the duke of Gueldres received: he was much vexed when he heard of his loss, and hastened thither with a large body of men at arms, hoping to find the French still there. He strengthened and repaired the town, and placed therein a garrison, who were more diligent in guarding it than the preceding one had been. Thus it happens in war; sometimes one side loses, and sometimes another.

The duchess of Brabant was highly pleased with the success of sir William de la Trémouille and sir Gervais de Merande, and they acquired much renown for it throughout the country. It was the common talk in Brabant, that in the course of the ensuing summer, they would renew the attack, and keep possession of it, for they should then have a sufficient force. The duke of Burgundy was well pleased to hear such satisfactory accounts of the good conduct of those he had sent to Brabant; and, to encourage them to persevere, he frequently wrote to his knight sir William de la Trémouille. They guarded so well the castles on the frontier, that no loss happened; and the enemy was more careful in regard to their towns than they had been before the capture of Seaulle. I will now relate an exploit of Perrot le Béarnois in Auvergne, and detail the whole history of it at length.

CHAPTER CIV.—GERONNET DE MAUDURANT, ONE OF THE CAPTAINS OF PERROT LE BEARNOIS, HAVING BEEN MADE PRISONER BY JOHN BONNE-LANCE, AT MONTFERRANT IN AUVERGNE, FINDS MEANS, AFTER HIS RANSOM WAS PAID, TO PUT LE BEARNOIS IN POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.

This same year, about the middle of May, forty bold companions set out from Chaluçet†, in the possession of Perrot le Béarnois, in Limousin, to seek adventures in Auvergne, under the command of a squire from Gascony called Geronnet de Maudurant, an able man at arms.

* "Fikaoul." Ferard has Vilzraoul, and my MS. Fitz-Paul. Lord Berners has the same as in the text.

† "Chaluçet,"—election of Limoges, near Pierre-buffiere.

On account of the dread this country and the borders of the Bourbonnois had of these people, the duke of Bourbon had appointed, for its defence, one of his knights, a valiant man at arms called sir John Bonne-lance, who was courteous, amorous, and eager to display his courage. When he heard these companions were abroad, he asked how many they might be: and when they said, "About forty," he replied, "As for forty lances, we do not fear that number: I will take as many to meet them." He then departed from the place where he had heard of this excursion, but his greater force was before Ventadour, and collected about forty or fifty of his men at arms that were dispersed on the borders of Limousin, Auvergne, and the Bourbonnois, for he was very desirous to perform some deed of arms. He had with him sir Lewis d'Ambiere, sir Lewis d'Abton, and the lord de St. Obise. They took the field without following any particular road, for they were well acquainted with the country, and came to a pass through which they imagined the enemy must cross, and nowhere else, on account of the mountains, and a river which is wide and deep from the melting of the snow. They had not been there half an hour when the enemy appeared, no way suspecting this meeting. Bonne-lance and his party, with their spears in their rests, charged them, shouting their cry as they were descending the mountain on foot. When they found they must fight, they put a good countenance on it, and prepared for their defence: Geronnet, who was a stout squire, set them the example. Many were, at the first onset, beat down on both sides; but, to say the truth, the French were by far better men at arms than these adventurers, which they showed, for not one turned his back but the servants, who by flight saved themselves while their masters were fighting. Two-and-twenty were made prisoners, and sixteen left dead on the field: their leader surrendered himself prisoner to Bonne-lance.

The victorious party set out on their return, carrying their prisoners with them. On the road, Bonne-lance recollected that, about a month ago, when at Montferrant in Auvergne, he had been well received by the ladies and damsels, and that, as they were amusing themselves, they said to him, "Fair brother Bonne-lance, you are often in the field, and must at times meet your enemies." A lady, who was much in his good graces, added,—"I am sure you have frequent engagements with them, and I say so because I should like to see an Englishman. I have often heard, from a squire of this country with whom you are well acquainted, of the name of Gourdines, that they are determined men at arms, and as expert as any in this country. Indeed, they prove it by their gallantry, and by taking from us towns and castles, and keeping possession of them." "By God, fair lady," replied Bonne-lance, "if I have the good fortune to make one of them my prisoner, you shall see him." "Many thanks," answered the lady. When Bonne-lance remembered this, he had taken the road to Clermont in Auvergne, as the engagement had been hard by; but he quitted it, and followed that to Montferrant, which lay about one league off on the left hand. The inhabitants of Montferrant were in high spirits at the success of Bonne-lance over these adventurers, and gave him a hearty welcome.

When he and his people had dismounted at the hôtel, they disarmed and took their ease. The ladies and damsels assembled to entertain and feast Bonne-lance, whom they came twenty times to see. He gallantly received them, for he was a prudent knight, and addressing himself to the lady who was so anxious to see an Englishman, said,—"Lady, I am come to acquit myself of the promise I made you about a month ago, that if I should, by good fortune, take an Englishman prisoner, I would show him to you. Through the grace of God, I have this day fallen in with a party of very valiant ones; but, although they gave us enough to do, the field is ours. They were not indeed real Englishmen, but Gascons who wage war under that name, and come from Béarn and upper Gascony. You may view them at your leisure; for, out of my love to you, I shall leave them in this town until they have paid me their ransom." The ladies laughed, turned the matter into merriment, and said they were obliged to him. When they departed, he accompanied them, and remained in Montferrant for three days, amusing himself with the ladies and damsels. Bonne-lance, during his stay, gave good entertainment to Maudurant and his companions, as he saw they were poor, but bold fellows in the field; it would have been better for the town had he killed or drowned them than to have left them there.

When he was going away, he said to Geronnet, " You will remain here as hostage for your companions, who are to seek your ransom; and, when you shall be prepared to pay, I have ordered a person to receive it for me; and, the moment you have acquitted yourself to me, you may depart, for I have left instructions that you may meet with no impediment. Remember, Geronnet, that I have treated you handsomely; and, if any of our men fall into your hands, do you treat them in like manner." " On my faith," replied Geronnet, " my fair lord and master, that I will cheerfully do, for we are bounden to it by your generous conduct." Bonne-lance returned to the siege of Ventadour, and twelve of his prisoners remained in Montferrant. The ten others, according to agreement, returned to Chaluçet, to seek from Perrot le Béarnois two-and-twenty hundred francs; for this was the sum their ransoms had been fixed at. The twelve in Montferrant were lodged in a handsome house, and lived at much expense. They were not strictly watched; and, during the fifteen days they staid, they went about the town to amuse themselves, and made such observations on the state of it as cost it afterwards one hundred thousand francs.

When the captain of Chalucet heard of the ill success of Geronnet de Maudurant, and that he and his companions had been defeated by sir John Bonne-lance, he was very indifferent about it, and replied to those who had brought him the news,—" You are come hither to seek for money to pay his and your ransoms: are you not?" " Yes," they replied, " for gain is not always to be looked for." " I know nothing of gain or loss," answered the captain; " but this I know, you will get nothing from me. I did not send you on this excursion: it was your own free election to seek an adventure. Send to, or tell your companions when you see them, that adventure must deliver them. Do you suppose that I will thus spend my money? No, my friends, that I will not, by my faith! I can always have men enough, who will make more prudent excursions than ye have done. I will not, therefore, ransom any man belonging to me, unless he be taken when in my company." This was all the answer they could get respecting Geronnet's ransom. They consulted together, and thought it would be right to send three of them to give Geronnet information of this, that he might consider the matter. The three who were sent, passing without the walls of Clermont, gave their horses water at the mill brook, which runs hard by. They remained some time in the brook observing the walls of Clermont, and noticing they were not too high to be scaled. " By the head of Saint Anthony," said they among themselves, " this town may be easily taken: if we come here some night, we may have it, provided the guard is not very strong." They then added, in their Gascon dialect, " We will bargain for it now, and another time buy it: one cannot bargain and buy in the same day." They then passed on, and arrived at Montferrant, where they found Geronnet and their companions. They related to them, word for word, all that had passed between them and Perrot le Béarnois, which, as they knew not where else to seek for money to pay their ransoms, vexed them exceedingly, and for a day and night they were outrageous at his conduct.

Geronnet having calmly considered the matter, said to those who had come from Chalucet, " Brother-soldiers, return to our captain, and tell him from me, that ever since I have been under his command, I have loyally and faithfully served him, and, if he pleases, will continue to do so; and let him know, that if I shall be forced to turn to the French to obtain my liberty, he will not gain by it. I shall, however, delay doing this as long as I can; and it will be always against my own inclinations. Tell him also, that if he will pay our ransoms, I will, within one month after our deliverance, conduct him to such a place, that it will be his own fault if he does not gain one hundred thousand francs from it." The three companions returned to Perrot, and punctually gave him the message that Geronnet had charged them with. On hearing it, he mused a while, and said, " It may be so: I will speedily give him his liberty." He ordered a large coffer to be opened, that contained upwards of forty thousand francs, money acquired by pillage you must understand, and not from the rents of his estate in Béarn; for the town wherein he was born, and always resided before he left Béarn, has but twelve houses, and belongs to the count de Foix. The name of it is Dadam, three leagues from Orthès. Perrot le Béarnois had counted out before him two-and-twenty hundred francs, and one hundred for their expenses, which he put into a purse, and, calling to him the three companions who had returned from Montferrant, said,—" I give you three-

and-twenty hundred francs: a friend in need is a friend indeed: I shall risk them for Geronnet's freedom: he is able to regain for me, if he pleases, as much again, if not more."

The companions took the money and set out again for Montferrant, which was fourteen long leagues distant; but they had very good passports, which permitted them to pass and repass. Geronnet, on learning that they had returned with the money, was much pleased: he sent for those to whom sir John Bonne-lance had directed him to pay it, and said to them,—"Count it: you will find the purse contains two thousand two hundred francs, which is all we are to give you." After this, he paid liberally, and to the satisfaction of all, the expenses they had been at. When this was done, Geronnet borrowed and hired horses and men to conduct them to Chaluçet, sir John Bonne-lance having received a certificate of the ransom being paid. I am ignorant whether sir John Bonne-lance sent for this money or left it in Montferrant, trusting to the strength of the place; for sir Peter de Giac, at that time chancellor of France, had there deposited his wealth, of which he lost the whole, or at least as much as could be discovered, according to what you will hear told.

When Geronnet de Maudurant returned to Chaluçet, his companions gladly received him, and made him good cheer. After three or four days, Perrot le Béarnois called him, and said,—"Geronnet, you are obliged to the fair offers you sent me, for your freedom, and to them alone; for you know, I was not any way bound to pay your ransom, when taken in excursions made without my orders: now, keep your word, and prove the truth of your offer; otherwise we shall be on bad terms, and you will incur my serious anger: for know that I have not learnt to lose, but to win." "Captain," replied Geronnet, "you have reason to say so; and I now offer to put you in possession of Montferrant within fifteen days, if you be willing to undertake it. In this town there is great wealth and wherewithal to plunder; for, besides its riches in silk and merchandise, many of the inhabitants have much money. Sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, who knows well where to seek for money, has deposited, as I have been informed, a very large sum in this town of Montferrant; and I must say, it is the weakest and worst guarded town in the realm; this is the offer I sent to you, and the promise I entered into. "In God's name," answered Perrot, "it is well said, and I accept it: I will secretly make preparations: you know all the outlets of the town: but will it require many men?" "Three or four hundred spears," said Geronnet, "will do the business; for they do not seem people likely to make any great resistance." "Well, by God," replied Perrot, "I will undertake it, and make it known to the captains of the forts that are near us, and when we be all assembled, will march thither."

In consequence, Perrot le Béarnois got himself in readiness, and sent information of his intentions to the captains of the forts in the neighbourhood, and fixed their rendezvous at the castle of Donzac*, in the bishopric of Clermont, that was not far distant from Montferrant: Olim Barbe, a Gascon, and famous pillager, was the captain of it. The companions from seven forts attached to the English met, on the appointed day, at Donzac, and were upwards of four hundred lances, well mounted, whence they had only six leagues to ride to Montferrant. The first captain who arrived was Perrot le Béarnois, to show he was the chief of the expedition, and to consult with the other leaders before the whole came thither, and lay their plans according to the information which had been given by Geronnet de Maudurant, and as to the time he had fixed for their coming to the town.

Geronnet, with eleven companions, dressed themselves in coats of frise, like to traders, and each leading a horse well laden, according to the custom of the country, set out from Donzac before day, conducting their horses on the road, as carriers. they arrived about noon in the town of Montferrant. No one made any inquiries who they were, never suspecting them to be otherwise than traders or carriers, as their dresses showed, and supposing that they were come to purchase draperies and linens at the fair; for they had travelled, they said, from beyond Montpelier for this purpose, and already much merchandise had arrived from the neighbouring towns. Geronnet carried his company to the Crown Inn, where, having put their horses in a stable, they chose a handsome apartment for themselves, where they remained in quiet, not venturing abroad, in the town, lest their plan might be discovered, but thought only of enjoying themselves, as they intended others should pay their reckoning. Towards evening,

* "Donzac,"—a village in Armagnac, diocese and generality of Auch.

they took a great deal of care of their horses, and gave the host, hostess, and servants to understand, as they had come afar off, it was necessary they should be well attended to. They called so loudly for candles, they could not satisfy them; and would not go to bed, but kept drinking and roaring in their chamber. The host and hostess, noticing the merry life they led, and not having the smallest suspicion of them, went to bed.

I will now return to Perrot le Béarnois and his companions. This same day, towards evening, they left Donzac, under the command of seven captains. Perrot le Béarnois was the chief, then the bourg de Copane, whose name was Arnaudon, the bourg Anglois, le bourg Carlat, Apton Seighin, Olim Barbe, and Bernadon des Isles: there was also with them a grand pillager from Béarn, called the lord de Lance-plaine. It was from him and the bourg de Copane I learnt all this business, and the manner of its being undertaken, after Candlemas, when the nights are long and cold. The weather this night was so severe, with wind and rain, that the captain of the guard would not leave his house, but sent his son, a boy about sixteen years old, to examine the state of the guard. On his arrival, between the outward



Perrot le Bearnois and a Company of Pillagers.—Designed from a MS. Illumination of the Fifteenth Century.

and inward gate, he found four old men, almost frozen with cold, who said to him, "Take from each of us a halfpenny, and allow us to go and warm ourselves." The youth was eager for the money, which he took, and suffered the guard to go home. Geronnet or some of his people were constantly on the watch at the gate of the Crown, for the relief of the guard. Observing the youth return, and the guard with him, they said,—"Things go well: it will be a good night for us: there are none in the town but those who are now in bed, and, as the guard is dismissed, we have nothing to fear."

Perrot and his companions were making all the haste they could; but they were obliged to pass under the walls of Clermont. When within one league of that place, they met Amerigot Marcel, governor of Alose, near St. Flour, with about one hundred spears. When they were known to each other, there was much joy; and they mutually asked whither they were going in such bad weather, and what were the objects of their being abroad. Amerigot Marcel said,—"I come from my castle of Alose, and am going to Carlat." "In God's name," replied the two captains of Carlat, the bourg Anglois, and the bourg de Copane,

" here we are, if you have anything to say to us. Do you want anything ?" " Yes," said he: " you have some prisoners who belong to the dauphin d'Auvergne, and you know he is in treaty with us through the count d'Armagnac. I wish, therefore, to have those prisoners in exchange for some others who are in my fort, as I have been earnestly requested to get them by the lady dauphin, and she is so good a lady, one cannot refuse her anything." The bourg de Copane replied,—" Amerigot, you are indeed bounden to oblige this lady, for you had from her, three years ago, five thousand francs of her money for the ransom of the castle of Mercier. Where is now the lord dauphin ?" " They tell me," says Amerigot, " that he is at Paris, negotiating the treaties you know we have engaged in with him and the count d'Armagnac." " Come with us," said Perrot le Béarnois, " and leave all these things: you will gain by it, for you shall have a share of our booty." " Whither are you going ?" asked Amerigot. " By my faith, brother-soldier, we are going straight to Montferrant, as that town is to be delivered to me this night." Amerigot replied,—" Perrot, what you are about is very wrong; for you know we have entered into a treaty with the count d'Armagnac and this country, which, on that account, thinks itself in a perfect state of security. You will act indeed very ill, if you execute what you have said, and by it break off all our treaties." " On my troth, companion, I will never keep any treaty," said Perrot, " as long as I am master of the field, for we must live. Come with us, for you have nothing to do at Carlat, as the captains are here, and those they have left behind will never give you admittance into the fort."

" With you," replied Amerigot, " I will not go, but, since things are thus, return to my own castle." The parties then separated, and Perrot continued his road toward Clermont and Montferrant. When they were below Clermont, they suddenly halted, for a new thought had struck some of them from what the Gascons told who had been backwards and forwards to Chalucet from Montferrant. They said to the captains who were collected together,—" This city of Clermont is large and rich, and as easy to be taken as Montferrant: since we have ladders with us, let us scale the walls; we shall gain more than at Montferrant."—On hearing this, they had almost resolved to put it into execution; but their captains, having considered it, said,—" Clermont is a strong town, populous, and well provided with arms: if once we alarm them, they will collect together and defend themselves. There is not a doubt of our having the worst of it; and if we be repulsed, and our horses taken or lost, we shall be disabled from advancing any farther. We are at a distance from our castles: the country will rise against us: we shall be pursued, and run the greatest hazard of loss of life or liberty. It will be more advisable to continue our road, and finish what had been first fixed on, than to attempt any new exploit that may cost us too dear." This advice was followed, and not one word more said on the subject. They passed Clermont as quietly and quickly as they could, and, on the point of eleven o'clock, came before Montferrant. They suddenly halted, when they perceived the town about two bow-shots off, and Perrot said,—" We are now at Montferrant: our people must be within it. Do you wait here, and I will go by these ditches to see if I can learn anything of Geronnet, who has brought us hither; and do not you stir until I return." " Go," replied his companions: " we will wait for you."

On this, Perrot le Béarnois, with three others, went away; but it was so very dark, they could not see the length of an acre, and it rained, snowed and blew, most unmercifully. Geronnet was at this hour on the walls, impatiently listening to hear of the arrival of his friends. He looked down, and saw, as he thought, the shadows of men entering the ditches: on this he began to whistle. He was heard by Perrot, who advanced more into the ditch, for there was no water in it on that side; and Geronnet asked, " Who is there ?" Perrot knew him from his Gascon pronunciation, and said, " I am Perrot le Béarnois: is it thou, Geronnet ?" " Yes," replied he: " if you will make yourself ready, and advance your men, you shall enter the town at this place: we cannot fail of success, for the inhabitants are all in bed." " At this place !" said Perrot, " God forbid: I will never enter that way; and, if I do at all, it shall be through the gate." " Then you will not enter at all," replied Geronnet, in a passion. " On my troth, Perrot, it is not in my power: come hither with your rope-

ladders, and none will attempt to oppose your entrance." "Listen to me, Geronnet," said Perrot: "thou hast promised to give me entrance into this town; and, according to thy engagement, I will enter it in no other way than by the gate." "I cannot help it," said Geronnet, "for it is impossible to enter by the gate, as it is closed and guarded, although the men may be asleep."

While they were thus disputing, some of Perrot's men came near the ditch to hear if any body were stirring. Near to where they were, was a small insulated house, adjoining the walls, in which lived a poor tailor, who, having been hard at work until that hour, was going to bed. As the wind carried the sounds of their voices, and as persons hear better in the night than in the day-time, he fancied he heard some loud talking on the bulwarks. He left his house, and, advancing on the walls, saw Perrot's men walking about; on which he cried out, "Treason!" when one of Geronnet's companions seizing him by the throat, said,—"If thou utterest another word, thou art a dead man." On this, fearing to be murdered, he was silent, and Geronnet, turning towards them, said,—"Do not kill the fellow, for he comes so opportunely, it must be through the mercy of God that he is sent, since by his means we shall completely succeed in our enterprise." Then addressing himself to Perrot, he added,—"Do you return to your men; and, when you shall hear the inner gate open, do you attack the outward one with axes to gain admittance." He then told him the use he meant to make of the tailor. Perrot went to his men, and related to them all you have heard. When he was gone, Geronnet said to the tailor, "If thou dost not promise to do all I shall order thee, thou art instantly a dead man." "And what do you want me to do?" "I want thee to go with me to the gate of the town, and awaken the porters, and tell them the governor has sent thee thither to order them to open the gates, or to let thee open them, to some merchants from Montpelier, who are without, heavy laden with merchandise for the fair." "I do not think they will believe me," said the man. "Yes, they will if thou tell them, as a token of being sent by the governor, that he could not come himself to relieve the guard, but sent his son in his stead. If thou dost not well perform all I have now told thee, or should we fail in our exploit, I will slay thee with this dagger."

The poor man, seeing himself menaced with death, for the Gascons are ready enough at this business, promised to do everything according to the orders given to the utmost of his power. They went to the gate, and after knocking at it for some time, awakened the porters: they asked,—"Who are ye that awaken us at such an hour?" "I am such a one," naming himself, "who have this night carried home some work to the governor's house; and as I was coming this way, news was brought that some merchants from Montpelier were without the gate, quite jaded and wet with their journey and loads. He has therefore sent me to tell you to open the gates, or to give me the keys to do so; and, as a proof I am sent by him, I was to say he did not relieve the guard this evening, but sent his son." "That is true," replied they: "thou shalt have the keys: only wait a moment." One of them arose, and taking the keys, that were hanging on a peg, opened a small window, and gave them to him. The moment after, Geronnet snatched them from him, and went to the bars of the gate. The first key he put into the lock luckily opened it: and he then went to the outward gate, thinking to do the same there, but in vain.

Perrot and his companions were on the outside, waiting its opening; but, as Geronnet's endeavours were fruitless, he said to them, "My fair sirs, give some assistance; for I cannot any way open this gate." Then those who were provided with axes and wedges, began to use them like carpenters. As soon as they had made a hole, Geronnet gave them hatchets and saws to cut the bars. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing the noise, quitted their beds, wondering what it could be; for they never imagined the English were come to awaken them at such an hour. The porters at the gate, who had so badly guarded it, hearing the clattering of armour and the neighing of horses, knew they had been deceived and surprised. They went to the windows over the gate, and bawled out, "Treason! treason!" which alarmed the whole town: many rose and fled to save themselves and fortune in the castle, but few were allowed to enter it: for, when the governor heard the English had surprised the town, for fear of consequences he would not lower the draw-bridge. He received, indeed, some of his friends at the first moment, by means of a plank; but when he

heard the cries of the women and children, he withdrew the plank, and would never replace it, but made his preparations for defence, in case the castle should be attacked.

I have said how the first gate was opened: the second was cut down with axes, and the captains, with their companions, marched into the town without any opposition. They did not, at first, enter a house, for they knew not if any bodies of men were collecting to resist them, but went through the town to be assured of it. They only found a few, who were attempting to enter the castle, that made any resistance, but they were soon either slain or made prisoners. Why should I make a long story of it? The town of Montferrant was thus surprised, on a Thursday night, the thirteenth day of February, by Perrot le Béarnois and his accomplices. When they saw themselves masters of the place, they took up their lodgings at different hôtels, without doing violence to any one; for Perrot had ordered, under pain of death, that neither woman nor damsel should be violated, that no houses should be burnt, nor any prisoners made without his knowledge; and that no one, under the same penalty, should hurt church or churchman, nor take away anything from thence. These were the orders Perrot le Béarnois always gave; and he had made them be strictly observed ever since he had entered France, to carry on a war against its towns and castles.

Such was not the conduct of Geoffry Tête-noire: it was indifferent to him whether churches were plundered or not, so that he gained by it. When news was brought to Clermont, which is but a short league distant, of the capture of Montferrant by the English, the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and not without cause, for their enemies were too near. They knew not well how to act; but they made preparations for the defence of the town. This intelligence was also carried to Château-neuf, on the Allier, Thionne, Vic, Yssoire, Riom, Aigue-perse, and the strong castle of Montpensier: all, or the greater part, of these places belonged to the duke of Berry. Those who heard it, or were any way affected by it, were exceedingly surprised: and the neighbouring parts of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Forêts, and even as far as Berry, trembled. When the news came to Paris, the king and his uncles were, as was natural, very wroth. The count-dauphin of Auvergne was at this time in Paris, on the affairs of his country, and greatly hurt when told of the surprise of Montferrant; for, as he was with the count d'Armagnac, lieutenant for the king over these countries, he was afraid blame would be imputed to him for being absent from his government. But his excuse was, that he was at Paris for the completion of the treaties that had been entered into with the captains of the free companies, and that, on the faith of them, the country had thought itself in perfect security. The dauphin, however, set out from Paris, for Auvergne, the moment he heard of it, leaving his state behind, and, only attended by one page, took the road for Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, changing horses daily. In this haste, he came to St. Pierre le Moustier*, where he learnt other intelligence, which I will relate to you.

CHAPTER CV.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS DETERMINE NOT TO KEEP POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.—THEY MAKE A SALLY ON SOME TROOPS FROM CLERMONT, WHO HAD ADVANCED TO THE BARRIERS OF THE CAPTURED TOWN, AND INSTANTLY DEFEAT THEM.

On the Friday morning these captains, being complete lords of Montferrant, and having had all the inhabitants tied together, so that they could not any way oppose them, searched their houses, and packed up whatever they thought would be profitable to them, in draperies, cloths, furs, dresses, and other articles. When at breakfast they had a long consultation, whether to keep the town or not: some were for keeping and fortifying it; but the majority were of a contrary opinion, and said it would be madness to do so, for they would be at too great a distance from their own castles, and be inclosed within it. Should they be besieged, they were not in force to hold out, and too far from any assistance. They would be starved into a surrender; for there were numbers of gentlemen in the towns and cities about; and the duke of Berry, as soon as he should hear what they had done, would order thither the marshal of France, the lord Lewis de Sancerre. The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin

* "St. Pierre le Moustier,"—a town in the Nivernois, seven leagues from Moulins.

would advance to the siege with a great force, without waiting to be sent to; for they had under them the following great barons: the lords de la Tour, d'Apton, d'Aptiel, de Renel, de la Palisse, and several more; but, above all, sir John Bonnelance would come hither, with a large body of friends; for it had been said the town was lost by his imprudence and neglect.

Such were the arguments urged against keeping the town, particularly by Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe. Many other reasons were added; for, should they be taken, they would lose all they had, be punished for what they had done, and their forts would be taken from them. They therefore resolved to march away that evening, and carry away their booty and prisoners, of whom they had more than two hundred. To prevent any hindrance to this plan, they posted strong guards at all the gates, so that no one could leave the town.

I will now relate a skirmish that passed between them and some from Clermont. When news first came to Clermont that Montferrant was taken by the English, they were much alarmed at having such neighbours, and held many consultations on the subject. There was, on the road from Clermont to Montferrant, the handsomest, strongest, and best built church, belonging to the mendicant friars, in France. It had large enclosures, surrounded by high walls, within which were very productive vineyards; for, one year with another, these friars made from one hundred to six score hogsheads of wine. In these consultations, some advised the destruction of this monastery; as they said it was so near the town, that it was not unlikely to be its ruin, if in the hands of these pillagers. The pulling it down had been in agitation formerly, and they were now eager to effect it. But others said, it would be a pity to destroy such handsome buildings; and that it would be better to march to Montferrant, and skirmish with the conquerors, at the barriers, and, if possible, invest the place, to prevent the enemy leaving it; for, within four days, the knights and squires of the Bourbonnois and Forêts would be collected and lay siege to it. While these conversations were going forward in the city of Clermont, about sixty men at arms, well mounted, were ready to march towards Montferrant, and skirmish at the barriers, and then return home again. No one checked their ardour; for there were among them some of the noblest in the town, who seemed eager to perform deeds of valour. Being all equipped, they set off for Montferrant, taking with them thirty cross-bows. Upwards of two hundred volunteers left Clermont and followed them on foot.

It was told to the companions in Montferrant, that a party from Clermont, were at the barriers. This news pleased them much: upwards of one hundred of the most expert having armed themselves, and mounted their horses, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and fell upon those from Clermont, shouting, "Saint George!" When the party saw themselves thus vigorously attacked, they were panic-struck and instantly defeated, without making the smallest defence, but flying in all directions. The best mounted, on leaving Clermont, took the lead, and said on the road they would be the first to attack these pillagers; but shortly they were the first to return to their town, and the Gascons at their heels. Had the last had as good horses, all or the greater part would have remained with them: they, however, chased them until they met the volunteers on foot, who, when they perceived the defeat of their townsmen, kept no longer any order, but ran away for the fastest, leaping from hedge to hedge, and from ditch to ditch, to save themselves. The cross-bows from Clermont kept in better array when the others fled, and drew themselves up in a vineyard with presented bows, making a show of defence. They there remained until the English had returned to Montferrant, for they never thought of going after them. The Clermontois lost twenty of their men, six killed and fourteen made prisoners.

CHAPTER CVI.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS, HAVING PLUNDERED MONTFERRANT, RETREAT TO THEIR FORTS.—HIS ANSWER TO THE DAUPHIN OF AUVERGNE, WHO COMPLAINS OF HIS HAVING SURPRISED THIS TOWN DURING THE TIME TREATIES WERE IN AGITATION FOR HIS LEAVING THE COUNTRY.

When this business was over, they were busily employed until near night in packing up their plunder. On the point of six o'clock, having completed it, they were on foot, except about sixty on horseback, and conducted down the streets more than four hundred horses laden with cloths, linen, furs, and whatever they had seized. They had found in the houses of the rich, caskets full, but had left them empty. Having bound all the inhabitants, two and two, they had the gates opened after nightfall and departed, not having staid at Montferrant more than eighteen hours. They sent their baggage and prisoners before, with those on foot; and the captains followed close after on horseback. It was dark night; and, as the country did not suspect their stay would have been so short, they were not pursued. About midnight they came to Donzac, which they had left two days before, and there unpacked and examined their plunder. I heard, when in that country, that they gained by this expedition upwards of one hundred thousand francs, besides prisoners; for sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, alone lost more than thirty thousand francs in gold.

The companions had wisely resolved to leave Montferrant as they did: had they staid two days longer, they could not have attempted it without great danger of their lives. The whole surrounding country were collecting, and advancing in great bodies to lay siege to them, under the command of the lords de la Tour, de Montague, d'Apthier, d'Apthon, sir Guiscard Dauphin, the marquis of Gaiulhat, sir Lewis d'Ambiere, the lord de la Palisse, sir Ploustrac de Chastelux, and the séneschal de Montaigne. None remained at home, and the count-dauphin was very active in the matter. He would have been there within two days, had he not heard that the Gascons had retreated to their forts: at the same time, he received an account of all the mischief which they had committed. When he was assured this intelligence was true, he travelled more slowly to Saint Pourçain, and thence to Moulins in the Bourbonnois, where he met his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, who had been very much alarmed, but was rejoiced on hearing the enemy had retreated, though those of Montferrant had suffered severely by their visit, as her country was now freed from such near and troublesome neighbours. "On my faith," said the count-dauphin, "though it were to cost me a very large sum of money, I wish these pillagers had remained in Montferrant, for it should have ended badly with them. We in Auvergne could never have had so fair an opportunity of punishing them, and gaining their forts. They prove their abilities in war by having so expeditiously finished the matter. They have now re-entered their forts, and their plunder is in safety." Thus did the count-dauphin of Auvergne and his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, converse together.

Perrot le Béarnois, Olim Barbe, le bourg de Copane, le bourg Anglois, Apthon Seighin, and the other captains of the free companies, on their arrival at Donzac, made a division of their pillage and prisoners; some they ransomed, others were carried with them to their different forts, when they separated at Donzac for Carlat, Chaluçet, and their other garrisons. The country of Auvergne was now better guarded than ever. The count d'Armagnac and the count-dauphin sent, however, to tell Perrot le Béarnois, that he had treacherously and wickedly surprised and plundered Montferrant, during the time when treaties were negotiating between them, and that, as he had assented to such treaties, they expected he would make reparation for the mischief that had been done. Perrot replied to this message by saying, that "under their graces' favour, neither he nor any of the seven captains, who had plundered Montferrant, had ever entered into any treaty with them: that they had not taken the town treacherously nor by scalado, but had fairly entered by the gate, which had been opened to them on their arrival: that if they had assented to a treaty, legally sworn and sealed, they would, on their part, religiously and loyally have adhered to it; but that

was not the fact, nor had they intentions of ever entering into any treaty with him." Things remained in this state, nor could these lords gain anything more. Sir Peter de Giac was much vexed at his loss, and the townsmen of Montferrant recovered themselves as well as they could from such an unfortunate adventure.

CHAPTER CVII.—THE LORD LEWIS OF BLOIS MARRIES THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, AND THE LORD JOHN OF BERRY THE PRINCESS MARY OF FRANCE, WHO DIES SHORTLY AFTER.—THE DEATH OF THE LADY JANE OF ARMAGNAC, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

COUNT Guy de Blois, in company with his countess and a handsome attendance of knights, squires, and ladies, set out, in the month of August of the year of our Lord 1386*, in grand array, from his castle of Blois, for Berry. They carried with them their young son, who, the preceding year, had been betrothed to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry; and it was the intention of all parties, that on their arrival at Bourges the marriage should be consummated. When the contracts had been signed, the marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, at Bourges, by a valiant prelate, the cardinal of Avignon. The chancellor of Berry and the bishop of Poitiers had betrothed them to each other the year before. There were many grand feasts and entertainments at this wedding of lord Lewis of Blois with the lady Mary of Berry, and the tilts and tournaments of the knights and squires lasted for eight days. The count and countess of Blois, when all was over, took leave of the duke of Berry and returned to Blois, accompanied by their daughter-in-law.

This same year, John of Berry, son of the duke of Berry, and styled count de Montpensier, was married to lady Mary of France, sister to king Charles. The duchess of Berry, with her son and the lady Mary of France, paid a visit to the count and countess of Blois during the Lent of the ensuing year. They and their attendants were grandly received in the castle of Blois, as the count understood these matters well. I was present at the time of this visit. When the duchess and her children had staid three days, they departed for Poitiers; but they went by water down the Loire as far as Amboise, and from thence travelled in cars and on horseback to Poitou. The duchess and her children resided for the most part in the fair castle of a handsome town called Chinon†.

In this year died the lady Mary of France, the young bride of the count de Montpensier. Soon after died also, the lady Jane d'Armagnac, duchess of Berry. Thus the duke and his son were left widowers: they, however, married again, but not immediately. I shall speak of these second marriages, more especially of that of the duke, at a proper time, as our history claims that mention be made of it.

CHAPTER CVIII.—WHILE THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE IS IN DELIBERATION WHETHER OR NOT TO MARCH AN ARMY AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, THE DUKE OF BERRY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, TO ENDEAVOUR TO WIN HIM OVER TO THE PARTY OF FRANCE, AFTER HAVING ALIENATED HIMSELF FROM IT BY THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE.

I HAVE before mentioned the challenge which had been sent by the duke of Gueldres to the king of France. It was much talked of everywhere, from the uncourteous and indeed rude language it was said to contain. I was in truth shown some rough drafts, which were said to be exact copies of this challenge; but as I never saw the original, nor any certified copy, I did not give much credit to what so nearly concerned a little prince, like the duke of

* Denis Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, that Froissart having omitted to notice these marriages at their proper time, prefers mentioning them here rather than omit them entirely.

† "Chinon," an ancient town of France, election of Tours. It is remarkable for the death of Henry II. of England, and the residence of Charles VII. of France. Rabelais was born very near to it.

Gueldres and a king of France. It was evident that this conduct had greatly angered the king of France, who seemed determined to have reparation, and expected excuses to be made for it by the duke of Gueldres. The king's council had resolved it should not remain quiet: for the great barons had declared, that if the king did not show his resentment, whatever sums it might cost France, they would be alone to blame: for the king had proved, when in Flanders, his willingness to pursue his enemies. The king was young, indeed, but of good courage; and if he suffered such insults with patience, foreign countries would hold the nobility of France very cheap, as they were the king's advisers, and had sworn to guard his honour. The lord de Coucy took great pains in the council, that no blame might fall on him; and showed clearly he personally felt the insult. He was better acquainted with the character of the Germans than many others, from his disputes with the duke of Austria, and from different transactions in which he had been engaged with them.

The king's ministers saw that the greater part of the nobles of the realm were for war against Gueldres, and, in particular the duke of Burgundy, on account of the warfare the duke was carrying on against his aunt, the duchess, and the country of Brabant. This duchy reverted to him after the decease of his aunt and her sister*, who were both old ladies. The duke of Burgundy would very gladly have seen the duke of Gueldres, who was chivalrous enough, checked by fair or foul means. It was necessary, however, the kingdom should be unanimous in this disposition; for it was a great distance the king of France would have to march into Germany to make conquests and put lords under his obedience; and he must carry with him the whole force of the kingdom; for, as the Germans were so avaricious, it was uncertain if they would not all unite in the support of the duke of Gueldres. In addition, the duke of Burgundy and the other nobles were aware of the consequences the conduct of the Duke of Brittany might lead to; for he showed his preference of war to peace with France; and the lords of the council knew he was laying provision of stores and artillery in all his strong towns and castles for their defence, in case of being besieged. Besides this, he was constantly sending over letters and messengers to England, to the king and his council, in the most affectionate terms, offering henceforth the strongest friendship, so that the English might continue the war with the most flattering hopes of success.

The council were unwilling to decide on any bold measures, until this cloud, which hung over Brittany, was removed by some means or other, so that the kingdom might not have any fear from that quarter: for, should the king march into Germany, the country would be left defenceless, and they knew not well how to bring about an accommodation. Those who had been sent into Brittany, the Bishop of Langres, sir John de Vienne, and sir John de Bueil, were returned, and had told the king and his uncles of their ill success. Upon this the duke of Berry resolved to send thither his cousin, the count d'Estampes, who was a valiant man and able negotiator. He therefore addressed him in such words as these,—"Fair cousin, I entreat you would go to Brittany: it is absolutely necessary you should do so, to negotiate with our cousin, the duke of Brittany; and should you find him hot and imperious in speech, do not you mind it, nor put yourself in any passion. Treat him gently, and with the greatest attention, and endeavour to make him listen to reason: tell him that the king, myself, and brother of Burgundy, wish him every thing good, and bear him the strongest affection; and that, if he would come and live with us, he would find us always ready to serve him. In respect to the castles which he holds from the constable, say, jokingly, that, to be sure, he had seized them unjustly, and that, if he would be pleased to render them back it would redound greatly to his honour, and the king would give him as rich and as strong ones in any part of the kingdom he may choose. Exert yourself, dear cousin, to bring us back good news; and do not quit him, however you may be delayed

* In the 12th annotation of Denis Sauvage, he makes the following observations;

"*Sister.*" "I should suppose this sister to be Jane, widow of the late William count of Hainault, according to the 29th and 117th chapters of the first volume, if the 257th of the same volume, and the 209th of the second, did not incline me to believe, that this widow was the Jane of Brabant married again to Winceslaus, last duke of Brabant, who acquired, by his union with her, that duchy. The countess of Flanders, who was sister to this duchess, died five years before her husband, count Lewis of Flanders, who deceased in the month of January, 1384; so that I suspect the reading should be, 'after the decease of his aunt who was now very old;' for I cannot say who this sister was."

without bringing matters to some sort of a conclusion, taking care to remember all the duke's answers, and to examine well the state of the duchy." The count d'Estampes assured the duke he would cheerfully undertake it; and he made no long delay, from the time of his conversation, in his preparations for the journey. When ready, he set out for Brittany, taking his road through Chartres and Mans, and the rich country of Maine to Angers, where he met the queen of Naples, widow of the duke of Anjou, who had styled himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of La Puglia, and count de Provence. Her two sons, the lords Lewis and Charles, were with her.

The queen received her cousin, the count d'Estampes, handsomely, and becoming her situation; and they had many conversations together, such as lords and ladies are accustomed to have. John of Brittany was likewise there, who was not in the good graces of the duke of Brittany, whither the count was going: but he carried it off as well as he could; for, not having any forces to support his pretensions, he was obliged so to do. The count remained at Angers a day and night, and then took his leave, and departed for Chantoceaux*, where he arrived that day, and then continued his journey to Nantes, where he refreshed himself, and inquired after the duke of Brittany. He was told that he was at Vannes, or in that part of the country, which was his usual place of residence. He took the road for Vannes, where, on his arrival, he waited on the duke, who received him very kindly, for they were nearly connected by blood. The count d'Estampes, knowing well how to conduct himself with great princes and dames, for he had been brought up and educated with them, acquitted himself with much prudence when in the presence of the duke, and, dissembling with him, did not, for some days, discover the object of his coming. When he found a proper opportunity, he began upon it with great caution and humility, to gain the duke's affection, in manner something like the following: "My lord and very dear cousin, you must not be surprised if I am come to see you from such a great distance, for I was very desirous of so doing." He then continued to inform him, word for word, what the duke of Berry had charged him to say. The duke of Brittany did not seem to pay any great attention to what he said, but, when he had done, replied to the count d'Estampes,—"We have in truth heard before what you now tell us, and will consider of it, for we have not as yet done so. You will remain with us as long as you please, for your coming has given us much pleasure."

The count could not, for the present, obtain any other answer: but he continued with the duke, and was lodged within his castle. He staid about fifteen days with the duke of Brittany in Vannes and thereabouts, who treated him with much affection. He showed him his fair castle of Ermine, which he had had newly repaired and beautified, as he there enjoyed himself the most. The count, one day finding him in good humour, again remonstrated with him on his late conduct, and repeated the cause of his coming; but, though the duke's answers were fair, there was no dependence to be placed on his restitution of the hundred thousand francs and the castles to the constable. He did at length restore them; but it was of his own free-will, without any request being made, and when it was the least expected, as I will relate in the course of this history, according to the information I received. The count d'Estampes, finding that a longer stay in Brittany would be useless, determined to take his leave of the duke, and return to France, to the duke of Berry, who had sent him thither. The duke of Brittany parted with him very affectionately, and presented him with a handsome white palfrey, saddled and equipped as if for a king, and a ring with a rich stone, which had cost at least one thousand francs.

The count, on leaving Brittany, went to Angers, where he waited on the queen of Naples and John of Brittany, who were anxious to hear what had passed. They said, "Fair cousin, you must have been well employed, for you have made a long stay in Brittany." He related to them partly what he had done, but the conclusion was, that he had been unsuccessful. When he had remained with them one day, he departed for Tours, and continued his journey into Berry, and found the duke of Berry at Mehun-sur-Yevre*, where he had lately built a very fine castle, and was daily adding to it. The duke of Berry entertained the count well, and inquired what had passed in Brittany. The count told him, word for word, the conversation between him and the duke, and that it had been impossible to turn him from his purposes,

* "Chantoceaux,"—a small town, diocese of Nantes.

whatever they might be. The duke of Berry, seeing nothing better could be done, made light of it, and, shortly after, returned to the king and the duke of Burgundy, to relate to them the ill success of the journey the count d'Estampes had undertaken, at his request, to Brittany. As they saw they could not do more, affairs remained in this state.



Duke of Brittany presenting Count d'Estampes with "a handsome white palfrey, saddled and equipped as if for a king." Designed from MS. illumination of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE CASTILLIANS AND FRENCH, AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FROM GALICIA, RE-CONQUER, IN A VERY SHORT TIME, ALL THE TOWNS AND CASTLES HE HAD WON.—THE ENGLISH ABUSE CASTILLE, WHEN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL INVITE THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO HAD FLED FROM ENGLAND, TO PARIS.

You have before heard how the English, who had come with the duke of Lancaster to Galicia, had departed, and how the duke and duchess had retired to Oporto, where they had resided some time with king John of Portugal, who had married the duke's daughter. The duke of Lancaster was very disconsolate that his affairs had taken so ruinous a turn, and that his best knights and squires had fallen victims to disease. The whole country of Galicia was now returned to its allegiance to the king of Castille; for the moment the Castillians, and the French knights under sir Oliver du Guesclin, heard of the duke of Lancaster's departure for Portugal, and that few English had remained behind, they sallied forth to conquer Galicia back again, which was soon done. The inhabitants of cities and towns were more attached to the king of Castille than to the duke of Lancaster, provided, however, he was able to keep the field; for the Castillians and Galicians resemble a good deal the Lombards and Italians, who are always on the side of the strongest, and shout out, "The conqueror for ever!"

All which the duke of Lancaster had been able to win before the beginning of July was regained, and the places garrisoned again by French and others under the obedience of the king of Castille. The English, who thought to pass the winter quietly there, were driven out by fair or foul means, for such as made resistance were put to death. Others, seeing affairs go badly, surrendered on having passports given them to return through Castille to

* "Mehun-sur-Yevre,"—a town in Berry, on the Yevre, four leagues from Bourges.

Gascony by Bayonne and Bordeaux. The duke of Lancaster was duly informed of all this when at Oporto, and not being able any way to provide a remedy, it gave him great unquietness of heart. This may be readily believed, for the higher the spirit and expectations are, the greater and more bitter are disappointments when things turn out contrary. He, however, kept up his courage tolerably well, and said at times, that if he had been unsuccessful this year, through the grace of God he should do better another: for the fortunes of this world are so changeable, they cannot remain always the same. The king of Portugal comforted him as much as was in his power, saying,—"Sir, you will keep your state in this country, while you write to your brothers and friends in England the melancholy event of your expedition, though they be now fully informed of all, and press them to send you, early in March next, five or six hundred spears and two thousand archers. I will re-assemble my forces, for my subjects are well inclined to fight the Castillians, and we will make an effectual war against them. A kingdom may be won and lost in one campaign."

The duke, on hearing the king thus discourse, was much pleased, and returned him his thanks. But, notwithstanding the king of Portugal had held such language to induce his father-in-law to take courage, the duke was not ignorant that England was in a very troubled state, that the council had many weighty things to attend to, as well respecting the affairs of the borders of Scotland, which gave them much uneasiness, as concerning the duke of Brittany, who was negotiating important treaties with them. He remembered also that he had many difficulties to obtain the force he had brought with him to Galicia, and that, knowing his countrymen well, he had never had any intention of seeking a reinforcement, for he was aware the country at present was as heavily pressed as it was able to bear; that those who had gone home from Castille would never return thither, and he was fearful they would discourage any others from coming to his aid. Although he knew all this, he did not behave well to the king and barons of Portugal in hiding it from them. After residing some time at Oporto, he told the king, that many reasons urged him to return to Bayonne and the Bordelois; for that Portugal, though he was so agreeably received there by all, was not his own inheritance. He added, that as there were so many strong places and castles in the archbishopric of Bordeaux, on the borders of Foix, Armagnac, beyond the Garonne and Dordogne, in Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne, and other parts, which were still attached to the English, and whose garrisons were carrying on a war under his name: it therefore was his duty to go thither, and give them aid and advice, should there be occasion. He was besides, when in Portugal, too remote to hear news from England; for the English dread the voyage to Portugal, for its length and danger of meeting Castillian, Galician, or Seville vessels, which cover that sea, either in going to, or returning from Flanders, with merchandise.

For these and other reasons, the duke of Lancaster made his preparations for departure; and when the galleys, which the king of Portugal had provided for him, under the command of his principal admiral Alphonso Bretat, were ready, and the weather favourable, he and his duchess took leave of the king, their daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and embarked and put to sea. They coasted the shores, and, having wind and weather fair, arrived safely at Bayonne in a few days. The inhabitants of Bayonne and the adjacent parts were much rejoiced at their arrival, for they desired greatly their coming, and waited on them to pay their respects. News of the duke and duchess being at Bayonne with their daughter was spread far and near, and gave much pleasure to Bordeaux and the Bordelois.

Sir John Harpedon, séneschal of Bordeaux, and the séneschal des Landes, with other gentlemen of the country, such as the lord de Mucident, the lords de Duras, de Rosem, de Landuras, de Chaumont, de l'Esparre, de Copane, and several more of the principal barons and knights, paid their compliments to the duke. He received them kindly as they came, for they arrived separately. All offered him such services and affection as are due to a lord. The duke resided this season at Bayonne. He frequently wrote to the king of England and to his brothers; but, for whatever he could urge, he had not any reinforcement of men at arms or archers; and, as things were then situated, the duke of Lancaster and his concerns were totally disregarded. Those who had returned from Castille gave such accounts as discouraged others from going thither. They said, "The voyage was so long, a war with

France would be far more advantageous. France has a rich country and temperate climate, with fine rivers; but Castille has nothing but rocks and high mountains, a sharp air, muddy rivers, bad meat, and wines so hot and harsh there is no drinking them. The inhabitants are poor and filthy, badly clothed and lodged, and quite different in their manners to us, so that it would be folly to go thither. When you enter a large city or town, you expect to find everything, but you will meet with nothing but wines, lard, and empty coffers. It is quite the contrary in France; for there we have many a time found, in the cities and towns, when the fortune of war delivered them into our hands, such wealth and riches as astonished us. It is such a war as this we ought to attend to, and boldly hazard our lives, for it is very profitable, and not in a war with Castille or Portugal, where there is nothing but poverty and loss to be suffered."

Such were the conversations of the English who had returned from Castille, so that the ministers who ruled the country, perceived that any expedition thither would be very unpopular. The country was not as yet recovered from the late troubles, which the executions of sir Robert Tresilian and others, and the flight of the duke of Ireland, had thrown it into. The king had also new counsellors, with whom he was not, at that time, well reconciled. All these things prevented any attention being paid to what related to the duke of Lancaster, who still resided at Bayonne. The situation of England, with respect to its internal divisions, the desperate state of the affairs of the duke of Lancaster, and all that related to the duke of Ireland and his partisans, were perfectly known to the king of France and his council. To gain more information on these subjects, the king, by the advice of his uncles, resolved to invite the duke of Ireland into France, and to send to him at Utrecht, where he resided, proper passports for his coming thither, and for remaining as long as it should be the king's pleasure, and to return whenever the duke should please. It was necessary to send special messengers, and that his passport should be particularly made out otherwise the duke would not quit Utrecht; for he knew he was in the ill graces of the lord de Coucy, (who was a great baron, and of high birth in France) and not without cause, for, to say the truth, he had very scandalously treated his duchess, the daughter of the lord de Coucy. This certainly was the principal reason that had blasted his character in France and elsewhere; for he was there as much hated and despised as in England. When this matter was discussed in the council of France, the lord de Coucy strongly opposed it; but they gave so many reasons for the advantages that might be reaped from the duke's coming, as to induce him to yield; indeed as the king willed it, he could not say more.

The king, being young, was desirous to see the duke of Ireland, because he had been told he was a gallant knight, and that the king of England's love for him had been unbounded. A knight and clerk, who was one of the king's notaries, were sent to seek him. The duke of Ireland was very much astonished when he first heard the king of France wished to see him, and had many ideas what could be the cause of it. Having considered the passport, he found he might safely go to the king in France, and return to Utrecht when he pleased. He therefore left Utrecht, in company with those who had been sent for him, and continued his journey until he arrived at Paris, for the king then resided at the castle of the Louvre. The duke was well received by the king and his uncles; and the king was desirous he would fix his residence in France, and had an hotel appointed for him to live and keep his state. He had wherewithal to do so handsomely, for he had brought immense sums of money with him from England, and the constable of France was still much indebted to him for the ransom of John of Brittany, as the whole had not been paid. The duke of Ireland made frequent visits to the king, who entertained him well; and he was invited to all the feasts, tilts and tournaments.

CHAPTER CX.—THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE DISAGREE, AS TO THE KING'S GOING INTO GERMANY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE REALM.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY STRENGTHENS HIS GARRISONS, AND FORMS ALLIANCES WITH ENGLAND AND THE KING OF NAVARRE. —THE ENGLISH RAISE A LARGE ARMY.

You have before heard how the count d'Estampes was sent by the duke of Berry into Brittany, in the hopes of conciliating the duke of Brittany, and had returned unsuccessful, to the great vexation of the duke of Berry, but more particularly to that of the king's council; for they knew the eagerness of the king to march to Germany to revenge himself for the rude and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had sent him. The wisest of the council, foreseeing what might happen, thought it would be too dangerous for the king, at this moment, to leave the realm. They now clearly saw the duke of Brittany would not listen to terms of accommodation, and felt his conduct, in arresting, confining, and ransoming the constable, for one hundred thousand francs, three castles and a town, highly offensive to the honour of France. They heard also, that the duke had entered into a strong alliance with the king of England, and was laying up stores of all kinds in his different towns and castles. He was seeking friends on all sides, so that his barons and knights knew not how to act, (or at least the greater part) whether to go to France, or remain with the duke and abide the event; but they would never have taken arms against France, for the knights and squires of Brittany are too loyal Frenchmen to be induced to be guilty of such conduct. The council were fearful, and with reason, should the king march to Germany with a large force, and he could not do otherwise, that the duke of Brittany would introduce the English to his country, by Saint Malo, Saint Matthieu, Kemper, Treguier, Guerrande, Vannes, or on some other parts of the coast, for they could not gain a better entrance into France. They were, therefore, much puzzled, how they could, without compromising the King's honour and that of the realm, bring about a reconciliation with the duke. But some of the council said, "that it would be very blameable in the king to put off his expedition for this duke of Brittany, who was not master of his own country; and he might be assured that the knights and barons of Brittany would never side with him against the king of France. Let the king, in God's name, undertake the expedition, and the constable, with his Bretons, may stay at home to guard the country." This opinion was ably supported in the council; but others opposed it, saying, "It cannot be done, for the king will never undertake it without the constable, as he knows more of war than any other knight." Some argued, saying, "Let the king then remain, and send thither one of his uncles, for instance my lord of Burgundy, with two thousand lances and seven thousand lusty varlets; for, as the war principally affects him, he is bound to go thither, from his connection with Brabant, which is the seat of war; and he will be joined, when in that country, by seven hundred spears, and from twenty to thirty thousand of the common people."—"What you say is to no purpose," others replied, "for the king is determined to go, as commander in chief: he says, since he has been challenged, he will not refuse it. It is proper he should therefore go; and, as he is young, the oftener he bears arms, the more will he like them."—"All this is well," said some, "but who will be bold enough to advise the king to march so far into Germany, and among such proud and crafty people? The entrance may be easy enough, but not so the return; for, when they know that the king of France and his nobles are in the heart of their country, they will collect together at some of the passes they are acquainted with, and of which we are ignorant, and completely destroy us. They are the most avaricious of mankind, and the most cruel to their prisoners; for, when they take any in war, they throw them into close dungeons, loaded with fetters, and such like prison furniture: they are cunning enough in these matters, in order to obtain a larger ransom for them. They are in the highest spirits when they make captive a nobleman or man of rank, and carry him with them into Bohemia, Austria, or Saxony, and confine him in some uninhabited castle, where you must seek for him. Such people are worse than Pagans or Saracens, for their extreme covetousness robs them of all ideas of honour. Now, if you conduct the king to such a country, and any melancholy event happen, and who can foresee what unfortunate accidents may not occur?

it will be said that we have advised him, like traitors, to his ruin, and not for the welfare of him or the kingdom. But, should the king persist in this expedition (God defend the realm from harm!) whom will he take with him, and what nobles are to attend him? for he must be properly accompanied, and the country, being left empty of defenders, is in risk of total destruction. Who will now advise the king to undertake this matter in person?"—"What can be done then?" said others in reply. "Why," answered those who had more maturely considered the matter, and weighed all the difficulties attending it, "Let the king think no more of it, nor send any considerable force thither. The duke of Gueldres is young and hot-headed, and puffed up with having challenged a king of France. It has not proceeded from any solid understanding, but from the self-sufficiency of a young man, who wants to fly before he has wings. Since he has sent his defiance, let him follow it up: the kingdom of France is large, and the moment he shall enter it, whatever part it may be, the king will be instantly informed of it, and have just cause for calling on his subjects for support, and for marching to repel the invader, should he have remained in France, or for pursuing him into Germany. The king will, by such conduct, acquire honour for himself and his kingdom, at a much cheaper rate than by marching into Gueldres. We have been informed, by those well acquainted with the country, that there are four large rivers to pass before you arrive at the duke's territories, and that the smallest is as wide as the Loire at Nemours or La Charité, and the country was covered with heath and offered no place fit for encampment. Now, those who please may advise the king to undertake his expedition through such a country."

Thus, as I have said, was the council divided respecting this expedition to Gueldres, which the king was very anxious to accomplish. Indeed, more progress would have been made towards it, if they had not been afraid of the mischief that might come from Brittany; and this delayed it much. There was cause for their fears; for the duke, who had received information of the challenge of the duke of Gueldres, and of the king's eagerness to march against him, was only waiting until the king had quitted the kingdom, to introduce the English, with whom he had formed an alliance, into his duchy. The duke had by his subtle arts gained over the principal towns to his interest, such as Nantes, Vannes, Rennes, Treguier, Guerrande, Lamballe, St. Malo, and St. Matthieu de Fine-Pôterne, but had failed in his attempts to gain the nobles. He hoped, indeed, they would accompany the constable into Germany and give him freer scope for his war. He filled his towns and castles with all sorts of stores, artillery and provisions, plainly showing he preferred war to peace. He had likewise formed a strict alliance with his brother-in-law, the young king of Navarre, and had promised him, that if he succeeded in his attempt to bring over a body of Englishmen at arms and archers, he would lead them instantly to Normandy, and recover for him all those towns and places the late king of France had won from his father by himself, or the lord de Coucy and others. The king of Navarre indulged in these hopes, and paid every respectful compliment to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, with whom he entered into an alliance.

On the 7th day of April, in the year of grace 1388, it was determined in the council of the king of England, by the dukes of York and Gloucester, that Richard earl of Arundel should be appointed commander in chief of a naval expedition. He was to have under him one thousand men at arms and three thousand archers, who were to assemble at Southampton, the 15th of May, when the fleet would be ready prepared to receive them, and it was fixed that those who were to accompany him were immediately to begin their march to Southampton. The king of England kept a grand feast on St. George's day, this year, at Windsor, which was attended by a number of the lords, who were to accompany the earl of Arundel, and who there took leave of the king, the queen, his uncles and ladies. The whole of this armament were at Southampton or in those parts, on the appointed day, and embarked on board the fleet the twentieth day of May, when the weather was fine and clear. With the earl of Arundel were, the earls of Nottingham and Devonshire, the lord Thomas Percy, the lord Clifford, sir John de Warwick, sir William Leslie, the lord Camois, sir Stephen de Liberie, sir William Helmon, sir Thomas Moreaux, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Scot, sir Peter de Montberry, sir Lewis Clanborough, sir Thomas Cook, sir William Paulet, and several more: in the whole, there were one thousand good men at arms and about three thousand archers. They embarked no horses with them; for they hoped, if successful, to

find horses in plenty in Brittany. The day they weighed anchor the sea was so calm and serene, that it was beautiful to behold. They made for the shores of Brittany or Normandy, with a determination to land no where else, unless other intelligence should be sent them. They had in their fleet some light vessels (called Balniers Coursiers) which drew but little water, and these were sent in advance, to seek adventures; in the same manner as knights and squires, mounted on the fleetest horses, are ordered to scour in front of an army, to see if there are any ambuscades. We will, however, leave this army, and speak of the affairs of Gueldres and Brabant, and of the siege of Grave.

CHAPTER CXI.—THE BRABANTERS LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF GRAVE.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE GAINS THE TOWNS OF SAINT MALO AND SAINT MATTHIEU DE FINE-PÔTERNE, AND GARRISONS THEM WITH HIS MEN.

I HAVE before given an account of the ancient dukes of Gueldres, and how the eldest son of the first duke married Bertaldo of Mechlin's daughter, in order to redeem his inheritance, and had mortgaged three of his castles to the count de Mours, who, unable to regain the money he had lent, had sold them to Winceslaus, duke of Brabant, for the same sum, and all the subsequent events to the time of duke William of Gueldres, son of the duke of Juliers. This duke of Gueldres, finding he could no way succeed in recovering his before-mentioned three castles on the Meuse, which had been part of his patrimonial inheritance, resolved to secure himself the possession of Grave from the Brabanters. He had married his bastard-daughter to the young lord of Bruk, who claimed the town of Grave as lord paramount. There was an amicable treaty made between them, such as should be made when fathers and children are concerned: and the young lord of Bruk yielded to the duke all his claims on Grave, and the territories thereto belonging, in the presence of the knights of Gueldres and Juliers. The duke of Gueldres gave him, in return, the town and territory of Breda, situated on the river Merck, in the duchy of Gueldres, bordering on Holland, below Brabant. It had a handsome castle: the town was extensive and of much trade, but Grave was more valuable. The duke had made this exchange to strengthen himself against the claim of the Brabanters; but the duchess and her subjects said, that the lord of Bruk was only mortgagee in possession, and that she or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleased. The duke of Gueldres denied this, and hence arose their mutual hatreds and wars.

The Brabanters this year, in the month of May, came with a powerful force of barons, knights, and squires, to lay siege to the town of Grave. They brought with them springalls, and various other machines of attack, and they amounted altogether to forty thousand men. There were almost daily skirmishes at the barriers. The town of Grave is situated on the Brabant side of the Meuse, over which there is a bridge that connects it with Gueldres. This siege was a bold enterprise; but great plenty was in the army of Brabant, and everything was to be had there for money, and as cheap as at Brussels. In these continual skirmishes at the barriers, where the cross-bows sometimes ventured, the success was variable, as must always happen when the parties are nearly equal.

The duke of Gueldres was regularly informed of everything that passed at the siege, for he had fixed his residence only four leagues off at Nimeguen. He wrote frequently to England for assistance, and was in hopes the armament at sea, under the earl of Arundel, should the winds prove favourable, would come to raise this siege. He knew the town of Grave was strong, and that it was amply supplied with stores and provisions, and could not be won by storm. As it could only be gained by capitulation, he felt assured on that head, as he depended on the fidelity of the inhabitants, that they would never desert him. This siege, therefore, lasted a very considerable time. The earl of Arundel's fleet was still at sea, and, though no landing had been attempted, it hovered along the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, so that the Normans from St. Michael's Mount along the shore to Dieppe, Saint Valéry, and even Crotoy in Ponthieu, were much alarmed, and uncertain at what place they would disembark. All these sea-port towns were well provided with men at arms, by orders from the king of France, to oppose any invasion.

The marshal de Blainville, who commanded on the coast, sent the lord de Coucy, and the lord de Hambre, two great Norman barons, to the town of Carentan, which is situated on the sea-shore, and formerly belonged to Charles king of Navarre. The constable of France took possession of the towns of Saint Malo and Saint Matthieu de Fine-Pôterne; and, as soon as he learnt the English were at sea, he placed sufficient garrisons in both, in the name of the king of France. It was thought in France that war would be declared against the duke of Brittany. The knights and squires said, that this appearance of the English fleet was another instance of the duke's perfidy; for, by their continued hovering along his coasts, it was clear that he had invited them thither. They never quitted their stations, unless forced by stress of weather, and, when favourable, returned to them again.

CHAPTER CXII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS INTENTIONS OF MARRYING HIS DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE DE LA TOURAINE, BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BERRY PROPOSES HIMSELF FOR HER HUSBAND.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS MUCH SATISFIED THEREAT.

I HAVE before said that the duke of Lancaster had quitted Castille and Portugal. His thoughts on the unfortunate event of his expedition, were not very agreeable; for he saw his hopes annihilated, and that fortune, as very often happens in worldly affairs, had suddenly turned against him, at a time when it was the least expected: for he had left England well accompanied with men at arms, and with every expectation of finishing his campaign in a different manner. It was told him that his adversary had regained, within fifteen days after he had left the country, all his conquests, which had occupied him six weeks. His army had been wasted away by sickness, and he despaired of any assistance from home; for the English were tired of this war, as it was at such a distance, and the accounts they had heard of the country disgusted them: besides, the duke knew that England was much troubled within itself. He foresaw little hope of amendment in his affairs; and though he said not much on this subject, he thought a great deal. At times, he compared himself and his expedition to the duke of Anjou and his march to Naples; for, when he set out from France, he was so magnificently equipped, nothing was ever seen like to it, and attended by multitudes of knights, squires, and men at arms; but the end had been, that all were either killed or ruined.

It was not surprising that the duke, considering his hopes were totally destroyed, should be sometimes melancholy; for the count de Foix, who was one of the wisest princes, in conversation with his knights, had declared the duke of Lancaster's expectations, in regard to the crown of Castille, were completely at an end. The duke was, however, of a high spirit, and sought consolation in the prospect of the elevation of his children. He had with him a handsome daughter, by the lady Constance, daughter of don Pedro, in whose right he had made war on Castille: he, therefore, musing on this subject, said,—"If fortune is now unfavourable to me, it may be otherwise to my daughter, who is young and handsome, and by her grandfather and mother the true heiress of Castille. Some gallant prince of France may seek her in marriage, either for the above right or her high birth; for she may boast that she springs from the best blood in Christendom." He would gladly have had some overtures made him from France on this head; for he knew the king had a younger brother, in the duke of Touraine: "and," added the duke, "we might, through this means, recover our inheritance of Castille; for it has been solely through the aid of France that our adversary has kept his crown: should that power turn against him, which would be the case if a marriage took place with the duke of Touraine, he must speedily surrender his throne to my daughter." Such were the expectations the duke of Lancaster flattered himself with, and his imaginations were in a way to be realised; not, indeed, by the king of France's brother, but by one who was well qualified to change the face of affairs in Castille, and who had the complete government of France, for without his consent nothing was done: I mean the duke of Berry.

You have before heard how he and his son were made widowers nearly at the same time.

What I am about to relate, I know from my own knowledge; for I, the author of this book, was at the time in the country of Blois, on the borders of Poitou and Berry, with my very dear and honoured lord, the count Guy de Blois, by whose desire and encouragement this history was undertaken. The duke of Berry had, among his other thoughts and plans, a design to marry again. He frequently said to those near his person, that a lord was nothing without a lady, nor a man without a wife. Those in whom he had the greatest confidence replied, "Very well, my lord, marry then your son John: your house will be more pleasant, and better managed." "Ah," said the duke, "he is too young." "That is nothing, my lord: do not you see the count de Blois has married his son, who is of the same age, with your daughter Mary?"—"That is true," answered the duke: "well, name then a lady for him."—"We name the daughter of the duke of Lancaster." The duke mused a while, and was some time before he made any reply, when, addressing himself to them, he said,—"You propose marrying my son John with my cousin, the daughter of the duke of Lancaster: by St. Denis, you have made me imagine that she will be an excellent match for myself, and I will shortly write to the duke on the subject. He resides, as I hear, at Bayonne; and I will signify to him that some of my council shall very speedily wait on him to treat of this marriage with me, I say: not for my son John, whom I will marry elsewhere." Those to whom he had spoken, on hearing the above, burst out into laughter. "What do you laugh at?" said the duke. "We laugh, my lord, because it seems that you prefer to have a good thing yourself, rather than give it your son."—"By my faith, I am in the right; for my fair cousin of Lancaster will not so readily give his daughter to my son as he will to me."

Letters were instantly written and sent to the duke of Lancaster. The messengers, on their arrival at Bayonne, presented the letters to the duke, who, having opened them and perused their contents, was highly delighted, and made those who had brought them good cheer, giving them to understand, that their intelligence was very agreeable to him. The duke returned such answers by the messengers as showed the proposal was very satisfactory, and had given him much joy. The messengers, on their return, found the duke of Berry in Poitou, but preparing to return to Paris; for the king and the duke of Burgundy had expressly sent for him, to consider of the state of Brittany. Having read the answer from the duke of Lancaster, which afforded him much pleasure, he determined to persevere in the business, although he could not defer his journey to Paris. He resolved, however, to proceed in it by the shortest mode, and sent letters to one of his knights, called sir Helion de Lignac, who at that time was séneschal of La Rochelle, ordering him to place the town under the government of those he could depend upon, and then, without fail, to hasten to him at Paris. Sir Helion, on receiving the duke's orders, sealed with his seal, and noticing the haste in which he was summoned to follow him, lost no time in putting La Rochelle and its dependencies under the command of two valiant knights of Beauce, called sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Peter Taillepié. When this was done, he took the shortest road he could to join the duke, who he knew, from the tenor of his letter, would be impatient to see him.

We will now return to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, and say what were his thoughts on the proposal from the duke of Berry. He was not willing it should be kept secret: on the contrary, he published it everywhere, that his enemies might be alarmed, and the matter known in the court of his adversary of Castille. The duke, in consequence, wrote several letters, detailing the whole business, with copies of the duke of Berry's proposals, and his answers of consent, to the count de Foix; because he knew there was a continual intercourse of knights and squires from all countries at Orthès, going or returning to Castille, or on pilgrimage to or from Saint Jago. He did the same to the king of Navarre, who had married the king of Castille's sister, and by whom he had a numerous family, that the intelligence of this marriage might be more readily believed in Castille than if told by common report. He wrote also on the same subject to the king of Portugal, but was silent respecting it in his letters to the king and his brothers in England, for he knew the English would not be pleased at it: indeed, they gave proofs of their dislike to this marriage, as soon as they heard of it, as I shall relate when I am come to that part of my history; but I must now return to the duke of Brittany, as that matter presses.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE LORD DE COUCY AND OTHER BARONS OF FRANCE ARE SENT TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL, HE HAD RESTORED TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CONSTABLE THE PLACES HE HAD TAKEN FROM HIM.

On the duke of Berry's arrival at Paris, many councils were held by those most in the confidence of the king and his uncles, such as the bishops of Langres and Laon, the lord de Coucy and other privy counsellors, as well on the affairs of Gueldres, whither the king was still very desirous of going, as of Brittany; for the duke would not accept of the advances that had been made him towards a reconciliation with France. They knew not whom they could send to make another attempt, since the former negotiators had failed. The council were much troubled on this account, for they had learnt that the duke of Brittany had been busily employed during the winter in victualling again and reinforcing all his towns and castles, which plainly indicated his wish to have been for war. The wisest of the council said,—"You talk of going to Germany: you should rather go to Brittany, and destroy that insolent duke, who holds in contempt the crown of France and refuses to obey its orders. You will not obtain anything from him by treaty: and his presumption is so great, he must be taught his duty: he neither loves nor esteems any one but himself. It is clear, that if the king go to Germany, and leave the realm unprotected by men at arms, (and unless he be handsomely attended, he need not think of it,) this duke will introduce the English into his country, and give them an entrance to France. The appearances are now very strong that he will do so; for there is a large English fleet on his coasts, which never leaves them but when forced to it by stress of weather, and when fair it returns; so that I see no alternative; you must have open war or peace." "It would be well," replied others, "that we again send to him the bishop of Langres and the count de St. Pol, for this last is, by marriage, his brother-in-law*." "Oh no, no," interrupted sir Yves d'Orient: "if you will send to him again, you cannot send one more agreeable to him, nor of greater weight, than the lord de Coucy; for they are connected by marriage, and have always had a great affection for each other; and to the lord de Coucy add whomsoever you please." "Since you have made this proposal, sir Yves," said the duke of Burgundy, "name those whom you think should accompany the lord de Coucy." "Willingly," replied sir Yves: "if you please, then, sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere shall go with him. They are three very intelligent lords; and, if any can make him listen to reason, they will." "We agree to this," said the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

Although the three lords were instructed what they were to say, and how to act, and to use every amicable means to settle the business, they did not quit Paris immediately. The duke of Brittany heard, before these noblemen left France, of their mission, but those who had informed him knew not the particulars they were charged with. He was confident, however, it related to matters of great importance, by the lord de Coucy's appointment. He frequently meditated on the subject, and opened his thoughts to some of the most confidential of his council, for them to give him advice how to act. "It was commonly reported," he said, "that the duke of Lancaster was about marrying his daughter in France to the duke of Berry, and that matters had gone so far that sir Helion de Lignac was on his road to Bayonne to conclude the business with the duke, who was well inclined to it. Such a report surprised him exceedingly; for the duke of Lancaster, who was his brother-in-law, had never written to him on the subject, and all he knew was from public rumour. This silence had not been usual to him formerly, for whenever any of his affairs had a connexion with France, he regularly had informed him of them." His council replied,—"Sir, you must alter your plans, whatever they may be, or you may be too great a loser, and bring destruction on your country. This you should dread; for what occasion have you to go to war since you are now at peace, and they are begging you to remain so? Your lady is far gone with child, and you should pay attention that in her situation she be not alarmed. The king of Navarre can give you but little support, for he has enough to do himself. The duke of Lancaster is a valiant and wise prince; but he marries, as they say, his daughter to the duke of Berry.

* The duke of Brittany and the count de St. Pol married two daughters of sir John Holland, earl of Kent.

This will be the foundation for a long peace between France and England, and various treaties will be formed in consequence. You will see shortly the king of Castille driven from his throne; for, as the French seated him on it, they can as easily dethrone him: indeed, more easily, for they will have the aid of the duke of Lancaster and the English. We have in truth heard, that the lord de Coucy, the admiral of France, and the lord de la Riviere, are coming hither, and you may suppose it must be on affairs of the greatest consequence to the king and kingdom, or on the matter of the constable of France, whose cause the king has warmly espoused. They are probably ordered to know positively what are your intentions, and if you persist in your former opinions. Should this last be the case, we suppose (for one may judge tolerably well from appearances) that the immense force, now rumoured to be destined against Gueldres, will be turned against you. Now consider from whom you may expect assistance, should war be declared by France, as it most certainly will be, unless you consent to a reconciliation, should the duke of Lancaster marry his daughter to the duke of Berry; and this he will do, for where can he ally himself better in regard to the recovery of his inheritance? The majority of prelates, barons, knights, and principal towns of the duchy, are in opposition to you. We therefore say, since you ask our advice, that it is at this moment more than ever requisite for you to consider well your situation, and to avoid risking the loss of your country, which has cost you so much labour and blood to gain. We know how great your hatred is to sir Oliver de Clisson, and that you have mutually shown your dislikes to each other; but you must soften it some little, at least in appearance, for since the king of France, his uncles and barons have taken up his quarrel, they will support him: he is and will continue their constable. Had the late king been alive, who loved him so much, and you had acted the same, we know it would have cost the king half his kingdom, but he would have made you suffer for the injury done him. The present king, his son, is young, and does not pay that attention to affairs which may be expected from him, if he live, ten years hence: he is coming on the stage, and you are going off. Should you, therefore, engage in a new war with France, after all we have said, it will be contrary to our opinions, and to those of every man who has any attachment to you. You must dissemble at present what your real inclinations may be. What is to you the holding these castles from sir Oliver de Clisson, which form part of his inheritance, considering the manner in which you gained them? and, whether you have peace or war, they will cost you more to guard for three years than ever you will gain from them in twelve. Give them back, therefore, handsomely; and when the rumour shall be spread abroad, for there is no fire without smoke, that you have so done of your own free-will, you will pacify the anger of many, and greatly please the duke of Burgundy, who has never interfered so much in this business as he might, had he so pleased, through the good offices of your cousin the duchess of Burgundy: this we know for fact. She has a numerous family, who are now your nearest relations: recollect, therefore, whence your origin, and who are your connexions, and do not estrange yourself from those with whom you ought to be more strongly united: it will be madness if you do, and you will be undeserving pity for what consequences may ensue. Have no connexion with England: the English have sufficient employment at home. They will make you great protestations of friendship, in order to take their advantage of it, and nothing more: this you know, for you were in your youth brought up among them."

The duke was much struck on hearing such very forcible reasoning, and remained some time leaning over a window that opened into a court, without making any reply. His council were standing behind him; and, after some musing, he turned round and said,—"I perceive clearly that you have well and honestly advised me. I want nothing but good counsel, and yet how can I pretend to cherish love where I only feel hate? How can I ever love sir Oliver de Clisson, who has given me such repeated causes for hatred? and the thing I most repent of in this world is, the not having put him to death when I had him in my castle of Ermine." "In the name of God, sir," replied those near him, "had you put him to death, you could never have possessed yourself of his estates, for there is an appeal from this duchy to the parliament of Paris. John of Brittany and the son of the viscount de Rohan are his heirs by marriage with his two daughters, and would of right have succeeded to his estates; and you are much blamed for what you have already done respecting the

three castles, by their friends in France. The constable has made his complaints to the chamber of parliament at Paris, where sentence will be given against you, for you have no one there to make any defence for what he may accuse you of. When you shall have lost this cause, sir Oliver de Clisson and his heirs will be entitled to follow up the judgment by force of arms; and, should the king and country take part in resisting them, you must have a greater power than we know you have at this moment to make any resistance. It will therefore be more to your advantage, if, while this matter is pending, you surrender up these castles, and be thanked for so doing, rather than wait until judgment be given against you, with heavy damages. You will also regain the good will of your subjects, which is certainly worth having, and live in peace with those whose affections you should wish to preserve; I mean the king of France, who is your sovereign and natural lord, and my lord of Burgundy and his children your cousins. You have seen an example in your own time in the late earl of Flanders, your cousin-german, who, though a valiant and wise prince, was, through extraordinary events, at the latter end of his days, nearly driven out of his inheritance; but, by humbling himself to the king of France and his uncles, they assisted him in the recovery of his country." "Well," replied the duke, "I see, since I have asked your advice, it will be proper for me to follow what you have said."

I believe everything went on well afterwards; at least, such were the appearances; for the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto kept possession of the constable's castles, now remanded his men from them, and gave up their possession to the officers of sir Oliver de Clisson. This was the first act of moderation on his part: but it did not satisfy the king nor council of France, who insisted on the restitution of the money that had been paid as part of the ransom, and that the duke should come to Paris, and personally make excuses for his conduct to the king, in the presence of the peers of France, and submit to such punishment as the king and his peers might, after great deliberation, adjudge him. The three envoys to Brittany were well pleased when they heard of the restitution of the constable's castles, and the lord de Coucy said,—"Now, gentlemen, we have one obstacle the less to surmount, and I suppose the duke will listen to what we may have to say to him."

I was told, that before these three barons left Paris, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy held several private consultations with them, and recommended them to use every gentle method to bring matters to a favourable conclusion, in preference to harsh ones; and to prevail on the duke to come to Paris, or at least half way to the town of Blois, where they would meet him and hold a conference together. The three barons, who were prudent and had received their full instructions, said, they would use their utmost endeavours to comply with their wishes. On leaving Paris, they continued their journey until they came to the city of Rennes in Brittany, where, on asking for the duke, they learnt he was at Vannes, whither they went. Their coming was already known in the household of the duke, for they had sent forward servants to prepare their lodgings. The duke had assembled his council and the principal barons of Brittany near his person, to show them the more honour. They were well received on their entering Vannes, by the knights and others of the duke's household, who had gone forth to meet them, and in particular by the lord de Laval, who resided there.

They dismounted at their lodgings, and, having dressed and refreshed themselves with what they there found, re-mounted their horses, and rode to the castle de la Motte, the residence of the duke, who met and received them with much joy, telling them they were welcome, for that he was very happy in seeing them. He took the lord de Coucy by the hand, and showed him much kindness, saying,—"Fair brother, you are welcome: I rejoice to see you in Brittany: before you leave me, I will give you fine sport with hunting stags, and in hawking." "Dear brother and lord," replied the lord de Coucy, "I thank you; and I and my companions will cheerfully partake of them." The duke showed them every attention, and conducted them, laughing and joking, to his apartments, where they amused themselves with much cheerfulness, as great lords are accustomed to do who have not seen each other for some time. All four knew how to keep up a brilliant conversation as well, if not better, than any lords I ever saw, not excepting the duke of Brabant, the count de Foix, nor the count de Savoy; and, in particular the lord de Coucy shone above all others, as was

acknowledged by all lords and ladies, in whatever country he had visited, whether France, England, Germany, Lombardy, or any other places. He had seen much of the world, and had travelled to various parts, to which he was naturally inclined.

During the time these lords were in conversation, spices were brought in handsome silver comfit boxes, and fine wines in gold and silver cans. The lords partook of both, and shortly after took leave and returned to their lodgings. Thus passed the first day, without one word being said of the cause of their coming.

CHAPTER CXIV.—WHILE HELION DE LIGNAC, AMBASSADOR FROM THE DUKE OF BERRY TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IS NEGOTIATING THE MARRIAGE WITH HIS DAUGHTER, THE KING OF CASTILLE SENDS AMBASSADORS PRIVATELY TO BREAK IT OFF, AND TO DEMAND THE LADY IN MARRIAGE FOR HIS SON.—HELION DE LIGNAC IS SENT AWAY, THE DAY OF THEIR ARRIVAL, WITH SOME TRUCES RESPECTING THE FRONTIERS OF AQUITAINE.

We will now return to sir Helion de Lignac, who had been sent by the duke of Berry to the duke of Lancaster. The knight arrived safely at Bayonne, and, having dismounted at his inn, made himself ready to wait on the duke, who had already been informed of his arrival, and, as a mark of honour, had sent two of his knights to visit him at his hôtel, and to conduct him to him. Sir Helion, on being introduced to the duke, saluted him very profoundly, as was proper, and he knew well how to acquit himself. The duke received him most honourably, raised him up in his arms, and took him by the hand to lead him into an apartment, for they had met in the hall. Sir Helion then gave him the letters he had been charged with from the duke of Berry. The duke, having opened and read them, advanced towards sir Helion, who declared the business he had been sent on. The duke very courteously replied, and said to sir Helion, he was welcome; that the matter he was come to treat on was of such importance, it was necessary he should deliberate with his council thereon, and that he could not instantly give him a decided answer.

Sir Helion de Lignac remained at Bayonne with the duke of Lancaster and his knights upwards of a month, and was treated most kindly by words and otherwise, and made to understand that the duke was not unwilling to accept of the duke of Berry's proposals; but this was not the fact, for all these fine speeches and delays were fictions, and solely used to give more publicity to what was going forward, more especially that it should be known in the kingdom of Castille, for there his affections were placed. The duke of Lancaster said to sir Helion, that if his cousin of Berry married his daughter, he must unite all his force with him to wage war on his adversary of Castille, that his daughter's inheritance might be recovered. Sir Helion, in reply, said,—"My lord, I am not charged to say anything respecting this matter: you will, before my departure, write down what you expect, and I will carry it to the duke of Berry, whose affection is, I know, so strong towards you, that he will enter into all reasonable alliances you may propose." "We wish for nothing more," said the duke. Things remained in this state during the time of sir Helion's residence at Bayonne, where he was gaily entertained according to the orders the duke had given.

In the meanwhile, news of this intended marriage was everywhere spread abroad; and, in particular, it was carried to the court of king John of Castille by those who said,—"Do you know what is going forwards? There are important treaties negociating with the dukes of Berry and Lancaster, for a match between the duke of Berry and the lady Catherine; and, if this be concluded, as there seems every probability, it will not be done without strong alliances being made between them. The duke of Berry has at this moment great power: he is the elder uncle of the king of France, and takes the lead in the government of that country. He will succeed in whatever he may propose, as to peace or long truces with England: and, on the other hand, the duke of Lancaster stands in the same relation to the king of England, is wise, and of great power; and, as it should seem, the English are tired of war. If, therefore, by means of this connexion with France, a firm peace should be established with England, we shall have the war to support alone; for the duke of Lancaster

will not give up tamely his claims on Castille, but, on the contrary, insist on establishing them, as his daughter's lawful inheritance and dower. We shall thus have war with France and England." Those most in the confidence of the king of Castille said to him,—"Sire, have you heard the rumours that are abroad? You had never such need of good advice as at this moment. The dangers from the duke of Lancaster are thicker than ever, and the blast comes from France." "How!" replied the king: "what do you mean?" "In the name of God, sir, the report is everywhere current, that the duke of Berry is to marry the duke of Lancaster's daughter, and you may suppose this will not be done without great alliances being made between them; and you may in future suffer as much from the French as you have lately gained by them." The king, on hearing this, was very pensive, for he knew what they had said was true. He demanded advice from those who had ever been attached to him, how, in such a circumstance, he ought to act, and they gave him loyal and good counsel, as I will relate.

You have before heard, in this history, how king Henry of Castille had made his peace with the king of Arragon, on condition that his son John, the present king of Castille, married his daughter. This marriage brought peace to the two countries. King John had one son by this lady, who shortly after died; and then, by the advice of his council, he married again with the lady Beatrice, daughter to the king of Portugal. The son, by the princess of Arragon, was a promising youth, though very young. The council of Castille, in reply to the king's demand, said,—"Sire, we can only see one remedy to avert the evils that may be consequent to this marriage with the duke of Berry." "What is it?" asked the king. "It is the infant don Henry your son, who is alone capable of preventing this match; for we are persuaded, that if the duke and duchess of Lancaster were informed you were willing to unite him with the lady Catherine, they would prefer him to the duke of Berry." "In God's name," answered the king, "you say well, and I will instantly set about it; for our subjects will be quite satisfied, that by such a marriage they will have peace with England on sea and land. Now, consider of the most proper persons to send to treat with the duke of Lancaster."

"Sire, it is necessary you should, in this matter, employ those of the greatest prudence and sagacity, and that it be treated with the utmost secrecy, lest you incur the hatred of the king of France. Great jealousies are now abroad, and persons are more eager to report scandal than good actions, for evil reports are sooner made public than others. When it shall be told to the court of France that you are in treaty with the duke of Lancaster, they will wish to know the subject and the particulars, lest it may prejudice the strong alliance the late king, your father, of worthy memory, entered into with them, and on which account the French have assisted you in your wars. You must, therefore, send to the duke of Lancaster wise and discreet persons, that the matter may be secretly treated, and kept private until all things be completely settled." "What you have said is right," replied the king: "now name those whom you think capable of accomplishing the matter." "Sire," said they, "we will send your confessor, father Fernando de Torre, and the bishop of Geghene*, who was confessor to the late king, and Peter Gardelempos, who is a great orator." "Be it so, then," answered the king: "I consent; let them be sent for, and instructed what they are to say, and how to act; for formerly, when there was a treaty of peace in agitation, they were not listened to by the duke of Lancaster, who insisted, as a preliminary, that I should lay down my crown, and this I will never do."

The three above-mentioned persons were summoned to Burgos, where the king resided, and told from him on what object they were to be sent to Bayonne, to treat with the duke of Lancaster. They professed themselves willing to undertake it to the best of their abilities, and set out on their journey with few attendants, not like to ambassadors going to form alliances, for they were not certain what success they should have. On entering Navarre, they made for Pampeluna, the residence of the king, who had married the king of Castille's sister. She entertained them kindly, but they did not discover to her, nor to the king, the cause of their journey. They passed over the mountains of Pampeluna and Roncesvalles, through the country of the Basques, and arrived at the good town of Bayonne. At the time of their arrival, sir Helion de Lignac was still there, but made no long stay afterwards;

* "Geghene." Q.

for father Fernando, the king of Castille's confessor, waited privately on the duke of Lancaster, as better acquainted with him than the others, and gave him to understand the cause of their coming, and by whom they were sent.

The duke, on hearing this, opened his ears, for the intelligence was highly agreeable to him, and bade father Fernando a hearty welcome. This same day he gave sir Helion de Lignac leave to depart; and it seems to me that the duke consented to a truce for those who were carrying on the war under his name in the séneschalships of Aquitaine, Bigorre, Toulouse, and other places, comprehending all within the river Loire, but not beyond it, to last until the first day of May 1389. This truce had been requested by the duke of Berry, that his people might pass and repass from him to the duke of Lancaster with greater security; for those of Mortagne sur mer, Bouteville, and the garrisons in Quercy, Perigord, and on the Garonne, were very cruel, sparing none, and acknowledging no lord. It was to keep these people in better order that the duke of Berry had solicited a truce, which was well observed. Sir Helion de Lignac left the duke of Lancaster on terms of the strongest affection, and he seemed sensible things were in the train he wished them, for the duke seemed very well satisfied with what the duke of Berry had offered. He had indeed declared, that he never could marry his daughter in France without the consent of his nephew the king of England and the English council; but matters were now so far advanced, he seemed to think there would not be any great difficulty to obtain them. On these assurances, sir Helion returned to France, delivered letters from the duke of Lancaster to the duke of Berry, and related to him all that had passed; with which he was much satisfied.

We will now speak of the ambassadors from Castille. These were indeed cordially listened to by the duke and duchess, for their hearts were wrapped up in their hopes of regaining the crown for themselves or their child. They were very kindly received on their introduction at the castle by the duke and duchess, to whom they delivered their credential letters, and explained the object of their mission. They first proposed a treaty of peace with Castille, which the father-confessor discoursed much on, in the apartment of the duke where only the duchess was present, who interpreted to the duke what he did not understand, as she had in her youth been educated in Castille and understood the language perfectly well. The duke of Lancaster, at this first interview, did not discover his real sentiments, although he entertained them well, but said it would be difficult to exchange such hatred for peace, and to establish it with one whom they wanted to disinherit, and that it was not his intention to relinquish his claim to the crown of Castille. The friar and bishop replied,—"that there was one means of reconciling his right and the right of their lord and king; and, my lord, we have found it." "What is it?" said the duke, "Sir, you have by your lady a beautiful daughter, of an age to marry, and our lord of Castille has a handsome and young son: if a union between those two could be brought about, the kingdom of Castille would have peace for ever; for what you claim will fall where it ought, to your own heir, who is the lineal descendant from our kings of Castille; and all the fatigues you have undergone in this war must have been for the ultimate succession of this young lady."

"That is true," replied the duke; "but I must have my expenses reimbursed, for I would have you know that my expedition to Castille has cost England and me upwards of five hundred thousand francs. I should like, therefore, to hear what you say of repayment." "My lord," said the confessor, "if what we have proposed shall be agreeable to you, we will manage all other things to your perfect satisfaction." "Your coming hither," replied the duke, "has given us pleasure; and I shall certainly marry my daughter, before I return to England, to Castille or France, as I have had proposals from thence; but matters like these are of such importance, that an answer cannot be given at the first overture.—With regard to my daughter, whom I consider as the rightful heiress of Castille, I would be well acquainted with him who should marry her." "That is but reasonable, my lord," said the confessor. Thus, as I have related, were the proposals of marriage made from France and Castille, to the duke of Lancaster, for the marriage of his daughter. They were both well received, refusals made to neither, and the ambassadors well entertained. The marriage, however, with Castille was more agreeable to the duke and duchess, because their daughter would in due time become queen of Castille.

We will now leave the duke of Lancaster, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAPTER CXV.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY LEAVE PARIS FOR BLOIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WHO MEETS THEM THERE.—THEY PERSUADE HIM, AGAINST HIS INCLINATION, TO COME TO PARIS.

THE duke of Brittany, as I have said, received the French knights with much kindness, more particularly the lord de Coucy, whom he had been desirous to see. I was informed at the time, the lord de Coucy was the most instrumental in making the duke change his mind: not but that sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere exerted themselves to the same purpose, but all princes, when they are entreated, will naturally incline to some persons more than others. The duke of Brittany consented, with great difficulty, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy at Blois: after many fair speeches, he said he would go thither, but not one step farther. The lord de Coucy replied, that they asked nothing more, unless it should be perfectly agreeable to him. These three lords staid with the duke of Brittany I know not how many days, and then returned to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to tell them their success.

Upon this, the two dukes made preparations for going to meet the duke of Brittany at Blois, and sent before all purveyances suitable to their rank. The duke of Berry arrived first at the castle, where he was kindly received by the countess of Blois, his son, and her daughter, as was becoming him and them. Count Guy de Blois was not at this time in the country, but at Châtel Regnaud, and, as the countess and her children were at home, he paid no attention to the arrival of the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy came in a grand style, accompanied by his son-in-law, lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, and his son John of Burgundy, called count de Nevers. The duke was also lodged in the castle, and held there his court.

The duke of Brittany came last, but with no great array, attended only by those of his household, in number about three hundred horse; for it was his intention to return to his own country as soon as these conferences should be over. Such, however, were not the intentions of the other dukes; for they said, whether he would or not they would force him to come to Paris. The duke of Brittany was lodged at the house of a canon of St. Sauveur, within the castle; but his attendants, with those of the other lords, were quartered in the town. These princes kept their state in the castle, which is large, and one of the handsomest in the kingdom of France.

Conferences were held between the three dukes; and those of France gave handsome entertainments to the duke of Brittany, showing him much affection, and repeatedly thanking him for coming to Blois. The duke dissembled as well as he could, and said, that indeed it was from his love to them he had undertaken such a journey, for that he was very unwell. In the course of their conversations they told the duke of Brittany, that since he had come so far, he would have done nothing if he did not continue his journey to Paris, for the king was very anxious to see him. The duke made every excuse for not complying with this proposal, saying his health was too bad to go so far; that he had not brought any attendants with him, but simply those of his household, meaning to return home directly. They kindly answered, that, begging his pardon, it would not be decorous for him to visit his lord paramount with too large a company; that if he were too ill to ride, they were provided with litters and cars that should be at his service; and that he was bound to pay his homage to the king, which he had never yet done.

The duke of Brittany, in excuse, said, that when the king should be of age, and take the reins of government, he would come to Paris, or to any other place whither he might order him, to perform his homage, for he was bounden so to do. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy replied, that he was of sufficient age and understanding to receive homage; and that every lord of France, and all who held fiefs under the crown, excepting himself, had done their homage, for the king was now in his twenty-first year. The duke of Brittany, finding his excuses of no avail, said,—"Should I go to Paris, it will be much against my inclination, and very prejudicial to my interests; for, when there, I shall meet sir Oliver de Clisson, whom I hate, and we can never cordially love each other after what has passed: he will

make me bitter and injurious reproaches, and consider what may be the consequences." "Oh no," answered the two dukes, but in particular the duke of Burgundy, "fair cousin, have no fear from that quarter; for we solemnly swear to you, that neither the constable nor John of Brittany, unless you wish it, shall see or speak with you: of this be assured: but you shall see the king, who is anxious for it, and the barons and knights of France, who will make you good cheer; and when you have completed the object of your journey, you shall return home without hindrance or hurt."

Why should I make a long story? The duke of Brittany was so sweetly entreated, that he consented to go to Paris; but he insisted that he should never see the constable of France nor John of Brittany, and that they should never be in the same company with him. The two dukes solemnly pledged themselves to all his requests; and on their faith he engaged to set out for Paris. They remained five or six days in the castle of Blois, and alternately gave grand entertainments to each other, the countess, and her children. Everything having been so settled, the two dukes took leave of the duke of Brittany and returned to Paris; but the lord William of Hainault did not accompany his father-in-law the duke of Burgundy. He attended the countess of Blois and her family to châtel Regnaud, to visit count Guy de Blois, where he was kindly received and entertained for three days, when he took leave of them and went to Paris, by way of Chateaudun* and Bonneval†.

CHAPTER CXVI.—LEWIS OF ANJOU, SON TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, UNCLE TO KING CHARLES VI., MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS AS KING OF SICILY.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES THERE SHORTLY AFTER.—THOMAS HAPURGAN, AN ENGLISHMAN, AND JOHN DES BARRES, A FRENCHMAN, PERFORM A DEED OF ARMS BEFORE THE KING OF FRANCE AT MONTEREAU SUR YONNE‡.

The duke of Brittany went to Beaugency, on the Loire, where he made his preparations for going to Paris. But before he came thither, there arrived the queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, who had borne the title of king of those countries, as well as of Naples. She had brought with her her young son Lewis, who, throughout France was acknowledged as king of Naples, and was likewise accompanied by her brother, John of Brittany. Before she entered Paris, she signified to her brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy§, her arrival, with her son Lewis, their nephew, and desired to know whether he should make his entry as king, or simply as duke of Anjou. The two dukes, having considered the matter, sent for answer, that they desired he would make his entry as king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, although he was not as yet in possession of these kingdoms; for they would assist him, and prevail on the king of France to do the same, so effectually, that he should recover those territories, and peaceably possess them as his right, and what they had most sacredly promised to perform to their late brother the king of Naples. The lady, upon this, made preparations accordingly; and, having entered Paris, her son passed in grand cavalcade, through the street of St. James, to his hôtel in the Grêve, with kingly state, accompanied by numbers of dukes, counts, and prelates. The queen and her son, having established themselves there, waited on the king, who resided at the castle of the Louvre, expecting the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, on his approach to Paris, stopped one night at Bourg la Reine, previous to his entry which he made on the morrow. This was great news for the Parisians, on account of the late events of the arrest and imprisonment of the constable, and the fruitless embassies that had been sent to summon him‖: his late conduct, and his coming now as it were of his own free will, were variously spoken of. It was on a Sunday, the vigil of St.

* "Chateau-dun," an ancient town in Beauce, diocese of Blois, twelve leagues from Chartres, thirty-four from Paris.

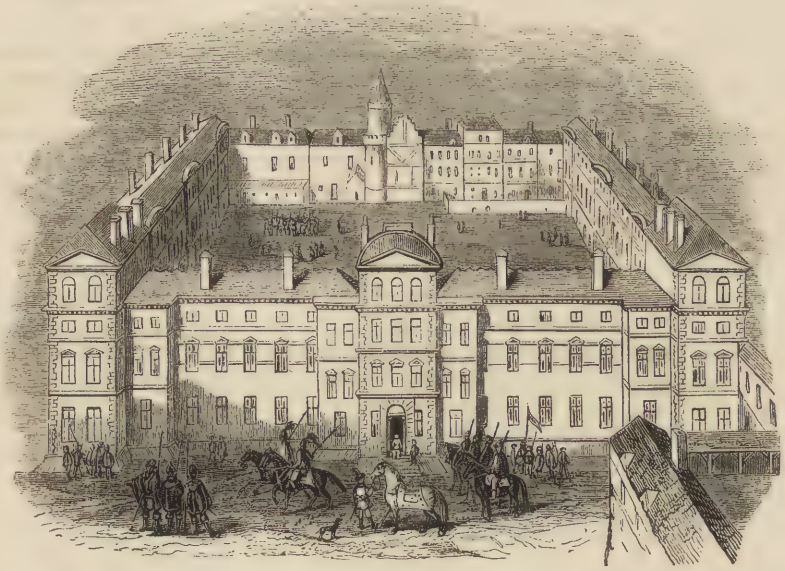
† "Bonneval," a town in Beauce, four leagues from Chateau-dun.

‡ 'Montereau-sur-Yonne," a town in Brie, seven leagues from Melun, twenty and a half from Paris

§ Her brothers-in-law, own brothers to her deceased husband Louis of Anjou.—Ed.

‖ He had been summoned several times, and the king had expected his appearance ever since the month of May. —Ed.

John Baptist's feast, in the year 1388, at ten o'clock in the morning. The duke of Brittany entered Paris by the gate de l'Enfer*, and passing the whole length of the rue de la Harpe, crossed the pont de St. Michel, and came in front of the palace. He was handsomely accompanied by numbers of barons and knights; among whom was the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant: his brother-in-law John of Burgundy, and the lord William de Namur rode before him When he arrived at the castle of the Louvre, he dismounted, and, as he passed through Paris, was much stared at by the common people.



Palace of the Louvre, as it appeared in the 16th century. From a print in Chastillon's Topographie Françoise.

The duke entered the gate of the Louvre well prepared what to say, and how to act. He was preceded by the lord de Coucy, the count de Savoye, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir John de Beuil, the count de Meaux, sir Reginald de Roye and sir John des Barres: nearer to him, on each side, were the lord William de Namur, John of Burgundy, and the count d'Ostrevant: behind him were, the lord de Montfort in Brittany, and the lord de Malestroit, his relation and minister. There was a great crowd in the apartment, which was not only small, but the table was spread in it for the king's dinner, who was standing before it with his three uncles, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon. The moment the duke of Brittany entered the room, way was made for him, and an opening formed to the king, by the lords falling on each side. When in the presence, he dropped on one knee, but speedily arose, and advanced about ten or twelve paces, when he again kneeled: on rising, he came close to the king, kneeled the third time, and saluted him bare-headed, saying, "My lord, I am come to see you: may God preserve you!" "Many thanks," replied the king. "I was anxious for your coming: we will see and converse with you at our leisure." On which he took him by the hand, and raised him up. When the duke had risen, he bowed to all the princes present, one after the other, and then stood opposite to the king without saying a word; but the king never took his eyes off him.

A signal was made to the masters of the household to bring water, when the king washed, and the duke of Brittany held the bason and towel. When the king was seated, the duke took leave of him and his uncles. The lord de Coucy, the lord de Saint Pol, and other great barons conducted him to the court where his horses waited, and, having mounted, he returned

* "De l'Enfer." It is now the gate of Saint Michel. For more particulars, see Sauval, Antiquités de Paris, tom. i. p. 36.

with his attendants the way they had come, through the street de la Harpe, and dismounted at his hôtel. None of those who had attended him remained, excepting such as had accompanied him from Brittany to Paris. The duke of Brittany had frequent conferences with the king of France and his uncles to their mutual satisfaction; and they religiously kept the promise they had made him, for he never saw, during his stay at Paris, John of Brittany nor the constable of France. When affairs were in so good a train that they had not reason to be suspicious of the duke of Brittany, (for if he had not consented to everything the king and his council wished, they would never have suffered him to escape from their hands, as they now had him in Paris,) they thought it time to prepare for the expedition to Gueldres for which the king was impatient, to punish the duke of Gueldres for the insolent and rude challenge he had sent him; which, the more it was considered, was the less to be borne

The lord de Coucy was therefore ordered into the country, near Rheims and Châlons in Champagne, to mark out the line of march for the king and his army, and to excite the knights and squires of Bar and Lorraine to join him. He was in no way to introduce the king's name, but to engage them for himself, as if preparing for an expedition into Austria. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left Paris, and went to Châlons, where he resided about one month, and retained knights and squires from all parts in Bar, Lorraine, Champagne, and in the Rethelois. The king of France, after several conferences with the duke of Brittany, left Paris, though the duke's pleadings in his courts were not near concluded; for their proceedings, when they choose, are very tedious, and they make the suitors spend much money without any great advances in their suits

The king went to Montereau sur Yonne, on the borders of Brie and the Gatinois, where he held his court, and frequently amused himself with hunting stags and other animals in the adjacent forests. During the residence of the king at Montereau, a deed of arms was there performed between an English knight attached to the duke of Ireland, called sir Thomas Hapurgan, and sir John des Barres. This duel had made a great noise throughout France, and in other countries; and it was to be fought with five courses of the lance on horseback, five thrusts with swords, the same number of strokes with daggers and battle-axes; and, should their armour fail, they were to be supplied anew, until it were perfect.

The knights, being well armed, mounted their coursers to perform their duel, in the presence of the king, his barons and knights, and a great concourse of people. They tilted on horseback four courses very stiffly, and kept their seats well. It was then the custom, I believe, to lace on the helmets with a slight thong, that they might not make too great resistance to the blow of the lance. At the fifth course, John des Barres struck his opponent so violent a blow on the shield, that he knocked him over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Sir Thomas was stupified by the fall, and it was with much difficulty he could be raised: however he recovered well enough to perform his other courses with the different arms, to the satisfaction of the king and his lords.

CHAPTER CXVII.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS TAKES THE FIELD BY COMMAND OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, WHO LANDS HIS FORCES AT MARANS*, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.

I HAVE been some time silent respecting the expedition that was at sea under the command of the earl of Arundel: it is now necessary I should speak of it. You have before heard the cause of its being sent from England, and the treaties that were made between the king and the duke of Brittany. This fleet had remained the whole season on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, except when driven off by storms, but it always returned to its station. There were in this fleet some light vessels called Balleniers, which are much used by corsairs; for, as they draw little water, they can the easier approach the shores. This fleet had lain at anchor upwards of a month off the island of Brehat, whence it had got provision. As it was not far from la Roche-derrien, they heard that the duke of Brittany was gone to Blois, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who had held such fair language as

* "Marans," a town in Aunis, four leagues from la Rochelle.

persuaded him to go to Paris, where he had been so well received by the king, as to prevent him from leaving that place until everything had been satisfactorily settled.

The earl of Arundel was much cast down when he heard the above, and called a council of his principal officers, to consider how they were to employ their force during the remainder of the season. In this council they resolved to sail for la Rochelle and make war on that country; for, though they had not any castles in those parts, yet they were in sufficient numbers to withstand the force Saintonge or Poitou could send against them. They intended likewise to make their situation known to their friends in Limousin and Auvergne, by some person in their fleet that was acquainted with the country, whom they would land on the coast of Brittany. The truces which sir Helion de Lignac had obtained from the duke of Lancaster had not yet taken effect. They were to commence on the first of August, and the knight was at this time going or returning, I know not which, to or from the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne.

It fell out just as the earl of Arundel and the English barons wished; for they found out a man from lower Brittany, who served under sir William Helmon, then on board, who came from near Vannes, and understood four languages perfectly well, that of lower Brittany, English, Spanish, and French. Before they landed him on the sand, they gave him the following orders:—"Thou wilt go by all the bye-roads in this country, which thou sayest thou art acquainted with, until thou shalt come to Chalucet*. Thou wilt salute Perrot le Béarnois, from us, and tell him, that we desire he will take the field, with as many other garrisons of our party as he can, and make war on France under our commission. Thou shalt not carry any letters for fear thou mightest be stopped and searched. Say, if thou findest thyself in danger, that thou belongest to a wine-merchant of la Rochelle, who had sent thee with some commissions, and thou wilt pass everywhere. Tell Perrot to give instant alarm to Berry, Auvergne, and Limousin, by taking the field; for we will disembark near la Rochelle, and make such a war that he shall soon hear of us."

The Breton said, he would faithfully deliver the message, unless he was stopped on the road. On being landed, as he knew well the country of Brittany, he avoided all great towns, and, passing safely through Poitou and Limousin, arrived at Chalucet, of which Perrot le Béarnois was governor. On coming to the barriers, having made acquaintance with the garrison, they allowed him to enter, after examining him at the gates, and led him to Perrot, to whom he punctually delivered the message, to the great joy of the governor, who had been long impatient to hear some news of the fleet, and now he had it quite fresh. He said to the Breton,—"Thou art welcome: my companions and myself are very eager to take the field, which we will now speedily do, and then act as we are ordered." Perrot le Béarnois instantly sent to the governors of Carlat, the bourg de Compane, to Olim Barbe, captain of Ouzach, to Amerigot Marcel, captain of Aloise, near Saint Flour, and to the captains of the other forts in Auvergne and Limousin, to say he was about to take the field, as the season was now favourable, and desiring they would join him, after having left garrisons in their forts strong enough to prevent any accident during their absence. These companions had as great a desire to take the field as Perrot le Béarnois; for they could only enrich themselves by the losses of others, and, making their preparations in haste, came to Chalucet, where the general assembly had been fixed. They amounted to full four hundred lances, and thought themselves in sufficient strength for any gallant enterprise, and that there was not a lord in the country able to withstand them; for sir William de Lignac and Bonne-lance would not, on their account, break up the siege of Ventadour.

Being masters of the country, they began their march through Auvergne, towards Berry, because they knew the duke was with the king at Montereau-sur-Yonne. We will, for a while leave Perrot le Béarnois, and speak of the earl of Arundel and his fleet, and what they did on quitting the coast of Brittany. When they weighed anchor, the weather was so fine and beautiful, they hoisted every sail, and advanced as it pleased God. It was a magnificent sight to view this fleet of six score vessels, whose streamers, emblazoned with the arms of the different lords, were glittering in the sun, and fluttering with the wind. They floated, as it were, on a sea that seemed proud to bear them, and which might be compared to a vigorous

* "Chalucet" a town in Limousin, near Pierre-buffiere.

courser, who, after being long confined in the stable, gains its liberty to bound over the plains: for thus did the sea, gently ruffled by the wind, swell on with a burden it was lustily bearing, and, figuratively speaking, it may be supposed to say,—"I delight in carrying you, and will do so without danger, until you be arrived in a safe harbour."

The fleet coasted Saintonge and Poitou, and cast anchor off Marans, near la Rochelle. Some of the most adventurous, to the amount of two hundred, observing the tide was flowing, entered their barges, and sailed up the river to the town of Marans. The watch on the castle had noticed the English fleet anchoring, and the barges ascending the river with the tide, and had sounded his horn frequently, to alarm the townsmen, that they might save all they could of their property. The inhabitants, of both sexes, carried their most valuable things to the castle for safety; and it was well they did so, or they would have been lost. While the English were landing, they discontinued saving their property, to take care of their lives. The English, on entering the town, began to pillage it, for this had been the object of their coming, but they only found empty coffers: their contents had been carried to the castle. They discovered, however, plenty of corn, wine, and salted provisions: for there were upwards of four hundred tuns of wine in the town. They resolved to remain to guard this provision, which came very opportunely to them; for, should they depart, they imagined the greater part would be carried away by the French, up the river, to Fontenay le Comte. They remained this night in the place, having arrived there only about vespers, and gave themselves full liberty, sending, however, to inform their companions of their situation, and the reason why they did not return.

The earl of Arundel and the other lords were satisfied, and said they had acted right. On the morrow, when the tide began to flow, the smaller vessels weighed anchor, and in them were embarked the armour and other necessaries from the large ships that, from their size, could not enter the river. There were left in them one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers to guard them, as they lay at anchor off the mouth of the river. When this had been done, they sailed for Marans, and landed at their leisure, for none came to oppose them, and fixed their quarters between Marans and la Rochelle, which is but four short leagues distant. The alarm was soon spread over the country that the English had landed at Marans, to the amount of four hundred combatants, including archers. The towns and castles in the low country were much frightened, and the villagers instantly fled to the neighbouring forests for protection.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE ROCHELLERS SKIRMISH WITH THE ENGLISH NEAR MARANS.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER PILLAGING THE COUNTRY ROUND, RETIRE WITH THEIR BOOTY TO THEIR FLEET.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS DOES THE SAME TO HIS FORT, WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PLUNDER.

If the English had had horses, they would have much harassed the country round la Rochelle; for it was void of men at arms, at least such as could have opposed them successfully. True it is, that the lords de Partenay, de Pons, de Linieres, de Tannaybouton, sir Geoffrey d'Argenton, the lord de Montendre, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, the viscount de Thouars, and many other knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, were in the country, but each was in his own castle; for they had not any suspicions of the English coming to invade them. Had they been so fortunate as to obtain notice of their intentions, they would have been prepared to receive them, but it was not so; and the surprise was so great, that all were frightened, and impatient to save what they could. The farmers began to hasten their harvest of corn, for it was the beginning of August. Add to this, there was not then in the country any person to take the lead. The lieutenant of Poitou, the duke of Berry, was at Montereau: the séneschal of Poitou was just gone to Paris: the séneschal of Saintonge was from home: the séneschal of la Rochelle, sir Helion de Lignac, was at Bayonne, on the business of the duke of Berry, by which the country was left defenceless; for, from want of heads, their courage failed, and without that nothing effectual can be done. The country was much alarmed for two causes: they had the English army and fleet on one side, and

rumour had already informed them that Perrot le Béarnois was on his march, with more than fifteen hundred combatants, and had already entered Berry. They knew not what measures to adopt, except that of placing their wealth in safety; for it was said these two armies were to form a junction in Saintonge or Poitou, as was the intention of many.

There were, indeed, at the time the English landed at Marans, two gallant knights from Beauce in the town of la Rochelle, sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié, whom sir Helion de Lignac had placed there for its defence, when he set out to meet the duke of Berry at Paris. They had acquitted themselves ably; and on hearing that the armament under the earl of Arundel, which had been much talked of all the summer, had disembarked at Marans, they told the mayor and the principal citizens, for it is a populous place, that it would be right to beat up the English quarters, and added,—"We hear they have established themselves at Marans, and lay the surrounding country under contribution: we two are determined to bid them welcome, and they shall pay us, or we will repay them, for what they have done. Great blame and reproaches will fall on us, to whom has been committed the government of this town and country, if we suffer them quietly to fix their quarters there. There is one thing much in our favour: they have not any horses, and are for the most part sailors, whilst we are all well mounted. We will send our cross-bows before us to awaken them with a shower of arrows; and, when they have made their attack, they will return homeward: the English will soon be on foot, and we will then charge them, and, by being on horseback, may do them great mischief."

Those who heard this speech approved of it, and instantly assembled a body of twelve hundred cross-bows and varlets, including all sorts. At the first dawn of day, they were all prepared, and set out from la Rochelle at a good pace, to beat up the quarters of the English. During this, the horse got ready, and they were about three hundred, for many knights and squires had hastened to la Rochelle on the first intelligence of the English having landed at Marans. They left the town under the command of the two knights before named. Had the English fortunately had any suspicion of this attack from the Rochellers, and had formed an ambuscade of two hundred archers and one hundred men at arms, not one would ever have returned to la Rochelle.

When the cross-bowmen arrived at the English quarters, it was very early morn; and lucky it was for them that the guard, who had watched all night, was retired at sun-rise. The cross-bowmen began to shoot their bolts and arrows, which passed through the huts made of boughs and leaves, to the great surprise of the English who were asleep within-side on straw. Many were wounded before they discovered they were attacked by the French. When they had made each about six shots, they retreated, according to their orders, and the men at arms advanced on horseback amidst the English huts. Knights and squires speedily left their lodgings, and drew up together; and the French captains, seeing they were preparing themselves in earnest to take the field, made after their cross-bows and infantry, who were hastening homeward, for they were much afraid of the English arrows. Thus hurrying, and in dismay, were the Rochellers pursued, though the horse guarded the rear, to the town of la Rochelle. The earl of Arundel with upwards of four hundred men at arms was closely following, each man with his lance in his hand or on his shoulder. There was much crowding and difficulty to pass the gates; and sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié fought like valiant heroes in defending their men, keeping still on their rear, until they were come to the barriers. They were so hard pressed by the English, who were at their heels, they ran a great hazard of being slain or made prisoners; for the attack was the more vigorous against them as it was visible they were the commanders. Sir Peter de Jouy had his courser killed under him, and was with great difficulty dragged within the barriers. Sir Peter Taillepié was pierced through the thigh with a lance, and hit by an arrow on the helmet, which entered his head, and his good horse fell dead under him at the gate. There was much slaughter made on the Rochellers re-entering the town: upwards of forty dead and wounded lay at the gates. The inhabitants had mounted the battlements, and fired so many cannons and bombards that the English dared not approach nearer.

Thus ended this skirmish between the English and Rochellers. As it was near noon, the earl of Arundel had sounded the retreat, when the men at arms and archers retired in

handsome array to their quarters, where they disarmed and refreshed themselves. They had wherewithal, having been amply provided with wines and meat from the surrounding country. The English lords remained at Marans for fifteen days, waiting for deeds of arms and adventures; but the Rochellers never ventured again to come near them, for they had found to their cost how valiantly they had defended themselves. Their two commanders were also wounded, which induced the others to wish for peace. The earl of Arundel, indeed, had sent four times parties to overrun the country round la Rochelle, and as far as Thouars, who did much mischief and terrified the inhabitants. They would have done more had they had horses; but only a few were mounted on what they could find in the country, and these were scarce, for no sooner was the invasion known than all the inhabitants of the flat country fled with their stock and wealth to the great towns, and there shut themselves up.

When the English had remained near la Rochelle for fifteen days, without seeing any attempt made to oppose them, and the wind became fair, they embarked a great quantity of wine and fresh meat they had taken, and, having weighed anchor, put to sea. This same day, they met twelve ships from Bayonne, on their voyage to England with Gascony wines and other merchandise. They sailed together for some time, being much rejoiced at this meeting, for they were well acquainted, and the Bayonnois gave the earl of Arundel two pipes of wine for the love they bore him. The Bayonnois then separated to continue their voyage, and the fleet kept cruising about in search of adventures.

While this armament was lying before Marans, Perrot le Béarnois and his companions had taken the field, and, having passed Limousin, had entered Berry. He had with him four hundred spears and as many pillagers, and carried off in one day all the merchandise that was in the town of le Blanc* in Berry, and gained great wealth and many prisoners, for it was fair-day. He then marched to Selles†, which he plundered. Thus did Perrot le Béarnois maintain himself. He advanced far into the interior of the country, doing great mischief wherever he went, for none ventured to oppose him; and all parts were alarmed, even as far as the county of Blois and the Touraine, for they were uncertain whither these two armies would march next. Some imagined they would unite; but it was not so, for the earl of Arundel had embarked again, as I have mentioned, and Perrot with his companions returned to their strong-holds. When they had completely plundered the country, they thought it would be more safe for them to retire to their castles and secure their gains. They took, in consequence, the roads through Limousin and Auvergne to their forts; and nothing more was done, as to deeds of arms, in these two provinces the remainder of the season, for the truce that had been agreed to last until the ensuing month of May now took place. The siege of Ventadour by sir William de Lignac, sir John Bonne-lance, and sir John le Bouteiller, still continued; for Geoffry Tête-noire was so presumptuous as to pay not the least attention to the truce, nor to the besiegers, depending on the strength of his castle.

We will now, for variety, return to the affairs of Brabant and Gueldres.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE BRABANTERS PRESS GRAVE HARD BY THEIR SIEGE.—THE GUELDRIANS BURN A BRIDGE THE BRABANTERS HAD THROWN OVER THE MEUSE, TO ENTER GUELDRES.

I HAVE already discoursed of and explained the situation of the dukes of Gueldres. How the ancestor of the duke of Gueldres of whom I now treat, married the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin to rescue and repair his heritage which was very much embarrassed and dilapidated; and how the duke of Gueldres, son of the duke of Juliers, to maintain the city of Grave against the Brabanters, for which he had good cause and title, determined, since he could not recover the three before-mentioned castles seated on the river Meuse, Goch, Buch, and Mille, which had once been his fiefs, that he would attach the city of Grave to his heritage in perpetuity. This duke had a bastard daughter bestowed upon and married to the damosel‡ of Kuck, which sire de Kuck was the heir of the city of Grave. So he applied

* "Le Blanc,"—in the generality of Bourges, seventeen leagues from Poitiers, nine from Argenton.

† "Selles," or Celles, three leagues from St. Aignan, ten from Blois.

‡ A title bestowed indifferently on young nobles of both sexes.—ED.

himself to him so amiably that both father and son had nothing else left for it; and the damosel de Kuck gave him the city and lordship of Grave, and assured him the inheritance in the presence of the knights and barons of Juliers and Gueldres; and on this account the duke of Juliers recompensed him with the land and lordship of Bois le Duc, situated on the river Ligne, in the duchy of Guelderland. A very handsome castle belongs to this city of Bois le Duc, which is a good large town and of good profit, but Grave is worth more. The duke of Gueldres made this bargain, to the intent that he might have a good ground of quarrel to take Grave from the Brabanters; for the duchess of Brabant and her council said that anciently the lords of Kuck had held it in mortgage, but that she or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleased, and that the duke of Gueldres had no right to keep it except as a pledge. The duke of Gueldres maintained an opposite opinion, and said that it was his good inheritance and he would hold it to the last. This was the cause of the war and ill-will that arose between those of Brabant and Guelderland: and, in the month of May, the Brabanters came to lay siege to the city of Grave; knights, squires, and the commonalty of the good towns; and they brought and carried engines, springalls, trebus, and all other such machines for the assault. And there were full forty thousand men one with another, who were encamped before Grave, over against the valley of the river Meuse. And their host was well furnished, for they had their own country behind and on all sides of them, from whence they received plentiful supplies. And this is the delight of the Brabanters, for, wherever they may be or go, they will be stuffed to the neck with wine, meat, and delicacies, or they will return to their own houses.

You have before read how anxious the duchess of Brabant was to make war on the duke of Gueldres, and to besiege Grave. There was a great force of knights and squires from the principal towns before it, who declared their intentions were not to depart until they had gained possession of it; and the duchess, to show how interested she was in the matter, had come to reside at Bois le Duc, four leagues distant from it. The besieging army was plentifully supplied with all things that came thither by sea, or down the Meuse, from the rich country of Brabant, so that the siege was long continued; and the Brabanters had many large machines which threw into the town stones of such weight as to do much damage wherever they fell. In addition, they flung into the town all the dead carrion of the army to empoison the inhabitants by the stink. This was sorely felt by them, for the weather was hot, and the air too calm to carry off these villanous smells.

At times, many of the knights and squires of Brabant came to skirmish with the garrison at the barriers; for the duke of Gueldres had placed within the town some gallant companions, who were not shy of showing their courage when occasions called for it, and the enemy advanced so near as the barriers. The siege lasted a long time; and the duke of Gueldres had fixed his quarters at Nimeguen; but he could neither raise the siege, nor offer combat to the Brabanters, for want of sufficient force. He had sent to England an account of his situation, and expected for certain he should have a reinforcement from thence, but he was disappointed; for England at that time was in a very unsettled state, and new ministers had been forced on the king by his uncles and the archbishop of Canterbury. A parliament was indeed holden, about St. John Baptist's day, at the duke's request, to consider whether a body of men at arms and archers should be sent to assist the duke of Gueldres, according to treaty. Having considered the matter fully, they would not agree to it; for it was strongly rumoured, that the king of France was assembling a large army, and it was doubtful whither he would march it, and the English imagined it was intended to attack Calais. They were also uneasy respecting the Scots on the borders, and were fearful of sending more forces out of the kingdom, as a large body of men at arms and archers were at sea, under the earl of Arundel, lest the country might be defenceless. When the council was considering the affairs of Gueldres, some of the lords said,—"Let the duke of Gueldres take care of himself: he is valorous enough, and in his own country, and will withstand all the Brabanters can do against him: if anything worse befal him, he shall have assistance. He has again the Germans, his neighbours, on his side, who formerly joined him against France." Such was the state of affairs in England; but those in Grave suffered much from the siege. During the time it lasted, the Brabanters resolved to throw a wooden bridge over the Meuse, that

they might have an entrance into Guelderland, overrun that country, and, by investing the town of Grave on all sides, prevent any provision from entering it; for they were numerous enough to surround it, could they gain a passage over the river. As they finished the different parts of this bridge, they joined and placed them in their proper situations, and had made such advances, that it was within the length of a lance of the opposite shore. You may suppose that the duke was no way ignorant of what they were about, but he gave not any interruption to their building the bridge, until it was nearly completed. He then advanced with cannons and other artillery, and attacked it so roughly, that it was set on fire and destroyed. Thus did the Brabanters, to their great vexation, lose all the effect of their labour. They, upon this, called a council to determine how to act.

CHAPTER CXX.—THE BRABANTERS HAVING PASSED THROUGH RAVENSTEIN*, ENTER GUELDERLAND, AND ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THE SIEGE OF GRAVE IS RAISED IN CONSEQUENCE.

THREE short leagues from Grave lies the town of Ravenstein, belonging to the lord de Bourne, who is a vassal to Brabant. At the council I mentioned, the lord de Bourne was solicited by the ministers of the duchess of Brabant, and by the knights and squires, to open his town of Ravenstein for them to gain an entrance into Guelderland, and, with part of their army, overrun it: he complied with their request. The duke of Gueldres, I know not whether by spies or otherwise, gained information that the Brabanters intended entering his territories by the bridge of Ravenstein, through the compliance of the lord de Bourne. He was much cast down when he first learnt this, as his force was not near sufficient to meet that of Brabant, which consisted of more than forty thousand men. He formed various plans how to act, and at last determined that, if the Brabanters entered his country, he would retaliate by the bridge of Grave, for he was resolved not to be shut up in any town. He consulted the lord de Ghesme, a great baron in Guelderland, and his principal adviser, who would not at first agree to his taking the field, on account of the smallness of his numbers. "And what must I do then?" said the duke. "Would you have me shut myself up in one of my towns, while they are plundering and burning my country? This would be too great a loss. I vow to GOD and our Lady," added the duke, "that I will take the field to meet my enemies, and follow the best measures I can devise that the event may be favourable."

This plan he executed; and, on the morrow, after he had paid his devotions in the church, and made his offering at the altar of the Virgin, he drank some wine, and, mounting his horse, set out from Nimeguen. He was accompanied by only three hundred spears, or indeed less, and they made straight for the place where they supposed they should find their enemies. You may from this judge of the duke's courage, although some blamed him. When they were without the town of Nimeguen, like a valiant knight, he shouted out,—"Forward, forward! let us, in the name of God and St. George, hasten to meet our enemy; for I had rather perish with honour in the field than die dishonourably shut up in a town." With him were the lord de Ghesme, who commanded the expedition, and a valiant and prudent knight, called the heir of Hanseberth, the lord de Huckelem, sir Ostez, lord of Naspre, and several other knights and squires of good courage.

The same day on which the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, the séneschal of Brabant had done the same at a very early hour of the morning, with a large body of knights and squires from Brabant, who were eager to enter Guelderland, and gain there both honour and profit. Upwards of ten thousand men crossed the bridge of Ravenstein; and the séneschal, the lord de Ligniere, the lord de Bourgueval, the lord de Gence, and the rest, were much pleased at having crossed the Meuse, and said among themselves, they would that day ride as far as Nimeguen, and burn its mills, suburbs, and the villages that were round about;

* "Ravenstein,"—a town of the Netherlands in Dutch Brabant, and capital of a county of the same name, with an ancient and strong castle. It belongs to the elector Palatine; but the Dutch have a right to put a garrison there. It is situated on the Meuse, on the confines of Guelderland, ten miles south-west of Nimeguen.
BROOKES' GAZETTEER.

but they had shortly other news brought them by their scouts, whom they had sent forward to examine the country. The duke of Gueldres was informed, that his enemies, to the amount of ten thousand, were abroad, and had passed the Meuse at the bridge at Ravenstein. The duke halted, on hearing this, to consider again the best mode of proceeding, for some of his companions were alarmed at the smallness of their numbers in comparison with the enemy, who were at least thirty or forty for one. They said,—"How is it possible for three or four hundred lances to oppose ten or twelve thousand? it is not in our power to overthrow them, but they may very easily slay us." Several assembled round the duke, and advised him to retreat to Grave; but he replied,—"he would never do so, nor confine himself in any town, but march to meet his enemies, for his courage told him he should defeat them; and he preferred dying with honour to living in disgrace. We will overthrow," said he, "our enemies, and gain this day infinite honour and wealth." He then, after a short pause, added in a loud voice,—"Forward, forward! those who love me will follow me." This speech of the duke greatly encouraged his men, more especially those who had heard the whole; and they all showed a great earnestness to combat their enemies, who were fast approaching. They tightened their armours, lowered the visors of their helmets, and re-girthed their saddles, and marched slowly in handsome array, that their horses might be fresh for the charge. Some new knights were made, and they marched in this order towards Ravenstein.

The Brabanters, with great numbers of common people, had already crossed the river, when news was brought to the séneschal and his knights that the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, and was so near that they must speedily see him. They were much surprised at this intelligence, and concluded that the duke must at least have had with him six times more men than he had. They instantly halted, and would have drawn themselves up in array, but had not time; for the duke of Gueldres appeared with his company full gallop, with spears in their rests, and shouting their cry, "Our Lady for Gueldres!" A squire of Guelderland, called Hermaut de Morbec, deserves particular attention, from the great desire he had to exalt his name. He left the ranks of the battalion, and, spurring his horse, was the first to assault the enemy, and at this gallant tilt unhorsed the man he struck. I know not if he were raised from the ground, for the crowd was so great, that when any were dismounted, unless instantly relieved, they ran great risk of being crushed to death. More than six score Brabanters were unhorsed at this first charge. Great confusion and dismay, with but a poor defence, reigned among them. They were so suddenly attacked, (which is the way enemies should be by those who wish to conquer them,) that although they were so numerous, and had many great lords, they were dispersed: they could never form any array, nor could the lords rally their men, nor these last join their lords. Those in the rear, hearing the noise, and seeing the clouds of dust, thought their men must have been discomfited, and that the enemy were coming to them, so that they became panic-struck, and, turning about, fled for Ravenstein or the Meuse. Their fright was so great, they rushed into the river, whether on horseback or on foot, without sounding the bottom or knowing if it were fordable, for they imagined the enemy was at their heels. By this self-defeat, upwards of twelve hundred perished in the river Meuse; for they leaped one on the other, without any distinction, like wild beasts. Many great lords and barons of Brabant (whose names I shall not disclose, to save them and their heirs from the disgrace that would attach to them) most shamefully fled from the field, and sought their safety, not by the river nor by Ravenstein, but by other roads that carried them to a distance from their enemies.

This unfortunate event to the chivalry of Brabant happened between Grave and Ravenstein. Great numbers were slain. All who could surrender did so instantly; and the Germans took them at ransom very readily, for the great profit they expected to make from them. Those who had fled to Grave gave the alarm to the besieging army; for they arrived out of breath, and so harassed that they could scarcely say to them, "Retire as fast as you can, for we have been totally defeated, and nothing can save you." When those in camp saw their appearance and heard their report, they were so frightened that they would not stay to pack up anything, nor even take down their tents and pavilions, but set off without bidding adieu, and left everything behind them. They were seized with such a panic as neither to

take victual nor carriage; but such as had horses leaped on them, and fled for safety to Bois-le-Duc, Houdan, Mont St. Gervais, Gertruydenberg, or Dordrecht. Their only care was to save themselves, and fly from their enemies. Had the garrison of Grave known of this defeat of the Brabanters, they would have greatly gained by it, and killed or brought back many of the runaways. They were not made acquainted with it until late, when they sallied forth, and took possession of tents, pavilions, and warlike engines the Brabanters in their fright had left behind, which they brought at their leisure into Grave, for there were none to oppose them. Thus was the siege of Grave broken up, to the great loss of the Brabanters. News was spread far and near, how a handful of men had overthrown forty thousand and raised the siege of Grave. The lord de Bourgueval and the lord de Linieres were made prisoners, with others to the amount of seventeen banners. These and the pennons you will find hung up before the image of our Lady at Nimeguen, that the perpetual remembrance of this victory may be kept up.

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE BRABANTERS, RETURNS TO NIMEGUEN.—ON THE NEWS OF THIS VICTORY, THE KING AND COUNCIL OF FRANCE SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, THE MORE SECURELY TO CARRY ON THEIR WAR AGAINST GUELDRELAND.

Scarcely can I for shame perpetuate the disgraceful defeat of the Brabanters; but, as I have promised at the commencement of this history to insert nothing but what was strictly true, I must detail the unfortunate consequences of this battle. The young duke of Gueldres gained this renowned victory about Magdalen-tide, in the month of July 1388. When the defeat and pursuit were over, which took up about two hours' time, and the field cleared, the Gueldrians collected together, and greatly rejoiced, as indeed they had cause, at the fortunate success of the day, for they had many more prisoners than they were in number themselves. The heralds were ordered by them to examine the dead, and report who had been slain. Among them was the young and handsome son of the count de Namur (who was styled the Vaissier de Celles, lord de Balastre,) which, when told to the duke, greatly afflicted him; and he bitterly lamented his loss, for he was of a most amiable character, and had been the preceding year his companion at arms in Prussia.

A council was held in the field, whether or not to retire to Grave and carry their prisoners thither; but the duke opposed it, saying—"I made a vow to our Lady of Nimeguen when I left that town, and which I again renewed before we began the combat: in obedience to which, I order, that we gaily return to Nimeguen, and offer our thanksgivings to the Holy Virgin, who has assisted us in our victory." This command was obeyed; for, as the duke had given it, no one made any objection; and they set out, on their return towards Nimeguen, full gallop. It was two long leagues from the field of battle, but they were soon there.

On this fortunate news being told in that town, great rejoicings were made by both sexes; and the clergy went out in procession to meet the duke, and received him with acclamations. The duke did not turn to the right nor left, but rode with his knights straight to the church where the image of our Lady was, and in which he had great faith. When he had entered her chapel, he disarmed himself of every thing to his doublet, and offered up his armour on the altar, in honour of our Lady, returning thanksgivings for the victory he had gained over his enemies. The banners and pennons of the enemy were all hung up in this chapel, but I know not if they be still there*: the duke retired to his hotel, and his knights to their homes, to pay attention to themselves and their prisoners, from whom they expected great ransoms. When the report of this victory over the Brabanters was made public, the duke of Gueldres was more feared and honoured than before.

The duchess of Brabant, who had resided at Bois-le-Duc, was much vexed, as indeed she had reason, at this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and that the siege of Grave was raised.

* In the last paragraph of the preceding chapter, it is intimated that they were still remaining.—Ed.

She ordered a strong garrison into Bois-le-Duc to guard the frontiers, and then returned through Champagne to Brussels. She wrote frequently to the duke of Burgundy the state of things, and eagerly pressed him to assist her in the recovery of her losses; for all her hopes were in him. You may suppose, the news of this victory was instantly known in France, particularly at the court of the king; but they were little surprised at it, rather holding it cheap, imagining, when the king marched thither, they should make themselves ample amends. Orders were sent to sir William de la Tremouille and to sir Gervais de Merande, who had been placed by the duke of Burgundy in the three castles on the Meuse, to guard well that frontier, and to make no sallies where there should be any risk of loss; for that they would shortly hear from the king, who was preparing to visit this duke of Gueldres and his country in person. Sir William had been greatly hurt at the late defeat of his friends, but the intelligence from France raised his spirits, and he acted conformably to the orders he had received.

Let us return to what was passing in France. The king's ardour for the invasion of Gueldreland was no way abated: he was anxious to undertake it at all events, for the challenge of the duke had mightily enraged him; and he declared that, cost what it would, he would have ample reparation, or his territories, with those of his father, the duke of Juliers, should be despoiled and burnt. Summonses were sent to all the dukes, counts, knights, barons and men at arms, of France, to provide themselves with sufficient purveyances for a long journey; and one of the marshals of France, sir Louis de Sancerre, was ordered to remain to guard the kingdom, from beyond the river Dordogne to the sea; for in Languedoc, and in the country between the Garonne and the Loire, the truce had been accepted; and the other marshal, the lord de Blainville, was to accompany the king. The different lords made such immense provision of stores of all kinds, it was wonderful to think of, more especially in wines. All those in Champagne were bespoken for the king, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine, and Bourbon; carriages also, of every description, in those parts, were likewise retained for them: indeed, the preparations for this expedition were prodigious.

The duke of Brittany was still at Paris, and could not obtain any decision respecting his affairs, for the king resided chiefly at Montereau-sur-Yonne. He was, however, well entertained with feasts and fair words. The nobles begged of him to have patience, for he would very shortly have his business finished; but that the king was so impatient to begin his march to Germany, he attended to nothing else. The duke was forced to make the best he could of it, perceiving he could not amend it, and, since he had come to Paris, was resolved not to depart but with the good will of the king, although his stay was attended with vast expenses. When it was known for certain that the expedition to Gueldreland was to take place, and that a tax had been ordered throughout France for the payment of the knights and men-at-arms, many of the wisest in the country, whether of the council or not, said that it was ill advised to encourage a king of France to march such a distance in search of his enemies, and that the kingdom might suffer from it, (for the king was young, and very popular with his subjects,) and that it would have been fully sufficient for one of the king's uncles, or both of them, with the constable of France, to have gone with six or seven thousand lances, without carrying the person of the king thither.

The king's uncles were of a similar opinion: they most prudently remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his marching with his army, and were urging many strong reasons against it, when he flew into a rage, and shortly interrupted them, by saying,—"If you go thither without me, it will be contrary to my will and pleasure; but I can assure you, you shall not receive one penny, for otherwise I cannot restrain you." When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this answer, they saw he was determined upon going, and replied,—"God be with you: you shall go then; and we will no more think of undertaking it without your company." These lords and the council then deliberated on an affair of some consequence to this intended war. There had been a treaty for a long time in force, between the king of France and the emperor of Germany, which stipulated, that neither of them were to enter the territories of the other with an armed force; that is to say, that the king of France and the emperor could not make war on each other without incurring a

heavy penalty, and the sentence of the pope, who had solemnly sworn, at his coronation, to maintain these two kingdoms in peace. It was therefore resolved, in case the king persisted in his intention of invading Gueldreland, which was a dependence on the empire, to make the emperor fully acquainted with the duke of Gueldres' rash conduct, and lay before him the insolent challenge he had sent the king of France, who, to make him sensible of his folly, was preparing to march an army into Germany, not any way hostile to the emperor or to his territories, but solely against this duke of Gueldres, and to attack him wherever he should find him.

Sir Guy de Honcourt, a valiant knight, and sir Yves d'Orient, one of the judges in parliament, were appointed ambassadors to carry this message to the emperor. When they had received their instructions and made their preparations, they took leave of the king and his uncles, and rode for Châlons in Champagne, with an attendance suitable to their rank, and the purpose they were going on. They met the lord de Coucy at Châlons, retaining knights and men-at-arms from Bar, Lorrain, and Champagne, for this expedition, of which he was to command the van-guard. He entertained the ambassadors one day splendidly at dinner, and on the morrow they continued the road to Sainte Menehould, and thence towards Luxembourg, to gain intelligence where the emperor was.

CHAPTER CXXII.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL PERMIT THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO RETURN HOME.—THE STATES OF BRABANT SEND EXCUSES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, FOR NOT ALLOWING HIS ARMY TO PASS THROUGH THEIR COUNTRY.—THE SUCCESS OF THE AMBASSADORS WITH THE EMPEROR.

Although ambassadors had been sent to the emperor, the French did no way relax in their warlike preparations. It was signified to all to assemble in readiness for the field in or near the country of Champagne by the middle of the ensuing August; since the king had then determined to begin his march, whether or not he should receive answers, through sir Guy de Honcourt and master Yves d'Orient, from the emperor of Germany. The king and his uncles thinking it was now time to dismiss the duke of Brittany, he was summoned to Montereau, where the king most kindly received him, as did the dukes of Burgundy and Touraine. The duke of Berry was at the time in Berry making his preparations and levies of men-at-arms, having fixed on Poitou for the place of assembly, before they began their march. The king and the duke of Burgundy, as I have said, treated the duke of Brittany in the most friendly manner. He had before surrendered the castles and town of Jugon to the officers of the constable, but made great difficulty to pay back the hundred thousand francs, which had been expended in the provisioning his castles, and in retaining men-at-arms the whole of last winter, thinking a war would be declared against him; but he was so fairly spoken to, that he promised the king and the duke of Burgundy to repay this sum, of one hundred thousand francs, in the course of five years, by yearly payments of twenty thousand francs. The duke, after this, took leave of the king, who made him very handsome presents of jewels, and went back to Paris. The duke of Burgundy, before his departure, gave to him and his knights a magnificent entertainment in his hotel, called the hotel d'Artois, when they separated on the most friendly terms.

The duke of Brittany made no longer stay after this at Paris; but having arranged his affairs, and had his expenses paid by his officers, he set out, taking the road to Estampes, travelled through Beauce to Beaugency on the Loire, with a numerous body of attendants riding before him. From Beaugency his attendants coutinued their road through the country of Blois, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou; but the duke had his vessels waiting for him at Beaugency, and embarking on board a handsome yacht, with the lords de Montfort and de Malestroit, sailed down the Loire, passing under the bridge at Blois, and not stopping until he came to Nantes, when he was in his own country. I will now leave the duke of Brittany, who strictly kept the engagements he had entered into with the king of France and his uncles, and has never since done any thing worthy of being remembered in this history, nor do I know if he ever will. If he should, I will relate it, according to the manner it shall be told me.

The king of France was busily employed in making his preparations to invade Gueldreland. The lord de Coucy, on his return to Montereau, informed the king and his uncles, that all the chivalry of Bar, Lorrain, Burgundy, and as far as the Rhine, were ready and willing to attend them, in their expedition to Germany. The king was much pleased on hearing this, and said, that "if it pleased God, he would this year pay a visit to his cousins of Gueldres and Juliers." A council was held on the most convenient line of march, when some said, that the shortest way would be through Tiérache*, along the frontiers of Hainault and Liege, and passing through Brabant into Gueldres; but others proposed crossing the Meuse at or near Utrecht, and, having passed that river, to enter Juliers, and march thence into Gueldreland. Upon this, the king and council wrote to the duchess and states of Brabant, to signify that the king and his army intended marching through their country.—The duchess would have readily consented; but the states refused the passage, saying the country would suffer too much from it. The principal towns and nobles were all of this opinion, and told the duchess, that if she allowed the French to enter their country, they would never bear arms for her against Gueldres, but would shut themselves up in their castles, and defend all the entrances to the country, for they should have more damage done to themselves and lands by such passengers than if their enemy were in the country. The duchess, finding so strong an opposition to allowing a passage to the French, dissembled her real thoughts, and calling to her Sir John Opem, master John Grave, and master Nicholas de la Monnoye, charged them to set out instantly for France, and make excuses for the states of Brabant, to the king and the duke of Burgundy, for their refusal to allow the French army to pass through Brabant, fearful lest the country would be too severely oppressed; and to entreat them, for the love of God, not to be dissatisfied with her, as she had done every thing in her power to obtain their consent.

These envoys left Brussels, and arrived at Montereau-sur-Yonne, where they found the king and his uncles, whose whole conversation, day and night, was on the expedition to Gueldreland.—They first waited on the duke of Burgundy, to whom they gave their letters, and explained so well the reasons of the states' refusal that he was contented, and, at the prayer of his aunt, promised to mediate between them and the king. The lord de Coucy was likewise of very great service to them, so that the first plan of passing through Brabant was given up, and the excuses from the duchess and her states were accepted. It was then determined, as more honourable for the king and his allies, to march straight through his kingdom. A council was held on the choice of those who were to form the vanguard; and two thousand five hundred pioneers were appointed to clear away all trees and hedge-rows, and to make smooth the roads. The army had by their means a most excellent road through France to the forest of Ardennes; but there it failed them, for rocks, forests, and various obstacles opposed their passage. The lord de Coucy, who had the command of the vanguard, consisting of one thousand lances, sent forward persons to examine which would be the safest road for the king and the baggage to march (for there were upwards of twelve thousand carriages, without counting baggage horses), to lay open the forest, and make roads where no traveller had ever before passed. Every one was eager to be thus employed, more particularly those who were near the king's person; for he was never so popular at any time as he was now in Flanders, nor were his subjects ever so united to assist him as in this expedition against Gueldres. While this was passing, the king sent the lord de Coucy to Avignon, to the person who styled himself pope Clement, I know not on what business; and the viscount de Meaux, Sir John de Roye, and the lord de la Bonne, commanded in his absence.

We will now say something of the ambassadors who had been sent to the emperor of Germany. They continued their journey until they arrived at Convalence†, where the emperor resided. After dismounting at their hôtel, they made themselves ready to wait on him, who had before heard of their coming, and was very impatient to know the cause of it. Having assembled his council, the ambassadors were introduced to the presence of the empe-

* "Tiérache," a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and Seine, to the west of Champagne and the south of Hainault.

† "Convalence." Qy. Constance.

ror, whom they saluted most reverently, and gave him their credential letters from the king of France. After he had attentively perused them, he eyed sir Guy de Honcourt, and said, "Guy, tell us, in the name of God, what you are charged with." The knight spoke long and ably in explaining to the emperor and his council the reasons why the king of France was about to enter the German territory with a large army, not with the smallest intent to injure that or any other part of the territories belonging to the emperor, but against a personal enemy. He then named him, and added,—"The duke of Gueldres has thought proper to send the king of France a most insolent challenge, couched in outrageous language, not usual in such cases, for which the king and his council have determined to punish him. The king, therefore, entreats you, dear sire, from your connexions with him by blood, that you will not abet this duke in his presumptuous conduct, but keep those treaties of alliance which have formerly been made between you and France, as he on his part is resolved to abide by them." The emperor, in reply, said,—"Sir Guy, we have some time been informed, that our cousin, the king of France, has been collecting a large body of men-at-arms, at a vast expense, when it was unnecessary for him to give himself so much trouble for so small an object; for, had he made his complaints to me, I would have forced the duke of Gueldres to hear reason without the great expense he has been at." "Sire," answered sir Guy, "you are very kind in thus expressing yourself; but our lord, the king of France, values neither expense nor trouble wherever his honour is concerned; and his council are solely anxious that you should not be dissatisfied with him, for he is determined in no way to infringe the treaties that exist between France and Germany: on the contrary, to strengthen them as much as possible, and for this have sir Yves d'Orient and myself been sent hither." "We are by no means," said the emperor, "dissatisfied with what is doing in France, and thank my cousin for the information he sends me: let him come, in God's name, for I do not intend to move."

The ambassadors were well pleased with this reply, and considered the matter as concluded to their wish. They requested answers to the letters they had brought, which were cheerfully promised. They dined that day in the emperor's palace, and by his orders were well feasted. In the evening they retired to their lodgings, and managed things so well, that the business was finished to their satisfaction. Having received their letters in reply to those they had brought, they took leave of the emperor, and returned by the way they had come to the king of France; of whom we will now speak.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—THE COUNT DE BLOIS SENDS TWO HUNDRED LANCES TO SERVE THE KING IN HIS EXPEDITION TO GUELDRES.—THE AMBASSADORS BRING FAVOURABLE ANSWERS FROM THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—THE KING OF FRANCE CONTINUES HIS MARCH TOWARD THE FOREST OF ARDENNES.—SIR HELION DE LIGNAC MAKES HIS REPORT TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TOUCHING HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

The great lords and barons of France were busily employed in making their preparations for the expedition to Gueldres; and those from the more distant parts of the kingdom, in Auvergne, Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, and other provinces, had already begun their march towards Champagne. The greater numbers came from Picardy, Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorrain, because they were nearer the place of assembly. The villages in France were not so harshly treated as usual: for the king had forbidden, under pain of death, that anything should be taken from them without payment. Notwithstanding this order was made very public, the men at arms on their march did much mischief; for, though the punishment was so heavy, they could not abstain from what they had been accustomed to. They were indeed very badly paid, and consequently thought they had a right to provide for themselves. This was the excuse they made whenever they were reprimanded by their captain or marshal. The count de Blois was summoned, and he returned for answer, he would send two hundred chosen lances well equipped and paid. I know not how he was dealt withal, but he sent two hundred knights and squires to serve the king, from his county of Blois, under the command of the lord de Vienne, sir William de Saint Martin, sir William

de Chaumont, and the lord de Montigny, who marched at their leisure towards Champagne, whither they had been ordered.

The king of France left Montereau-sur-Yonne, and took the road for Châlons in Champagne, without the duke of Berry joining him. He was still in Berry, waiting the return of sir Helion de Lignac, with answers from the duke of Lancaster, respecting his marriage with his daughter. He, however, received none; for the duke of Lancaster detained him at Bayonne, dissembling his opinion between him and the ambassadors from Castille; but he was more inclined, as well as the duchess, to close with the last; yet, before them, he showed the utmost attentions to sir Helion, to make them the more eager to finish the business. The Castillian ambassadors laboured hard to bring the marriage to a conclusion. They were four in number, don Fernando de Leon, doctor in divinity and confessor to the king, the bishop of Segovia, don Pedro Gadelope, and don Diego Loup, who were continually going or returning from one party to the other. The duke, however, gave them to understand that he would prefer a union with Castille to one with France, provided they would agree to his terms. He demanded payment of six hundred thousand francs within three years, twelve thousand annually for his and the duchess's lives, and two thousand more for the duchess's household yearly*.

When it was known that the king had left Montereau for Châlons, all those who had remained at home hastened their march to join him. Thither came the duke of Berry, whose quarters were at Espinay, and the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Sancerre, the count de St. Pol, the count de Tonnerre. Near the king's person were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Lorrain, the duke of Touraine, the constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir Barrois des Barres, and sir John de Bueil. The whole country round Rheims and Châlons,

* According to Lopez de Ayala, the messengers sent by the king of Castille to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne were Ferrand de Illescas, a monk of the order of St. Francis, confessor to the king, Pero Sanchez del Castillo and Alvar Martinez de Villareal, both royal auditors. Before their departure for Bayonne, the king of Castille assembled the general cortes at Briviesca, in order to raise the sums demanded by the duke, and to relieve both himself and the kingdom from a competitor who was so dangerous an enemy. Ayala details all the conditions of the treaty; the following are the principal articles:

Don Henry, eldest son of don John of Castille, aged nine years, was, within two months from the signature of the treaty, to marry Catherine, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, aged fourteen years. If the infant Henry should die before he attained the age of fourteen years, or without consummating the marriage, Catherine was to marry his next brother, don Ferrand. Don Henry was, immediately upon the marriage, to receive the title of prince of the Asturias, and Catherine that of princess of the Asturias.

The king of Castille was to assign to don Henry and Catherine the city of Soria and the towns of Amazan, Atienza, Soria, and Molina, for the support of their household, being the same which king Henry of Castille had granted to Bertrand du Guesclin, and which he had afterwards redeemed.

Within two months next after the treaty, the king don John bound himself to acknowledge don Henry and Catherine as his successors.

The king don John was to pay down 600,000 French francs to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, as the price of their renunciation of all claim upon the crown of Castille.

The king don John further engaged for himself and his heirs, to pay the further annual sum of 40,000 francs to the duke and duchess, until the death of the survivor.

Hostages from the kingdoms of Castille and Leon were to be given to the duke of Lancaster, as pledges for the payment of the 600,000 francs. These hostages were don Fadrique, duke of Benevento, and brother to king John of Castille; Pero Ponce de Leon, lord of Marchena; John de Velasco, son of Pero Fernandez de Velasco; Carlos de Arrelano, John de Padillo, Rodrigo de Rojas, Lope Ortiz de Estuniga, John Rodriguez de Cisneros, Rodrigo de Casteneda, and several other citizens of various large towns; in all sixty-six persons. (The safe-conduct granted to them by Richard II. on the 26th August, 1388, is given in Rymer.)

Free pardon was to be granted to all who had taken part with the duke of Lancaster.

The duke and duchess of Lancaster, on their parts, renounced all pretension to the kingdoms of Castille, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algesiras, the lordships of Lara and Biscay, and that of Molina; and they acknowledged don John as king, and after him don Henry; and, in case of his death without children, then don Ferrand and all other lawful descendants of the king don John, who should ascend the throne in default of any other legitimate heir. They further engaged never to procure from the pope a dispensation from their oath, either openly or in secret.

Constance, duchess of Lancaster, was further to be put in possession of the towns of Guadalajara, Medina del Campo, and Olmedo, for her life, she engaging that they should, at her death, be delivered back, and that the government should be entrusted to none but Castillians.

Notwithstanding his new alliances with England, the king, don John, stipulated for the preservation of his ancient alliance with France.

To pay the sums agreed upon with the duke of Lancaster and ratified by the cortes, the king raised a sort of loan throughout the kingdom, as his father had done when he redeemed the lands granted to Bertrand du Guesclin. All the citizens, with the exception of bishops, priests, and nobles, contributed to an impost, which was afterwards repaid to them by successive drawbacks on the ordinary taxes.—Ed.

to the extent of twelve leagues, was destroyed by these men at arms, who were dispersed over it, from Sainte Menehould to Monstier in Bar, to Chaumont in Bassigni*, to Vitry en Pertois†, and the whole of the bishoprics of Troyes and Langres. The lord de Coucy was not yet returned from his journey to Avignon.

About this time sir Guy de Honcourt and sir Yves d'Orient came back from their embassy to the emperor, and met the king at Châlons. The king and his nobles were rejoiced at their arrival, and inquired the news. They told them all that had passed; that the emperor had very kindly received them, and handsomely entertained them; and sir Guy added,—"Sire, and you my lords, when the emperor and his council had read your letters and the copy of the duke of Gueldres' challenge, they were very indignant at his presumption, and are desirous, from what we could learn, that he should be punished for his insolence: nor will the emperor make any opposition to your intended war, which he seems indeed much to approve of, but keep strictly to all the articles of the treaties entered into between him and France, so that all your doubts concerning his conduct may be dissipated." The king of France and his council were well satisfied on hearing this, although many said, that whether the emperor would or not, they were in sufficient numbers to go whither they pleased without fearing any one.

The king gave orders for the march of the army, and he left Châlons for Grand Pré‡, where he remained for three days. He could not make any long marches, from the great concourse of men that were in his front, in his rear, and on all sides; and he was forced to move gently on account of his great train of baggage and purveyances, which occupied a length of fourteen country leagues, and was daily increasing. The count de Grand Pré received the king in his town with every respect, and ordered all things so much to the king's pleasure, that he expressed his satisfaction to the count, who was attached to the van division. The duke of Lorrain and sir Henry de Bar here joined the king with a handsome company of men at arms. The duke of Lorrain was ordered to the division of his son-in-law, the lord de Coucy, but sir Henry de Bar remained near the king.

The pioneers had been continually employed in clearing the forest of Ardennes, by felling of timber, and making roads where none had ever been before. They had much difficulty in the filling up of valleys and forming a tolerable road for the carriages to pass, and there were upwards of three thousand workmen who laboured at nothing else, from Vierton to Neufchâtel in the Ardennes. The duchess of Brabant was exceedingly pleased when she heard for certain that the king of France was on his march through the Ardennes, and concluded she should now have her revenge on the duke of Gueldres, and that the king of France would make both him and his father, the duke of Juliers, repent of their conduct, which had given her many mortifications. She set out in handsome array from Brussels, accompanied by the lord de Samines, in the Ardennes, the lord de Bocelars, the lord de Broquehort, and several others, for Luxembourg, to receive the king, and have some conversation with him. She crossed the Meuse by the bridge at Huy§, and went to Bastoigne, where she halted; for the king was to pass there, or very near it, which he did. When he set out from Grand Pré, he crossed the Meuse at Morsay‖, with his whole army; but his marches were very short, for the reasons I have before given.

News was brought to the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, for such intelligence is soon spread abroad, that the king of France was on his march to visit them, with an army of one hundred thousand men; and that he had never collected so large a body, except when he marched to Bourbourg, imagining the English to be in greater force than he found them. The duke of Juliers began to be greatly alarmed; but his son, the duke of Gueldres, made light of it, saying,—"Let them come: the greater the number, the sooner will they be worn down, their baggage destroyed, and their purveyances ruined. Winter is coming on, and my country is a strong one: they will not easily enter it, and, when they make the attempt, shall be driven

* "Bassigni," a small country on the confines of Champagne and Lorrain: Chaumont is the capital.

† "Vitry en Pertois," a small town in Champagne, near Vitry le François.

‡ "Grand Pré," a town in Champagne, election of Sainte Menehould.

§ "Huy," a town in the bishopric of Liege, capital of the Condrotz, on the confluence of the small river Huy and the Meuse.

‖ "Morsay." Q. Mouzon.

back with other sounds than trumpets. They must always keep together, which will be impossible, if they mean to invade my territory; and, if they separate, my people will take them whether they will or no.—However, our cousin of France shows good courage; and I give him credit for doing what I would attempt if in his place." Such were the conversations the duke of Gueldres held with his knights on this subject; but the duke of Juliers was, on the contrary, quite disconsolate; for he saw, if the French were determined on it, his country must be ruined and burnt. He sent for his brother, the archbishop of Cologne, and his cousin, sir Arnold de Hornes, bishop of Liege, to consult with them on the occasion, and see if there were any probable remedy to prevent his lands being despoiled. These two prelates gave him the best advice in their power, and recommended him to humble himself before the king of France and his uncles, and submit to their will. The duke having answered, that he would most cheerfully do so, the bishop of Utrecht, who was likewise present, with the assent of the archbishop, advised the bishop of Liege to set out with his array to meet the king of France, and treat with him on this subject.

The king of France continued his march, but only two, three, or four leagues a day, and sometimes not one, from the great baggage, which was too large by far, that accompanied him. Sir William de Lignac, and his brother sir Helion, joined the king between Mouzon and Nôtre Dame d'Amot*, where the duke of Berry, with his body of five hundred spears, was quartered. Sir William had come from the siege of Ventadour, by orders of the duke of Berry, as had sir John Bonne-lance by similar ones from the duke of Bourbon. They had left their army under the command of sir John Bouteiller and sir Lewis d'Ambiere, as they were desirous of attending the king in this expedition. Sir Helion had come from Bayonne, where he had been treating, as you have heard, with the duke of Lancaster, for the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Berry. The duke of Berry made him good cheer, and inquired after his success. Sir Helion related everything that had passed, and told him the king of Castille was earnestly negotiating a peace with the duke of Lancaster by the union of his son, the prince of Galicia, with his daughter. The duke was very pensive on hearing this, and, after a pause, said,—"Sir Helion, you will return to France; and I will send you once more, accompanied by the bishop of Poitiers, for the duke of Lancaster's decisive answer; but at this moment we have enough on our hands." This same week, the lord de Coucy returned from Avignon to the king in the Ardennes, to the great joy of the whole army.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—THE PRINCIPAL BARONS OF SCOTLAND ASSEMBLE IN ARMS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND.—THEY LEARN FROM A SPY WHOM THEY TAKE PRISONER THAT THE ENGLISH ARE ACQUAINTED WITH THEIR INTENTIONS.

I HAVE before related in this history the troubles king Richard of England had suffered from his quarrels with his uncles, urged on by the wicked counsel of the duke of Ireland, which had caused several knights to lose their heads, and the archbishop of York nearly to be deprived of his benefice. By the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury and the king's new council, the lord Neville, who had commanded the defence of the frontiers of Northumberland for five years against the Scots, was dismissed: for this service he had been paid by the counties of Northumberland and Durham, the sum of sixteen thousand francs annually. Sir Henry Percy being appointed in his stead to this command, with a salary of eleven thousand francs yearly, was a circumstance which created much animosity and hatred between the Percies and Nevilles, who were neighbours and had been friends. The barons and knights of Scotland, knowing of this, determined on an inroad to England, as the opportunity was favourable, now the English were quarrelling among themselves, to make some return for the many insults they had suffered from them.

In order that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feast to be holden at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended; and it was then resolved, that in the middle of August of the year 1388, they would assemble

* "Amot." Q. Arlon.

all their forces at a castle called Jedworth, situated amidst deep forests and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged everything concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the king; for they said among themselves, he knew nothing about war. On the appointed day, earl James Douglas first arrived at Jedworth: then came John earl of Moray, the earl of March and Dunbar, William, earl of Fife, John earl of Sutherland, Stephen earl of Menteith*, William earl of Mar, sir Archibald Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, sir Malcolm Drummond, sir William and sir James Lindsay, sir Thomas Berry, sir Alexander Lindsay, sir John Swinton of Swinton, sir John de Sandelans, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John Sinclair, sir Walter Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburn, sir John Montgomery, sir John his son, and his two sons; sir John Maxwell, sir Adam Glendinning, sir William de Redurin†, sir William Stuart, sir John Halliburton, sir John de Ludie, and sir Robert Lauder, sir Stephen Frazer, sir Alexander and sir John Ramsay, sir William of North Berwick, sir Robert Hart, sir William Wardlaw, sir John Armstrong, David Fleming, Robert Campbell, with numbers of other knights and squires of Scotland.



JEDWORTH. (Jedburgh.) From an Original Drawing.

There had not been seen, for sixty years, so numerous an assembly: they amounted to twelve hundred spears, and forty thousand other men and archers. With the use of the bow the Scots are little acquainted; but they sling their axes over their shoulders, and, when engaged in battle, give deadly blows with them. These lords were well pleased on meeting each other, and declared they would never return to their homes without having made an inroad on England, and to such an effect that it should be remembered for twenty years to come. The more completely to combine their plans, they fixed another meeting to be held at a church in the forest of Jedworth, called Zedon‡, before they began their march to England.

* "Earl of Menteith."—"At the time of this battle (of Otterbourne,) the earldom of Menteith was possessed by Robert Stewart, earl of Fife, third son of king Robert II. who, according to Buchanan, commanded the Scots that entered by Carlisle. But our minstrel had probably an eye to the family of Graham, who had this earldom when the ballad was written."—*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.*

† "Redurin." Q.

‡ "Zedon. The monastery of Zedon, at which the Scottish leaders are said to have held their meeting previous to entering England, is, I should suppose, the modern Kirk-Yetholm, exactly upon the Borders, and near the foot of Cheviot: the name is pronounced Yetto'm, which comes very near Yedon."—W. S.

Intelligence was carried to the earl of Northumberland (for everything is known to those who are diligent in their inquiries,) to his children, to the séneschal of York, and to sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, of the great feast that was to be kept at Aberdeen. To learn what was done at it, these lords sent thither heralds and minstrels. The Scots barons could not transact their business so secretly but it was known to these minstrels, that there was to be a grand assembly of men at arms in the forest of Jedworth. They observed also, much agitation through the country, and, on their return to Newcastle, gave a faithful report of all they had seen or heard to their lords. The barons and knights of Northumberland in consequence made their preparations, but very secretly, that the Scots might not know of it, and put off their intended inroad, and had retired to their castles ready to sally forth on the first notice of the arrival of the enemy. They said,—" If the Scots enter the country through Cumberland by Carlisle, we will ride into Scotland, and do them more damage than they can do to us; for theirs is an open country, which may be entered anywhere, but ours is the contrary, with strong and well fortified towns and castles."

To be more sure of their intentions, they resolved to send an English gentleman, well acquainted with the country, to this meeting in the forest of Jedworth. The English squire journeyed without interruption until he came to the church of Yetholm, where the Scots barons were assembled, and entered it, as a servant following his master, and heard the greater part of their plans. When the meeting was near breaking up, he left the church on his return and went to a tree, thinking to find his horse which he had tied there by the bridle, but he was gone; for a Scotsman (they are all thieves) had stolen him. He was fearful of making a noise about it, and set off on foot, though booted and spurred. He had not gone two bow-shots from the church before he was noticed by two Scots knights who were in conversation. The first who saw him said,—" I have witnessed many wonderful things, but what I now see is equal to any: that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no inquiries after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us: let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not." The two knights soon overtook him. On their approach he was alarmed, and wished himself anywhere else. They asked him whither he was going, whence he had come, and what he had done with his horse. As he contradicted himself in his answers, they laid hands on him, and said he must come before their captains, and he was brought back to the church of Yetholm, to the earl of Douglas and the other lords. They examined him closely, for they knew him for an Englishman, as to the reasons he had come thither, and assured him, if he did not truly answer all their questions, his head should be struck off; but, if he told the truth, no harm should happen to him. Very unwillingly he obeyed, for the love of life prevailed; and the Scots barons learnt that he had been sent by the earl of Northumberland to discover the number of their forces, and whither they were to march. This intelligence gave them the greatest pleasure, and they would not on any account but have taken this spy.

He was asked where the barons of Northumberland where? if they had any intentions of making an excursion? and what road to Scotland they would take; along the sea-shore from Berwick to Dunbar, or by the mountains through the country of Menteith to Stirling? He replied,—" Since you will force me to tell the truth, when I left Newcastle, there were not any signs of an excursion being made; but the barons are all ready to set out at a moment's warning, as soon as they shall hear you have entered England. They will not oppose you, for they are not in sufficient numbers to meet so large a body as you are reported to them to consist of."—" And what do they estimate our numbers at in Northumberland?" said lord Moray. " They say, my lord," replied the squire, " that you have full forty thousand men, and twelve hundred spears; and by way of counteracting your career, should you march to Cumberland, they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh: if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains." The Scottish lords, on hearing this, were silent, but looked at each other. The English squire was delivered to the governor of the castle of Jedworth, with orders to have particular guard over him; when they conferred together in the church of Yetholm, and formed other plans.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE SCOTS FORM THEIR ARMY INTO TWO DIVISIONS; ONE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, MARCHES TO CARLISLE, AND THE OTHER TO NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, COMMANDED BY THE EARL OF DOUGLAS,—AT THE BARRIERS OF WHICH PLACE, HE CONQUERS THE PENNON OF SIR HENRY PERCY.

The barons of Scotland were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council, as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir John Sinclair, and sir James Lindsay, were the speakers: they said,—"That to avoid any chance of failing in their attempt, they would advise the army to be divided, and two expeditions to be made, so that the enemy might be puzzled whither to march their forces. The largest division, with the baggage, should go to Carlisle, in Cumberland: and the other, consisting of three or four hundred spears, and two thousand stout infantry and archers, all well mounted, should make for Newcastle-on-Tyne, cross the river, and enter Durham, spoiling and burning the country. They will have committed great waste in England before our enemies can have any information of their being there: if we find they come in pursuit of us, which they certainly will, we will then unite together, and fix on a proper place to offer them battle, as we all seem to have that desire, and to gain honour; for it is time to repay them some of the mischiefs they have done to us." This plan was adopted, and sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Menteith, the earl of Mar, the earl of Stratherne, sir Stephen Frazer, sir George Dunbar, with sixteen other great barons of Scotland, were ordered to the command of the largest division that was to march to Carlisle. The earl of Douglas, the earl of March and Dunbar, and the earl of Moray, were appointed leaders of the three hundred picked lances and two thousand infantry, who were to advance to Newcastle-on-Tyne and invade Northumberland. When these two divisions separated, the lords took a very affectionate leave of each other, promising that if the English took the field against them, they would not fight until they were all united, which would give them such a superiority of force as must ensure victory. They then left the forest of Jedworth, one party marching to the right and the other to the left. The barons of Northumberland not finding their squire return, nor hearing anything of the Scots, began to suspect the accident which had happened. They therefore ordered every one to be prepared to march at a moment's notice, or when they should hear of the Scots having entered the country, for they considered their squire as lost.

Let us return to the expedition under the earl of Douglas and his companions, for they had more to do than the division that went to Carlisle, and were eager to perform some deeds of arms. When the earls of Douglas, Moray, and March were separated from the main body, they determined to cross the Tyne and enter the bishopric of Durham, and, after they had despoiled and burnt that country as far as the city of Durham, to return by Newcastle, and quarter themselves there in spite of the English. This they executed, and riding at a good pace, through bye roads, without attacking town, castle, or house, arrived on the lands of the lord Percy, and crossed the river Tyne, without any opposition, at the place they had fixed on, about three leagues above Newcastle, near to Brancepeth*, where they entered the rich country of Durham, and instantly began their war, by burning towns and slaying the inhabitants.

Neither the earl of Northumberland nor the barons and knights of the country had heard anything of their invasion: but when intelligence came to Durham and Newcastle that the Scots were abroad, which was indeed visible enough from the smoke that was everywhere seen, the earl of Northumberland sent his two sons to Newcastle; but he himself remained at Alnwick, and issued his orders for every one to repair thither also. Before his sons left him, he said,—"You will hasten to Newcastle, where the whole country will join you: I will remain here, for it is the road they may return by: if we can surround them, we shall do

* "Brancepeth,"—four miles from Durham. A ruin of a fine old castle remains, which I believe has been lately fitted up and repaired for a residence.

well; but I know not for certain where they now are." Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy obeyed their father's orders, and made for Newcastle accompanied by the gentlemen and others fit to bear arms. In the mean time, the Scots continued destroying and burning all before them, so that the smoke was visible at Newcastle. They came to the gates of Durham, where they skirmished, but made no long stay, and set out on their return, as they had planned at the beginning of the expedition, driving and carrying away all the booty they thought worth their pains. The country is very rich between Durham and Newcastle, which is but twelve English miles distant: there was not a town in all this district, unless well inclosed, that was not burnt. The Scots re-crossed the Tyne at the same place, and came before Newcastle, where they halted. All the knights and squires of the country were collected at Newcastle, and thither came the séneschal of York, sir Ralph Langley, sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, sir Robert Ogle, sir Thomas Grey, sir Thomas Halton, sir John Felton, sir John Lilburne, sir William Walsingham, sir Thomas Abington, the baron of Halton, sir John Copeland, and so many others, the town was filled with more than it could lodge.



Brancepeth Castle. From an Original Drawing.

The three Scots lords, having completed the object of their expedition into Durham, lay before Newcastle three days, where there was an almost continual skirmish. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, from their great courage, were always the first at the barriers, when many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The earl of Douglas had a long conflict with sir Henry Percy, and in it, by gallantry of arms, won his pennon, to the great vexation of sir Henry and the other English. The earl of Douglas said,—"I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from far."—"By God, earl of Douglas," replied sir Henry, "you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland: be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of." "You must come then," answered earl Douglas, "this night and seek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will venture to take it away."

As it was now late, the skirmish ended, and each party retired to their quarters, to disarm and comfort themselves. They had plenty of every thing, particularly flesh meat. The Scots kept up a very strict watch, concluding, from the words of sir Henry Percy, they should have their quarters beaten up this night: they were disappointed, for sir Henry was advised to defer it.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, WHEN ENCAMPED BEFORE OTTERBOURNE, IS ATTACKED BY SIR HENRY PERCY, TO RE-CONQUER HIS PENNON, AND A GENERAL BATTLE ENSUES.

On the morrow, the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle; and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and castle called Ponclau*, of which sir Raymond de Laval, a very valiant knight of Northumberland, was the lord. They halted there about four o'clock in the morning, as they learnt the knight to be within it, and made preparations for the assault. This was done with such courage, that the place was won, and the knight made prisoner. After they had burnt the town and castle, they marched away for Otterbourne†, which was eight English leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped themselves.

This day they made no attack; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets sounded, and they made ready for the assault, advancing towards the castle, which was tolerably strong, and situated among marshes. They attacked it so long and so unsuccessfully, that they were fatigued, and therefore sounded a retreat. When they had retired to their quarters, the chiefs held a council how to act; and the greater part were for decamping on the morrow, without attempting more against the castle, to join their countrymen in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this, by saying: "In despite of sir Henry Percy, who the day before yesterday declared he would take from me his pennon, that I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcastle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the castle, for it is to be taken: we shall thus gain double honour, and see if within that time he will come for his pennon: if he do, it shall be well defended."—Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had said; for it was not only honourable, but he was the principal commander; and from affection to him, they quietly returned to their quarters. They made huts of trees and branches, and strongly fortified themselves. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance of the marsh on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.

I will return to sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas should have conquered their pennon in the skirmish before Newcastle. They felt the more for this disgrace, because sir Henry had not kept his word; for he had told the earl, that he should never carry his pennon out of England, and this he had explained to the knights who were with him in Newcastle. The English imagined the army under the earl of Douglas to be only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind; for which reason those knights who had the most experience in arms, and were the best acquainted with warlike affairs, strongly opposed the proposal of Sir Henry Percy to pursue them. They said, "Sir, many losses happen in war: if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough; for he has come to the gates to seek it, and has been well fought with. Another time, you will gain from him as much if not more. We say so, because you know, as well as we do, that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field. We are not sufficiently strong to offer them battle; and perhaps this skirmish may have been only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thousand strong, they will surround us, and have us at their mercy. It is much better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and leave our country in a defenceless state."

This speech checked the eagerness of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council; when other news was brought them by some knights and squires who had followed and observed the Scots, their numbers, disposition, and where they had halted. This was all fully related by knights who had traversed the whole extent of country the Scots had passed through, that they might carry to their lords the most exact information. They thus spoke,—"Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you

* "Ponclau." Pontland, a village on the Blythe, about five miles from Newcastle.—W. S.

† "Otterbourne"—is so well known from this celebrated battle, and the old ballads, that it is almost needless to say it is situated in the parish of Elsdon, Northumberland.

that we have followed the Scottish army, and observed all the country where they now are. They first halted at Pontland, and took sir Raymond de Laval in his castle: thence they went to Otterbourne, and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they seemed to have taken measures for a long stay. We know for certain that their army does not consist of more than three thousand men, including all sorts." Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out, "To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night." Such knights and squires in Newcastle as learnt this were willing to be of the party, and made themselves ready.

The bishop of Durham was expected daily at that town; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before it, in which were the sons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them combat. The bishop had collected a number of men, and was hastening to their assistance, but sir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by six hundred spears, of knights and squires, and upwards of eight thousand infantry, which, he said, would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others. When they were all assembled, they left Newcastle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, making for Otterbourne, which was eight short leagues distant; but they could not advance very fast, that their infantry might keep up with them.

As the Scots were supping, some indeed were gone to sleep, for they had laboured hard during the day, at the attack of the castle, and intended renewing it in the cool of the morning, the English arrived, and mistook, at their entrance, the huts of the servants for those of their masters.—They forced their way into the camp, which was, however, tolerably strong, shouting out, "Percy! Percy!" In such cases, you may suppose an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots the English had made their first attack on their servants' quarters, which checked them some little. The Scots, expecting the English, had prepared accordingly; for, while the lords were arming themselves, they ordered a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed themselves under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment. In the mean time, the night advanced, but it was sufficiently light; for the moon shone, and it was the month of August, when the weather is temperate and serene.

When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but did not march to meet the English. They skirted the side of a mountain which was hard by; for during the preceding day, they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, "Should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so," and thus settled their plans beforehand, which was the saving of them; for it is of the greatest advantage to men at arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged their mode of defence, and well to have weighed the chance of victory or defeat. The English had soon overpowered the servants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found fresh bodies ready to oppose them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, in the mean time, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the enemy's flank quite unexpectedly, shouting their cries. This was a great surprise to the English, who, however formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on each side.

The battle now raged: great was the pushing of lances, and very many of each party were struck down at the first onset. The English being more numerous, and anxious to defeat the enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being discomfited. The earl of Douglas being young, and impatient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, shouting, "Douglas! Douglas!" Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, indignant for the affront the earl of Douglas had put on them, by conquering their pennon, and desirous of meeting him, hastened to the place from which the sounds came, calling out "Percy! Percy!" The two banners met, and many gallant deeds of arms ensued. The English were in superior strength, and fought so lustily that they drove back the Scots. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his son of the same name, did honour to their knight-

hood and country, by their gallantry, under the banner of Douglas, which would have been conquered but for the vigorous defence they made; and this circumstance not only contributed to their personal credit, but the memory of it is continued with honour to their descendants.

I was made acquainted with all the particulars of this battle by knights and squires who had been actors in it on each side. There were also, with the English, two valiant knights from the county of Foix, whom I had the good fortune to meet at Orthès the year after this battle had been fought. Their names were sir John de Châteauneuf and John de Cautiron. On my return from Foix, I met likewise at Avignon a knight and two squires of Scotland, of the party of earl Douglas. They knew me again, from the recollections I brought to their minds of their own country; for in my youth, I, the author of this history, travelled all through Scotland, and was full fifteen days resident with William earl of Douglas, father of earl James, of whom we are now speaking, at his castle of Dalkeith, five miles distant from Edinburgh.—Earl James was then very young, but a promising youth, and he had a sister called Blanche*. I had my information, therefore, from both parties, who agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought. This I readily believed, for the English and Scots are excellent men at arms, and whenever they meet in battle they do not spare each other; nor is there any check to their courage so long as their weapons endure.—When they have well beaten each other, and one party is victorious, they are so proud of their conquest, that they ransom their prisoners instantly, and in such courteous manner to those who have been taken, that on their departure they return them their thanks. However, when in battle, there is no boy's play between them, nor do they shrink from the combat; and you will see, in the further detail of this battle, as excellent deeds performed as were ever witnessed.

CHAPTER CXXVII†.—THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, IN RALLYING HIS MEN WHO WERE RETREATING, IS MORTALLY WOUNDED.—SIR RALPH PERCY, BADLY WOUNDED, SURRENDERS TO SIR JOHN MAXWELL, WHO PUTS HIM IN THE HANDS OF THE EARL OF MORAY.

The knights and squires of either party were anxious to continue the combat with vigour as long as their spears might be capable of holding. Cowardice was there unknown, and the most splendid courage was everywhere exhibited by the gallant youths of England and Scotland: they were so closely intermixed, that the archers' bows were useless, and they

* "Blanche." Earl William Douglas was first married to Margaret, daughter of the earl of Mar. By her he had two children, James, who succeeded him in his honours, and Isabel.

† Lord Berners is always best when battles occur.—His spirit arises, and his words sound like the neigh of the war-horse. We cannot omit his version of the combat at Otterbourne.

"Knightes and squyers were of good courage on bothe parties to fyghte valyauntly, cowardes there had no place, but hardynesse rayned with goodly feates of armes, for knyghtes and squyers were so joined togyder at hande strokes, that archers had no place of nether party. There the Scottes shewed great hardynesse and fought meryly, with great desyre of honour; the Englysshmen were three to one. Howbeit I say nat but Englysshmen dyd nobly acquyte themselfe, for ever the Englysshmen had rather ben slayne or taken in the place than flye. Thus as I have sayd the baners of Duglass and Percy and their men were met eache against other, envyous who shulde wynne the honour of that journey. At the begynnynge the Englysshmen were so stronge, that they reculed backe their enemyes. Than the erle Duglass, who was of great harte and hygh of enterprise, seeynge his men recule backe, than to recover the place and to shewe knyghtly valure, he toke his axe in bothe his handes and entered so into the prease that he made hymselfe waye in such wyse that none durste aproche nere hym, and he was so well armed that he bare well of such strokes as he recyued. Thus he wente ever forwarde lyk a hardy Hector, wyllynge alone to conquere the felde, and to discomfyte his enemyes.—But at laste he was encountred with thre speares all at ones; the one strake hym on the shoulder, the other on the breste, *and the stroke glented downe to his bely*, and the thyrde strake hym in the thye, and sore hurte with all three strokes so that he was borne perforce to the erthe, and after that he culde nat again be releved. Some of his knyghtes and squyers folowed hym, but nat all, for it was nyght, and no lyght but by the shynynge of the mone. The Englysshmen knew well they had borne one down to the erth, but they wyst nat who it was, for if they had knowen that it had bene the erle of Duglass they had bene thereof so joyful and so prowde that the vyctorye had bene theirs. Nor also the Scottes knew nat of that adventure tyll the ende of the batayle, for if they had knowen it they should have bene so sore dyspayred and dyscoraged that they wolde have fledde awaye. Thus as the erle Duglass was felled to the erth, he was stricken into the heed with an axe, and another stroke throughe the thye. The Englysshmen passed forthe and tooke no hede of hym; they thoughte none otherwyse but that they hadde slayne a man at armes."—Ed.

fought hand to hand without either battalion giving way. The Scots behaved most valiantly, for the English were three to one. I do not mean to say the English did not acquit themselves well; for they would sooner be slain or made prisoners in battle, than reproached with flight. As I before mentioned, the two banners of Douglas and Percy met, and the men at arms, under each, exerted themselves by every means, to gain the victory; but the English, at this attack, were so much the stronger, that the Scots were driven back. The earl of Douglas, who was of a high spirit, seeing his men repulsed, seized a battle-axe with both his hands, like a gallant knight, and, to rally his men, dashed into the midst of his enemies, and gave such blows on all around him, that no one could withstand them, but all made way for him on every side; for there were none so well armed with helmets or plates but that they suffered from his battle-axe. Thus he advanced, like another Hector, thinking to recover and conquer the field, from his own prowess, until he was met by three spears that were pointed at him: one struck him on the shoulder, another on the stomach, near the belly, and the third entered his thigh. He could never disengage himself from these spears, but was borne to the ground fighting desperately. From that moment he never rose again. Some of his knights and squires had followed him, but not all; for, though the moon shone, it was rather dark. The three English lances knew they had struck down some person of considerable rank, but never thought it was earl Douglas: had they known it, they would have been so rejoiced that their courage would have been redoubled, and the fortune of the day had consequently been determined to their side. The Scots were ignorant also of their loss until the battle was over, otherwise they would certainly, from despair, have been discomfited.

I will relate what befel the earl afterward. As soon as he fell, his head was cleaved with a battle-axe, the spear thrust through his thigh, and the main body of the English marched over him without paying any attention, not supposing him to be their principal enemy. In another part of the field, the earl of March and Dunbar combated valiantly; and the English gave the Scots full employment who had followed the earl of Douglas, and had engaged with the two Percies. The earl of Moray behaved so gallantly in pursuing the English, that they knew not how to resist him. Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy. It resembled something that of Cocherel, which was as long and as hardily disputed. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were the leaders of this expedition, behaved themselves like good knights in the combat. Almost a similar accident befel sir Ralph as that which happened to the earl of Douglas; for, having advanced too far, he was surrounded by the enemy and severely wounded, and, being out of breath, surrendered himself to a Scots knight, called sir John Maxwell, who was under the command, and of the household, of the earl of Moray.

When made prisoner, the knight asked him who he was; for it was dark, and he knew him not. Sir Ralph was so weakened by loss of blood, which was flowing from his wound, that he could scarcely avow himself to be sir Ralph Percy. "Well," replied the knight, "sir Ralph, rescued or not, you are my prisoner: my name is Maxwell." "I agree to it," said sir Ralph, "but pay some attention to me; for I am so desperately wounded, that my drawers and greaves are full of blood." Upon this, the Scots knight was very attentive to him; when suddenly hearing the cry of Moray hard by, and perceiving the earl's banner advancing to him, sir John addressed himself to the earl of Moray, and said,—"My lord, I present you with sir Ralph Percy, as a prisoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded." The earl was much pleased at this, and replied,—"Maxwell, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day." He then ordered his men to take every care of sir Ralph, who bound up and stanched his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could say at that moment which side would be the conqueror, for there were very many captures and rescues that never came to my knowledge.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED, ORDERS HIS BANNER TO BE RAISED, AS THE BEARER HAD BEEN SLAIN, AND FORBIDS HIS LAMENTABLE STATE TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS MEN, URGING THEM ON TO THE COMBAT, BY WHICH THEY DEFEAT THEIR ENEMIES AND MAKE SIR HENRY PERCY WITH MANY MORE PRISONERS.

THE young earl of Douglas had this night performed wonders in arms. When he was struck down, there was a great crowd round him; and he could not raise himself, for the blow on his head was mortal. His men had followed him as closely as they were able; and there came to him his cousins, sir James Lindsay, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires. They found by his side a gallant knight that had constantly attended him, who was his chaplain, and had at this time exchanged his profession for that of a valiant man at arms. The whole night he had followed the earl with his battle-axe in hand, and had by his exertions more than once repulsed the English. This conduct gained the thanks of his countrymen, and turned out to his advantage, for in the same year he was promoted to the archdeaconry and made canon of Aberdeen. His name was sir William of North Berwick. To say the truth, he was well formed in all his limbs to shine in battle, and was severely wounded at this combat. When these knights came to the earl of Douglas, they found him in a melancholy state, as well as one of his knights, sir Robert Hart, who had fought by his side the whole of the night, and now lay beside him, covered with fifteen wounds from lances and other weapons.



DEATH OF DOUGLAS. Designed from MS. Illuminations of the 15th century.

Sir John Sinclair asked the earl, "Cousin, how fares it with you?"—"But so so," replied he. "Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers

or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you Walter and sir John Sinclair raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Campbell, that valiant squire, who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage or loyalty; and continue to shout 'Douglas!' but do not tell friend or foe whether I am in your company or not; for, should the enemy know the truth, they will be greatly rejoiced." The two brothers Sinclair, and sir John Lindsay, obeyed his orders. The banner was raised and "Douglas!" shouted. Their men, who had remained behind, hearing the shouts of "Douglas!" so often repeated, ascended a small eminence, and pushed their lances with such courage that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The Scots, by thus valiantly driving the enemy beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas lay dead, for he had expired on giving his last orders, arrived at his banner, which was borne by sir John Sinclair. Numbers were continually increasing, from the repeated shouts of "Douglas!" and the greater part of the Scots knights and squires were now there. The earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men, came thither also. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before.

To say the truth, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle on Tyne, which was eight English leagues distant, to meet the Scots, by which means the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was to them of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack, they so completely repulsed the English, that the latter could never rally again, and the former drove them far beyond where the earl of Douglas lay on the ground. Sir Henry Percy, during this attack, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the lord Montgomery, a very valiant knight of Scotland. They had long fought hand to hand with much valour, and without hindrance from any one; for there was neither knight nor squire of either party who did not find there his equal to fight with, and all were fully engaged. In the end, sir Henry was made prisoner by the lord Montgomery.

You would have seen, in this engagement, such knights and squires as sir Malcolm Drummond, sir Thomas of Erskine, sir William, sir James and sir Alexander Lindsay, the lord Saltoun, sir John Sandilands, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburne and his two sons, the lord Montgomery, sir John Maxwell, sir Adam Glendinning, sir William Redoue*, sir William Stuart, sir John Haliburton, sir John Lundie, sir Robert Lauder, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir Alexander Frazer, sir John Edmonstone, sir William Wardlaw, David Fleming, Robert Campbell and his two sons, John and Robert, who were that day knighted, and a hundred other knights and squires, whose names I cannot remember; but there was not one who did not most gallantly perform his part in this engagement.

On the side of the English, there were sir Ralph de Langley, sir Matthew Redman, sir Robert of Ogle, sir Thomas Graham, sir Thomas Haltoun, sir John Felton, sir Thomas Abington, sir John de Lilburn, sir William Walsingham, the baron de Haltoun, sir John de Copeland, séneschal of York, and many more, who on foot maintained the fight vigorously, both before and after the capture of sir Henry Percy†. The battle was severely fought on each side; but, such is the fickleness of fortune, that though the English were a more numerous body of able men at arms, and at the first onset had repulsed the Scots, they in the end lost the field; and all the above-named knights, except sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, were made prisoners. But he seeing they were defeated without hopes of recovery, and the English flying in all directions, while his brother-knights were surrendering themselves to the Scots, mounted his horse, and rode off.

Just as the defeat took place, and while the combat was continued in different parts, an English squire, whose name was Thomas Felton, and attached to the household of lord

* Rutherford or Ruthven.—Ed.

† The names of the parties on both sides were rectified by Mr. Johnes, assisted by sir Walter Scott, and have been further corrected from the recent French edition of M. Buchon, who has cleared up many difficulties by reference to the MSS. to which he has had access.—Ed.

Percy, was surrounded by a body of Scots. He was a handsome man, and, as he showed, valiant in arms. He had that and the preceding night been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me, that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English, he would acquit himself so loyally that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I never saw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a strength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed such deeds of valour, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots, but he was slain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him a prisoner for his courage; and several knights proposed it to him, but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends. Thus died Thomas Felton, while engaged with a cousin of the king of Scotland, called Simon Glendinning, much lamented by his party.

According to what I heard, this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat: but when the Scots saw the English were discomfited and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying, "Sit down and disarm yourselves, for I am your master," but never insulted them more than if they had been brothers. The pursuit lasted a long time, and to the length of five English miles. Had the Scots been in sufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity; and if sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, with the division that had marched for Carlisle, had been there, they would have taken the bishop of Durham and the town of Newcastle on Tyne, as I shall explain to you*.

CHAPTER CXXIX.—THE BISHOP OF DURHAM IS ANXIOUS TO SUCCOUR THE ENGLISH AND RESCUE SIR HENRY PERCY, BUT IS SO BADLY SUPPORTED BY HIS MEN, THAT HE IS FORCED TO RETREAT.—HE MAKES SIR JAMES LINDSAY PRISONER, WHO HAD TAKEN SIR MATTHEW REDMAN.

The same evening that sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy had left Newcastle, the bishop of Durham, with the remainder of the forces of that district, had arrived there and supped. While seated at table, he considered that he should not act very honourably if he remained in the town while his countrymen had taken the field. In consequence, he rose from table, ordered his horses to be saddled, and his trumpets to sound for those who had horses to make themselves ready, and the infantry to be drawn out in array for quitting the place. When

* Through the kindness of my friends at Edinburgh, particularly Dr. Robert Anderson and Walter Scott, Esq. to whom the public are indebted for many instructive and amusing performances, I am enabled to clear up, in some measure, my historian's blunders in the names of the heroes at this celebrated battle, and to add a few more particulars concerning it.

"The present mansion of Otterbourne, belonging to Mr. Ellis of Newcastle, is founded upon the ancient castle or tower which Douglas was besieging when attacked by Percy. The field of battle is still called *Battle-crofts*. There is a cross erected on the spot where Douglas fell."

See the two ballads on this battle, published by Dr. Percy in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, and by Walter Scott, Esq. in his Border Minstrelsy: from the Scots ballad I extract as follows.

"Douglas was armed with an iron mace, which few but he could wield, and rushed into the combat, followed only by his chaplain and his two squires. Before his followers could come up, their brave leader lay stretched on the ground, with three mortal wounds, and his two squires dead by his side: the priest alone, armed with a lance, was protecting his master from farther injury. 'I die like my forefathers,' said the expiring hero, 'in a field of battle, and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal my death, defend my standard, and avenge my fall. It is an old proverb, that a dead man shall gain a field, and I hope it will be accomplished this night.'

"The two squires of the body to Douglas were Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning: the chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards archdeacon of Aberdeen.

"The banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers hereditary sheriffs of Tiviotdale, amongst whose archieves this glorious relic is still preserved. The earl, at the onset, is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

"Hotspur, for his ransom to the lord Montgomery, built the Castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun."

In this ballad, Douglas is said to have been murdered by one of his own men; and, in the introductory discourse, there seems to have been a traditionary foundation for it, and the very person is named that was supposed to have done the deed; but Mr. Scott rejects this as totally untrue, and arising from the common desire of assigning some remote and extraordinary cause for the death of a great man.

Dr. Percy says in a note, that "Otterbourne is near the old Watling-street road, in the parish of Elsdon. The Scots were encamped on a grassy plain near the river Read. The place where the Scots and English fought is still called Battle-riggs."

they had all left it, they amounted to seven thousand men; that is, two thousand on horseback and five thousand on foot. Although it was now night, they took the road toward Otterbourne; but they had not advanced a league from Newcastle before intelligence was brought that the English were engaged with the Scots. On this, the bishop halted his men; and several more joined them, out of breath from the combat. They were asked how the affair went: they replied, "Badly, and unfortunately: we are defeated, and here are the Scots close at our heels." This second intelligence, being worse than the first, gave the alarm to several, who broke from their ranks; and when, shortly after, crowds came to them flying like men defeated, they were panic-struck, and so frightened with the bad news, that the bishop of Durham could not retain five hundred of his men together.

Now, supposing a large body had come upon them and followed them in their flight (with the addition of its being night,) to regain the town, would not there have been much mischief? for those acquainted with arms imagine the alarm would have been so great, that the Scots would have forced their way into the place with them. When the bishop of Durham, who was eager to reinforce the English, saw his own men thus join the runaways in their flight, he demanded from sir William de Lussy*, sir Thomas Clifford and other knights of his company, what they were now to do? These knights could not, or would not advise him: for to return without having done anything would be dishonourable, and to advance seemed attended with danger, they therefore remained silent; but the longer they waited, the more their men decreased in numbers. The bishop at length said,—"Gentlemen, everything considered, there is no honour in fool-hardiness, nor is it requisite that to one misfortune we add another: we hear and see that our men are defeated: this we cannot remedy; for, should we attempt to reinforce them, we scarcely know whither we should go, nor what numbers the enemy consist of. We will return this night to Newcastle, and to-morrow re-assemble and march to find our enemies." They replied, "God assist us in it!"—Upon this they marched back to Newcastle. Observe the consequences of this alarm; for had they remained steady in a body, as they had left Newcastle, and forced the runaways to return with them, they must have defeated the Scots, which was the opinion of many. But it was not to be so, and the Scots remained victorious.

I will say something of sir Matthew Redman, who had mounted his horse to escape from the battle, as he alone could not recover the day. On his departure, he was noticed by sir James Lindsay, a valiant Scots knight, who was near him, and, through courage and the hope of gain, was desirous of pursuing him. His horse was ready, and leaping on him with his battle-axe hung at his neck, and spear in hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle, and came so close to him, that he might, had he chosen, have hit him with his lance; but he said,—"Ha, sir knight, turn about: it is disgraceful thus to fly: I am James Lindsay; and, if you do not turn, I will drive my spear into your back." Sir Matthew made no reply, but stuck spurs harder into his horse than before. In this state did the chase last for three miles, when sir Matthew's horse stumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his sword from the scabbard, and put himself in a posture of defence. The Scots knight made a thrust at him with his lance, thinking to strike him on the breast; but sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew now stepped forward, and with his sword cut the spear in two.

Sir James Lindsay, finding he had lost his lance, flung the shaft on the ground, and, dismounting, grasped his battle-axe, which was slung across his shoulder, and handled it with one hand very dexterously, for the Scots are accustomed thus to use it, attacking the knight with renewed courage, who defended himself with much art. They pursued each other for a long time, one with the battle-axe and the other with the sword, for there was no one to prevent them; but, at last, sir James laid about him such heavy blows, that sir Matthew was quite out of breath, which made him surrender; and he said, "Lindsay, I yield myself to you." "Indeed!" replied the Scots knight, "rescued or not." "I consent," said sir Matthew: "you will take good care of me." "That I will," answered sir James. Sir Matthew on this put his sword in the scabbard, and said, "Now, what do you require of

*"De Lussy." Q. Lucy.

me, for I am your prisoner by fair conquest?" "And what is it you would wish me to do?" replied sir James. "I should like," answered sir Matthew, "to return to Newcastle; and, within fifteen days, I will come to you in any part of Scotland you shall appoint." "I agree," said sir James, "on your pledging yourself, that within three weeks you be in Edinburgh; and wherever you may go, you acknowledge yourself as my prisoner." Sir Matthew having sworn to observe these conditions, each sought his horse, that was pasturing hard by, and, having mounted, took leave and departed, sir James by the way he had come, to join his countrymen, and sir Matthew to Newcastle.

Sir James, from the darkness of the night, as the moon did not shine very clear, mistook his road, and had not advanced half a league before he fell in with the bishop of Durham and more than five hundred English: he might have escaped this danger had he chosen it, but he thought they were his friends in pursuit of the enemy. When in the midst of them, those nearest asked who he was. He replied, "I am sir James Lindsay." Upon this, the bishop, who was within hearing, pushed forward and said, "Lindsay, you are taken: surrender yourself to me." "And who are you?" said Lindsay. "I am the bishop of Durham. "And where do you come from?" added Lindsay. "By my faith, friend, I intended being at the battle, but unfortunately was too late; and in despair I am returning to Newcastle, whither you will accompany me." "If you insist on it I must comply," answered sir James; but I have made a prisoner, and am now one myself: such is the chance of war." "Whom have you taken?" asked the bishop. "I have captured and ransomed, after a long pursuit, sir Matthew Redman." "And where is he?" said the bishop. "On my faith," replied sir James, "he is returned .to Newcastle: he entreated I would allow him three weeks' liberty, which I complied with." "Well, well," said the bishop, "let us get on to Newcastle, where you shall converse with him." Thus they returned to Newcastle, sir James Lindsay as prisoner to the bishop of Durham. Under the banner of the earl of March, a squire of Gascony, John de Châteauneuf, was made prisoner, as was his companion, John de Cauteron, under the banner of the earl of Moray.

CHAPTER CXXX.—THE BISHOP OF DURHAM MARCHES ON THE MORROW OF THE BATTLE TO THE SCOTS CAMP, BUT RETIRES WITHOUT DARING TO ATTACK IT.—THE SCOTS RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

Before the dawn of day, the field was clear of combatants. The Scots had retired within their camp, and had sent scouts and parties of light horse towards Newcastle and on the adjacent roads, to observe whether the English were collecting in any large bodies, that they might not a second time be surprised. This was wisely done: for when the bishop of Durham was returned to Newcastle, and had disarmed himself at his lodgings, he was very melancholy at the unfortunate news he had heard that his cousins, the sons of the earl of Northumberland, and all the knights who had followed them, were either taken or slain. He sent for all knights and squires at the time in Newcastle, and demanded if they would suffer things to remain in their present state, for that they would be disgraced should they return without ever seeing their enemies.—They held a council, and determined to arm themselves by sun-rise, and to march horse and foot after the Scots to Otterbourne and offer them battle. This resolution was published throughout the town, and the trumpets sounded at the appointed hour.

The whole army made themselves ready, and were drawn up before the bridge. About sun-rise they left Newcastle, through the gate leading to Berwick, and followed the road to Otterbourne. They amounted in the whole, including horse and foot, to ten thousand men. They had not advanced two leagues before it was signified to the Scots, that the bishop of Durham had rallied his troops and was on his march to give them battle. This was likewise confirmed by their scouts, who brought the same intelligence.

Sir Matthew Redman, on his return to Newcastle, told the event of the battle, and of his being made prisoner by sir James Lindsay, and learnt, to his surprise, from the bishop, or from some of his people, that sir James had in his turn been taken by the bishop. As soon,

therefore, as the bishop had quitted Newcastle, sir Matthew went to his lodgings in search of his master, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. "What has brought you here, sir James?" was the first salute of sir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts, advanced to meet him, bade him good day, and replied,—"By my faith, Redman, ill luck; for I had no sooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we may finish the business here if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree as to that," replied Redman: "but you must come and dine with me; for the bishop and his men have marched to attack your countrymen. I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindsay. In such manner did these two enjoy each other's company in Newcastle.

The barons and knights of Scotland, on being informed of the bishop of Durham's approach with ten thousand men, held a council, whether to march away or to abide the event. On mature consideration, they resolved on the latter, from the difficulty of finding so strong a position to defend themselves and guard their prisoners, of whom they had many. These they could not carry away with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themselves in a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such a manner that it could be entered by only one pass. They then made their prisoners swear, that rescued or not they would acknowledge themselves prisoners. When this was all done, they ordered their minstrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a custom, when assembled in arms, for those who are on foot to be well dressed, each having a large horn slung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different sizes, the noise is so great it may be heard four miles off, to the great dismay of their enemies and their own delight. The Scots commanders ordered this sort of music now to be played.

The bishop of Durham with his banner, under which were at least ten thousand men, had scarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play such a concert, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noise, so that those of the English who had never before heard such, were much frightened. This concert lasted a considerable time, and then ceased. After a pause, when they thought the English were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceased. The bishop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle-array until they came within sight of the enemy, two bow-shots off: the Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the bishop examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment, and strengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they should act, and it seemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not advisable to risk an attack, for there were greater chances of loss than gain, but determined to return again to Newcastle.

The Scots, perceiving the English were retreating, and that there was no appearance of any battle, retired within their camp to refresh themselves with meat and liquor. They then made preparations for departure: but because sir Ralph Percy had been dangerously wounded, he begged of his master to allow him to return to Newcastle, or wherever else in Northumberland he might have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in case this favour was granted him, as soon as he should be able to mount a horse, he pledged to surrender himself at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland. The earl of Moray, under whose banner he had been taken, readily assented to this request, and had a litter prepared for him. In a similar manner, several knights and squires obtained their liberty, fixing on a time to return in person to those who had captured them, or to send the amount of their ransoms*.

* The ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preston, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and baronies of Frondin, Aberdeenshire, the town of Fyvie, and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, the five-mark land of Park-hill. Scots Cal. f. 104.—Froissart apparently errs in the name of his captor; yet Mar had 20*l.* a year for a third of it, the whole of it exceeding 600*l.*—*Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 41. *note*.

I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterburne, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit eight hundred and forty, and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots there were only about one hundred slain, and two hundred made prisoners. As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge, from the number of killed and prisoners on each side, if this battle was not hardily fought.

When every thing had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Hart and sir Simon Glendinning were inclosed within coffins, and placed on cars, they began their march, carrying with them sir Henry Percy and upwards of forty English knights. They took the road to Melrose on the Tweed, and on their departure they set fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England without any opposition, and on the morrow decamped very early and arrived at Melrose, which is an abbey of black monks, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms. They there halted, and gave directions to the friars for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whose obsequies were very reverently performed on the second day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of stone, with the banner of Douglas suspended over it. Of this earl of Douglas, God save his soul! there was no issue, nor do I know who succeeded to the estate of Douglas; for when I, the author of this history, was in Scotland, at his castle of Dalkeith, during the lifetime of Earl William, there were only two children, a boy and a girl. There were enow of the name of Douglas; for I knew five handsome brothers, squires, of this name, at the court of king David of Scotland, who were the children of a knight called sir James Douglas*. The earl's arms, of three oreilles gules on a field or, descended to them; but I am ignorant to whom fell the land†. You must know, that the sir Archibald Douglas whom I have often mentioned as a gallant knight, and one much feared by the English, was a bastard.

When they had finished the business which had brought them to Melrose, they departed, each to his own country; and those who had prisoners carried them with them, or ransomed them before they left Melrose. In this matter the English found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleased them much, as I learnt at the castle of the count de Foix from John de Châteauneuf, who had been made prisoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar: he praised the earl exceedingly for his generosity in allowing him to fix his ransom at his pleasure. Thus did these men at arms separate, having very soon and handsomely settled the amount of the ransoms for their prisoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thousand francs from the ransoms; and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert de Versy and sir Simon Frazer pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete nor so gainful a victory.

When the news of it was brought to sir Archibald Douglas, the earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carlisle, where they were with the larger division of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the same time vexed that they had not been present. They held a council and determined to retreat into Scotland, since their companions had already marched thither. In consequence, they broke up their camp and re-entered Scotland.

We will now leave the English and Scots, and speak of the young king of France, and the large army he marched into Germany to revenge himself on the duke of Gueldres.

* Earl James Douglas married the lady Isabella Stuart, daughter of king Robert II. and dying without lawful issue, was succeeded by his brother, Archibald lord Galloway, called Archibald the Grim. This last was the issue of earl William's second marriage with Margaret, daughter of Patrick earl of March.—*Crawford's Peerage of Scotland.*

† These arms, according to Crawford, must be wrong; for, in his Peerage, the arms are described as "Four coats quarterly; 1. azure, a lion rampant, crowned with an imperial crown, or; 2. or, a lion rampant gules, surmounted of a ribbon sable; 3. or, a fesse cheque, azure and argent, surmounted of a bend sable, charged with five buckles, or; 4. argent, three pyles gules, over all, in a shield of pretence argent, a heart, gules, ensigned with an imperial crown, or, on a chief azure, three mollets of the first, supported on the dexter with a savage, wreathed about the loins with laurel, and on the sinister by a stag proper: crest a salamander vomiting fire: motto, *Jamais arriere*, all within a compartment of stakes impaled."

CHAPTER CXXXI.—THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, ON HIS MARCH TO GUELDRES.—THE DUKE OF JULIERS, FATHER OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, MAKES EXCUSES FOR HIS SON TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—HE IS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED, AND HAS THE TERRITORY OF VIERSON RESTORED TO HIM, FOR WHICH HE PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING.

When the king of France and his army had crossed the Meuse at the bridge of Morsay *, they took the road to the Ardennes and bishopric of Luxembourg, and had always in advance a large body of pioneers to clear the bushes and level the roads. The king's army was very numerous, and well appointed. The duke of Juliers and his subjects much dreaded their approach, for they knew they should be first attacked; and the country of Juliers is so level that the men at arms would in one day despoil the whole, excepting a few castles and towns which would perhaps make some little resistance, but they could not hold out long. The king of France entered Luxembourg, and was lodged for two days at the monastery where duke Winceslaus of Brabant had been buried. At his departure, he took the road to Bastogne†, and encamped at the distance of a league from where the duchess of Brabant was lodged. The duchess had notified to the duke of Burgundy her arrival at Bastogne, who waited on her, and conducted her to the king's tent. The king received her very kindly; and, after they had conversed some time together, she returned to Bastogne, escorted by sir John de Vienne and sir Guy de la Tremouille. On the morrow the king continued his march until he arrived on the borders of Germany, ready to enter Juliers. But, before he had advanced so far, Arnold bishop of Liege had waited on him, and had exerted himself much to exculpate the duke of Juliers, and to soften the anger the king of France bore him, as father to the duke of Gueldres; and had said to the king and his uncles, that with regard to the imprudent and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had sent to France, he had never consulted his father on the subject, nor informed him of it until it was done, and therefore his territories ought not to suffer for it.

These excuses, however, were not agreeable to the king nor to his uncles; and it was their intention, that unless the duke of Juliers came in person, and made a more satisfactory apology, putting himself totally in the king's mercy, he and his country should be the first to pay for it. The bishop of Liege, the barons of Hasbain ‡, and the magistrates from the principal towns, who had accompanied the bishop, now offered the king and his uncles a free entrance for their army into their country, to pass and repass, and refresh themselves with provision on paying for it, and to remain there, if they so pleased.

The king and his uncles thanked them for their offer, which they did not refuse, as they were ignorant how affairs would turn out. The bishop returned to the duke of Juliers and archbishop of Cologne, and told them all that had passed, that they might consider of it. The duke of Juliers was very much alarmed lest his country should be ruined, and sent for all those knights that were dependent on him, to have their advice, for the French were daily approaching.—The lord de Coucy commanded the vanguard, of one thousand spears; and with him were the duke of Lorrain and the viscount de Meaux, with about two hundred lances more.

When the French were near the borders of Germany, they marched in a more compact body, and took great precautions in their encampments; for a body of three hundred Linfars §, from the opposite side of the Rhine, had collected together on their line of march. These are the greatest robbers and plunderers in the world; and they hovered alongside the French army, to take advantage of any negligence on their part. The French were suspicious of them, and dared not attempt foraging but in large bodies. I believe the lord Boucicaut, the elder, and sir Lewis de Grach, were made prisoners by them, and carried to Nimeguen. These Germans rode through by-ways, and, like birds of prey, night and

* "Morsay." Q. Mouson, or Mezieres.

† "Bastogne," or Bastognack, is a small town in the duchy of Luxembourg: it was formerly more considerable, and called the Paris of the Ardennes.

‡ "Hasbain," a small territory in the circle of Westphalia; it forms the principal part of the bishopric of Liege,

§ Leichtfertig—vagabonds, freebooters.—Ed.

morning fell upon the French wherever they found a favourable opportunity; and this had made them more careful.

When the king of France was come to the confines of Juliers, and the vanguard and foragers had already entered it, the duke, unwilling that his country should be destroyed, listened to the advice of the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Liege, and consented they should negotiate with the king and his uncles, and entreat that his country should remain in peace, on such terms as I shall mention. These two prelates, having laid the foundation for a peace, conducted the duke of Juliers into the king's presence, who was attended by his uncles, the duke of Lorrain, and other great barons of France of the blood royal, and his council. On the duke's approaching the king, he cast himself on his knees, and made very handsome excuses for the challenge his son had sent to France. He told the king that his son was a madman; that he had never consulted him respecting this challenge, nor indeed in anything else, but always acted for himself. He offered his services to the king, and said,—"My lord, with your permission, I will go to him, and sharply remonstrate with him on his follies, and order him to come and make his apology to you and to your council. If he refuse to follow my advice, and continue to act from his own headstrong will, I offer to give you possession of all my inclosed towns and castles, for you to garrison with men at arms, and carry on the war against him until he shall submit himself to your mercy." The king, on this, looked at his brother, his uncles, and council, as it seemed to him, and to many who were present, a very fair offer. He made the duke rise, who had hitherto continued on his knees, and said,—"We will consider what you have offered, and the promises you make us." The duke, having risen, remained with the two prelates who had brought him thither; and the king retired with his uncles and privy counsellors, to discuss the proposal that had been made them.

This council lasted some time, and various propositions were made, each pressing his different plan. The duke of Burgundy was the most active, as indeed the matter more essentially affected him, on account of his being heir, in right of his duchess, to the succession of the duchess of Brabant, and it was in truth owing to him that the king had undertaken this expedition. He was therefore very anxious that the quarrel should be amicably terminated, and a solid peace established between all parties, that there might not be any necessity for renewing the war; for the distance was great for the king and lords, besides being very expensive, and heavy on the kingdom. After several had given their opinions, he addressed himself to the king, to the duke of Berry, and to all present, saying,—"My lord, and you brother of Berry, and gentlemen of the council, whatever is rashly or inconsiderately begun generally ends badly. We have heard our cousin, the duke of Juliers, excuse himself handsomely, and we have heard the offer he has made, that his son shall do so likewise: he is of that gallantry and birth, being connected with me by blood, that we ought to believe what he has said. He offers to the king his person, his country, his towns, and castles, in case his son shall continue obstinate, and refuse to make any apology for his rash challenge. If we have the duke of Juliers on our side, the duke of Gueldres, whom we want to punish, will be so much the more weakened, that he will the more dread us, and the sooner bend to our will. I therefore advise that the excuses of the duke of Juliers and his offer be accepted, for he has greatly humbled himself; and the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, with other potent barons, entreat likewise that this may be done."

No one making any reply, it was unanimously agreed to; and the archbishop and bishop, who had opened the negotiation, were called in. They were told very minutely every act the duke of Juliers was to swear to perform, if he were desirous that his country should remain in peace. First, that he should go himself, or send to his son, the duke of Gueldres, to remonstrate with him on his folly and impertinence, in sending so unusual and rude a challenge to so powerful a prince as the king of France, and oblige him to come personally and submit himself to the mercy of the king, if he did not satisfactorily excuse himself. Should the duke of Gueldres refuse compliance, through pride and weakness of understanding, and persist in his opinion, then the duke of Juliers was to engage, on his oath, not to afford him the least support, but, on the contrary, to unite himself with his enemies, and to assist the army of the king, which, during the ensuing winter, would be quartered through-

out the country of Juliers, in order to be ready to carry on the war against the duke of Gueldres; and all towns and castles, belonging to the duke of Juliers, shall receive, on the most friendly footing, the men at arms of France.

These two prelates, who had been solely called to the council to remonstrate touching these matters with the duke of Juliers, repeated to him what they had heard, adding such weighty reasons, that the duke assented to the terms: indeed, he saw he must do so, if he wished to preserve his country from ruin. He therefore solemnly swore to observe faithfully all the articles of the treaty, and to remain a firm friend to the king and to his uncles, for which his duchy was saved from being despoiled: but forage, of which there was enough, was completely given up to the French. Thus did the duke of Juliers become liege man to the king of France, and paid homage for the territory of Vierson, situated between Blois and Berry. He supped that night with the king: it was on a Thursday; and there were seated at the king's table, first, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Juliers, and the duke of Bourbon.

CHAPTER CXXXII.—KING CHARLES VI. QUARTERS HIS ARMY, ON A FRIENDLY FOOTING, IN THE DUCHY OF JULIERS.—A SQUIRE OF AUVERGNE IS MURDERED BY A WOODCUTTER WHOM HE IS LEADING AWAY AS HIS PRISONER.

Such was the conclusion of the treaties between the king of France and the duke of Juliers, by which the last enjoyed peace, although the king quartered himself and his army in his duchy, which he found a rich country, and full of every kind of provision. The duke of Juliers went to his son, but not immediately, and in the interval some gallant feats of arms were done; for the Germans were so eager of gain, that they frequently, during the night, or at very early morn, beat up the quarters of the French: sometimes they got the advantage, at other times they were made prisoners; but for one German that was taken, they made four Frenchmen prisoners in return. In consequence, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the duke of Lorrain, the marshal de Blainville, sir John de Vienne, and the lord de la Tremouille, assembled their men, to the amount of about four thousand men at arms, and marched toward a town in Gueldres called Remogne*, and drew up in handsome array before it. At this time the duke of Gueldres was within it, and thought highly of their appearance; but he made no sally against them, for his force was not equal to attempt it, which vexed him much. The French men at arms remained four hours drawn up in order of battle before the place; but when they saw that none came out to oppose them, they retreated to their quarters.

It happened that this same evening several knights and squires assembled at the lodgings of the duke of Berry, with the intent of making an excursion on the morrow into the enemy's country in search of adventures. They each, to the amount of about one hundred lances, pledged themselves to this; but, when the morning came, the project was broken off. A squire from Auvergne, called Gourdinois, a valiant man at arms, and serving under the banner of the lord d'Alégre, finding this excursion laid aside, was much vexed thereat; and, speaking of it to some of his companions of as good courage as himself, they collected about thirty spears, and rode out that morning, but met with no adventure. Gourdinois was so desirous of feats of arms, that he felt sorely the disappointment of returning without having struck a blow, and said to his companions,—"Do you ride on gently, while I and my page will skirt this wood, to see if there be any ambuscades, or any persons within it, and wait for me at the foot of yonder hill." Having assented to this, Gourdinois and his page left them, and rode alongside the wood. They had not advanced far, when he heard some one whistle: he instantly stuck spurs into his horse, and came to a hollow road, where he found a Guelderlander squaring timber. Gourdinois seized his spear, and charged the man full

* "Remogne." Q

gallop, to his great astonishment, and made signs to him to follow him; for he said to himself,—"At least, I shall show to my companions, that I have done something by making this man my prisoner, and he may be of some use to us in our quarters."

He now set out on his return, riding on a small hackney, followed by the woodman on foot, with a large axe on his shoulder with which he had been working. The page of Gourdinois was behind mounted on his courser, bearing his helmet and dragging his lance, half asleep from having left his bed too early. The German, who knew not whither he was going, nor what might be done to him, thought he might as well attempt to escape: he therefore advanced close to Gourdinois, and with his uplifted axe smote him such a blow on the head as split his skull to the teeth, and laid him dead on the ground. The page, from his distance and sleepiness, neither saw nor heard anything of the matter; and the peasant ran to hide himself in the wood, from which he was not far off. Those who heard of this unfortunate accident were much distressed; for Gourdinois was well beloved by all who knew him, particularly by his countrymen in Auvergne, for he was the man at arms most dreaded by the English, and the person who had done them most mischief. He would never have been suffered to remain a prisoner, though twenty thousand francs had been asked for his ransom.

We will now return to the duke of Juliers.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—THE DUKE OF JULIERS AND ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE LEAVE THE KING OF FRANCE, AND GO TO THE DUKE OF GUELDRES AT NIMEGUEN.—BY THEIR REMONSTRANCES AND NEGOTIATIONS, HE OBTAINS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

You have before heard how the duke of Juliers made his peace with the king of France, through the mediation of the two prelates already mentioned and the duke of Lorrain his cousin, who had taken great pains in the business, and had gone to seek him in the town of Atdeke*, whence he had brought him, with the archbishop of Cologne, to a conference with the king of France and his uncles. The duke had then promised to oblige his son, the duke of Gueldres, to submit himself to the king, otherwise he was to unite with the king in his war against him. These terms he was forced to comply with, or his duchy would have been destroyed.

The duke of Juliers, having made his preparations, set out with the archbishop of Cologne for Gueldres, and, having crossed the river Waal, arrived at Nimeguen, where the duke of Gueldres then resided. He received them most affectionately, as was but right, for what tie is nearer than that of father or mother? He had before heard that the duke of Juliers had made his peace with the king of France, which was not very pleasing to him, but he had no occasion to show his dislike to it. The duke of Juliers and the archbishop remonstrated with him for some time on the situation he and his country were in. At first he paid not any attention; for he had so strongly connected himself with the king of England he could not immediately break it off, nor had he any inclination so to do, for his heart was devoted to the English. He argued the matter with them obstinately, declaring he would abide the event; and if, from the arrival of the king of France with an army, he should suffer any loss, he was young and might at other times revenge himself on France or on the Brabanters their allies; adding, that in war the chances are uncertain, and no prince can undertake one without expecting loss as well as gain.

This language greatly enraged the duke of Juliers, who said, "William, how will you carry on this war? and from whom do you expect compensation for your losses?"—"The king of England and his power," replied he; "and I am very much astonished I have had no intelligence of their fleet; for if they had kept their engagement, by which they were to come hither, I would more than once have beaten up the French quarters."—"Do you wait

* "Atdeke." Q.

for them, William?" asked the duke of Juliers. "The English have so much on their hands at this moment, they cannot give you any assistance. There is our cousin, the duke of Lancaster, at Bayonne, who has left Castille with the shattered remains of his army, having lost the greater part by sickness, and by that the season for making war. He is soliciting reinforcements of men at arms and archers from England, but will not obtain twenty spears. On the other hand, the English have lately experienced a severe overthrow in battle with the Scots near Newcastle on Tyne, in Northumberland, in which all the chivalry of the north have been made prisoners or slain. England, besides, is not unanimous in their affection to the king: you will therefore act wisely not to depend on the English at this moment, for you will not have assistance from them, nor from any other quarter. I would therefore advise that you suffer us to manage for you and we will pacify the king of France, and make up this quarrel without your being dishonoured or a loser from it." "My lord," answered the duke of Gueldres, "how can I with honour accommodate my difference with the king of France? were I to have my country ruined and be forced to go and live elsewhere, I would not do it: I am too strongly bound to the king of England; and for him have I defied the king of France. Do you think," added he, "that for his menaces I will recall my word or break my engagement? You only wish my disgrace. I entreat you, therefore, to leave me to myself: I will make head against the French, for their threats do not alarm me. The rain, wind, and cold weather will make war for me; and before the month of January be arrived, they will be so tired and worn down, that the boldest among them will wish to be at home."

Neither the duke of Juliers nor the archbishop of Cologne could, at this first interview, prevail on the duke of Gueldres to change his resolution, though they were six days labouring at it, and daily in council. At length the duke of Juliers, finding his arguments of no avail, was so angry, as to say to him, "that if he did not pay more attention to his advice, he would displease him greatly, insomuch that he should never inherit one foot of his duchy of Juliers, which he would dispose of to another, who should be powerful enough to defend it against him;" adding, "that none but a fool refused counsel." The duke of Gueldres, seeing his father inflamed with passion, replied by way of softening matters,—"Advise me then how with honour I may act; and since you desire it, from my love to you, I will pay attention to it; for I assuredly owe you all obedience, and shall never in that be wanting." —"Now," said the duke of Juliers, "You speak well and to the purpose, and we will consider the matter."

It was then determined, after many and long consultations, that the duke of Gueldres should wait on the king of France, and pay him the honour and respect befitting so great a prince, and should excuse himself for having sent him such a challenge, in similar words to these,—"My lord, it is very true that a letter, sealed with my signet, was sent into France and delivered to you, in which was contained a challenge drawn up in very outrageous terms, and contrary to such as are generally used in the like cases, when princes or lords defy each other; but this I disavow, as never having been uttered from my mouth, nor written by my commands, as I would be far from defaming your name or rank. For the confirmation of what I now say, and to remove all doubts, I must inform you, that at the desire of my much-redoubted lord, the king of England, and his council, with whom I have entered into very close alliance, I sent to England four of my knights to whom I intrusted my signet, for them to seal whatever might be required of them. They were to write and seal, and not I: so that I never knew the contents of the letter sent to France until it had been sealed. Be pleased, therefore, to accept of this as my apology, for it is the truth. With regard to my oath of allegiance to my redoubted lord, the king of England, I am resolved to adhere to it, and to obey, as far as in me lies, whatever he may command, whether to challenge you, and assemble my forces, wherever he may please, to oppose you or any other prince, except my natural lord, the emperor of Germany; for to him have I personally sworn my homage in the fullest manner. But out of respect and honour to you, and as some recompense for the trouble and charges you have had, in coming to this distance to learn the truth of this challenge, I am willing to swear, and that oath I will punctually keep, that, henceforward, I will never make any war upon you nor your kingdom without having first given you one year's notice of my intention;

and, my lord I hope you will think this sufficient." The duke of Gueldres replied, that all this he would willingly say; for it did not seem to him to convey anything blameable or dishonourable.

Upon this being settled, the duke of Juliers and the archbishop departed and returned to Juliers, and thence to Endesker*. At a proper season they waited on the king of France, and related to him and his uncles every particular which had passed between them and the duke of Gueldres; and, that the matter might be immediately considered, they added, there could not anything more be obtained from his son. The king of France was so desirous to see his cousin the duke of Gueldres, who had given him such trouble, that he assented to the terms of the treaty. The duke of Burgundy was also anxious that the territories of the duchess of Brabant should remain in peace, and took pains that this treaty should be agreed to, and that the duke of Gueldres, on the strength of it, should come to them. There was also another reason for their consenting to it: winter was approaching, and the nights were already cold and long. The French lords were told that Gueldres was a miserable country to winter in, and they daily received information of losses of knights, squires, and horses, that had been captured by the ambushes of these Linfars.

From all these reasons, matters were so far concluded that the duke of Gueldres came to the French camp, and was introduced by the duke of Juliers his father, the duke of Lorraine his cousin, and the archbishop of Cologne, to the king's tent. There were present, at this interview, the king's uncles, his brother the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bar, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and the constable of France. On his entrance the duke of Gueldres cast himself on his knees before the king; but I heard that the king made him rise, (in this matter, however, I know nothing but what I learnt from others), and that he boldly excused himself for the challenge, in the terms you have before heard. The king accepted his apology: and he then declared, on his oath, that if he were ever again to challenge or make war on France, he would send notice of it one year beforehand. Thus did Gueldres and Brabant remain in a secure state, and those who had expected the most were the greatest losers.

Everything being now settled, the duke of Gueldres supped with the king of France at his table: and I must say he was much looked at, for the great plague he had given them. These treaties were fairly written and sealed; and, when all was done, the lords took leave of each other: but, before the duke of Gueldres departed, he requested that the prisoners the French had made in this war might be given up, which was agreed to in the manner he desired. The king of France demanded that all prisoners made from him should likewise be set at liberty; but the duke of Gueldres excused himself, saying,—"My lord, that cannot be done: I am a poor man, and when I heard of your march hither, I strengthened myself as much as possible with knights from the other side of the Rhine and elsewhere, agreeing with them that everything they might take should be their own property. It is not possible for me, therefore, to despoil them of what I have given, nor have I the power so to do; and, should I attempt it, they would make war upon me. Be pleased, therefore, to let this matter remain as it is, for I cannot remedy it." The king, perceiving he could not obtain anything more, bore it as well as he could, without adding a word in reply, and comforted himself on the greatness of his power that could enrich so many poor persons. They took leave of each other mutually satisfied, and orders were given for the army to march back to France. It was said, the king would hold the feast of All-saints in the city of Rheims.

I will now say a word of the English fleet.

* "Endesker," Q.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND HIS FLEET ARE DRIVEN BY STORMS TO LA PALICE, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.—THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE, HAVING HAD INFORMATION OF THIS, CHASES THEM AT SEA, BUT IN VAIN.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARRIES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE HEIR OF CASTILLE.

Before the king of France went to Gueldres, and during the time he was there, the English fleet under the command of the earl of Arundel kept hovering along his coasts, just as the wind drove them, in search of adventures. You must know, that generally from the first of October to All-saints day the weather is stormy; but this year it was unusually so, which shattered the English fleet, and there was no seaman on board, however bold he might be, but was frightened at its violence, which forced the ships to run to any port lest worse might befal them. The earl of Arundel, with twenty-seven other vessels, made for the harbour of la Palice, two leagues distant from la Rochelle, where he anchored: indeed, he was forced so to do, for the wind was contrary and he could not leave it. When news was brought of this to la Rochelle the townsmen were much alarmed, thinking the English intended attacking the place: they closed their gates, and remained guarding them for a day and a half. Intelligence came from la Palice, that the force of the English amounted to no more than twenty-two vessels, driven thither by stress of weather, and desirous only of putting to sea again; that, however, the earl of Arundel, sir Henry Beaumont, sir William Elmham, and upwards of thirty English knights, were there. The Rochellers, on this, consulted how to act; and, having well considered the matter, they said they should not do their duty if they did not march to skirmish with the enemy.

At this period, the lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, was arrayed and marshalled before the castle of Bouteville, with a large body of the chivalry of Poitou, Saintonge and other parts, and had there inclosed William de Sainte Foix, a Gascon; for all men at arms had not accompanied the king of France, and the lord de Sancerre was lieutenant of the country, from Montpellier to la Rochelle, during the absence of the lord de Coucy with the army in Germany. The Rochellers determined to send information of the arrival of the English to the lord de Sancerre, who on hearing it was much rejoiced. He ordered the townsmen to arm six or eight galleys, and to embark on board, for he was on his march to combat the English.—This they did; and sir Lewis broke up his siege and marched away, thinking it would be more to his honour and profit to engage the earl of Arundel and the English knights lying at anchor, than to continue the siege, for he could again return to this at his pleasure.

He came to la Rochelle, followed by a large body of knights and squires. I know not by what means, but the earl of Arundel had information at la Palice, that the marshal of France with a powerful company of knights and squires was marching to attack him. The news was not very agreeable to him; but fortunately the weather had become calm, and he instantly gave orders to weigh anchor and put to sea. This was speedily effected: had they waited longer they would have been surrounded within the haven, and every one of his vessels must necessarily have been taken, for not one could have escaped. The galleys from la Rochelle, fully armed with cannons and other artillery, appeared in sight, steering for la Palice, as the English were under sail. They chased them two leagues, saluting them with their cannon, but dared not follow them further, for fear of the dangers of the sea. They therefore returned to la Rochelle; but the marshal of France was much angered against them, for having been so tardy to inform him of the arrival of the enemy.

The earl of Arundel sailed for the mouth of the Garonne, to repair to Bordeaux; and the siege of Bouteville was put an end to, for William de Sainte Foix, during the time the marshal had gone, as he thought, to fight the English, had provided his castle with all things necessary for a long defence.

We will now return to the duke of Lancaster, and speak of his negotiations with the king of Castille and duke of Berry respecting the marriage of his daughter. The king of Castille was desirous of having her for his son, as the means of peace with England. The duke of Berry wished her for himself, being very impatient to marry her. The duke of Lancaster

was wise and prudent: he saw that the most advantageous alliance for himself and for his country was Castille, in preference to the duke of Berry; for by it he should recover the inheritance of Castille for his daughter, in times to come. If he gave her to the duke of Berry, and he should die before her, she would be poor in comparison with other ladies; for the duke had children by his first marriage, who would be entitled to all his landed property. The duchess of Lancaster was likewise more inclined to the connexion with Castille, so that when sir Helion de Lignac had left the duke, on his return to the duke of Berry in Germany, the commissioners from the king of Castille came forward, and pushed the matter so warmly, that the marriage was agreed and sworn to, between the lady Catherine and the son of the king of Castille. Proper contracts were drawn up and sealed, with covenants to prevent any danger of breaking off the match; and the duchess consented, when the whole should be concluded, to conduct her daughter into Castille.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE, WHILE ON THE FRONTIERS OF JULIERS, HAS PART OF HIS CAMP SURPRISED, AND SEVERAL PRISONERS MADE, BY SOME GERMAN PILLAGERS.—THE KING, BEING TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, TAKES ON HIMSELF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS KINGDOM.—HE SENDS TO THE KING OF CASTILLE, ON HEARING OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS SON WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO REMONSTRATE WITH HIM NOT TO ENTER INTO ANY TREATIES THAT MAY BE PREJUDICIAL TO HIM OR TO HIS KINGDOM.

The king of France was still on the borders of Juliers, (for you have heard on what grounds peace had been made between him and the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres) though on his march with the army back to France, when, one clear moon-light night, as they were encamped on the confines of Germany, some German robbers, who would never accept of any terms of peace, made, about midnight, an attack on the French. These men were under the lord de Blanquenemen and sir Peter de Aremberg, and came well mounted, to observe where they could make the severest attack on the camp. They passed the quarters of the viscount de Meaux, but found him and his men on their guard; and, having gone backward and forward without saying a word, they returned, to give an account to their leaders, at their ambuscade, of what they had seen. Shortly after, a large body of these Germans made an irruption on the French camp, overthrowing I know not how many, and making fourteen men at arms prisoners. The lord de la Vieville and the lord de Montkarel were among the number, in consequence of great neglect in not having placed sufficient guards. When it was known, on the morrow, that these two lords were made prisoners, the army were much vexed at it, and ever afterwards were more attentive to their guards.

When the king left Juliers, none of the garrisons remained behind: sir William de la Tremouille and sir Gervais de Merande joined him, and the Brabanters retired to their own homes. While on the march, and immediately on the king's return to France, it was determined, by great deliberation of the council, that the king, who had since the death of his father been under the management of his uncles, should now take on himself the government of the kingdom, which his uncles must resign into his hands, as they had enough to do elsewhere, and the king had now entered his twenty-first year. When this was made public, it gave universal satisfaction.

I believe the king, with his uncles and brother, kept the feast of All-saints at Rheims; and that there they first heard of peace being made between the king of Castille and duke of Lancaster, and of the marriage of the lady Catherine with the infant. The king of France laughed and joked much with his uncle, the duke of Berry, saying,—"Fair uncle, you have failed in your intended marriage, for another has seized the lady you meant for your bride. What do you say to this? How does your courage stand?" The duke good-humouredly replied,—"My lord, if I have been disappointed in this, I will address myself elsewhere."

Those present began to murmur about this marriage, and to say, it had not been concluded without some treaties of alliance having been formed which might be very prejudicial here-

after to France; "for," added some who seemed to be fully aware of the consequences, "should England, Castille, and Portugal unite, and make war upon us, they would be enabled to do us very serious mischief by sea and land. It will be right for the king of France to send some discreet person to prevent this wicked king, who has thus connected himself with a dead man, (for the duke of Lancaster has neither money nor men) from entering into any treaties without the consent of the council of France; otherwise to say, the king would reduce him to the state of the lowest varlet with the same ease with which he had raised him to his present state; for at this moment he has no ally strong enough to support him. A war with Castille would now come very opportunely; and, after dethroning this wicked king, the son of a bastard, the king might bestow the crown on his brother, the duke of Touraine, who is not over rich: he would govern it wisely, and defend it valiantly. How could this king of Castille think of entering into any treaty whatever with the duke of Lancaster unknown to our king, who has so generously assisted him in his distress; and had it not been for the blood of France, he must have lost his realm. He bargains well, and has now done so; but let it be as we say, and he will be deserted and disgraced; and, in God's name, let such an envoy be sent thither as will be attended to, and make him feel how very ill he has behaved."

These murmurings increased so much that the king, his uncles, and council, deliberated whom they should send to remonstrate with the king of Castille, that he enter not, at his peril, into treaties with the duke of Lancaster and the English any way detrimental to the crown of France. If he had done so, or intended it, he was to be told, that the power of France would debase him as much, if not more than it had exalted him, and that the king and his country would not attend to any other thing before they had completed his destruction. It was long debated who would be the properest person to send thither; for it was agreed it should be some one of courage and well spoken, as it would be fruitless sending simple persons on such a message. Three were named: the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and sir Guy de la Tremouille, and either of these three would be fully qualified to go to Castille. Having considered all things, they chose sir John de Vienne*; and it was told him, on the part of the king and his council,—"Admiral, make your preparations for a journey to Castille; you will have no other than credential letters, for it is enough that you are master of the subject on which you are sent. Tell the king of Castille to read or have read to him all the treaties of alliance, and promises of friendship, which have been formed and sworn to between the two crowns; and remember well all the answers you may receive from him or his ministers on this subject, that we may regulate our conduct accordingly." All this, the admiral said, he would studiously attend to. The admiral was not long in making preparations for his journey, and, having taken leave of the king and his uncles, left Paris, taking the road towards Burgundy; for he was desirous of visiting the pope and his brother at Avignon, which he did.

We will now for a while leave him, and say something of Geoffry Tête-noire and the siege of Ventadour, in which he was inclosed; but we must first speak of the duke of Berry, whose impatience to marry again was shown within the year, when he took to himself a wife of whom I shall speak, and say who she was, and where he was married.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE DUKE OF BERRY, BEING DISAPPOINTED IN HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, SENDS TO THE COUNT DE FOIX TO DEMAND THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE BOULOGNE, WHOM HE HAD IN WARDSHIP.

The duke of Berry, having been disappointed in marrying the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, was told that the count de Boulogne had a beautiful daughter called Jane, by the lady Eleanor de Comminges; that she was not with her father nor mother, but in the country of Béarn with his good friend and cousin the count de Foix; that she had been educated by the count, in his castle of Orthès, for the space of nine years, and he had the

* According to Lopez d'Ayala, Moler de Mauny, the king's chamberlain, was joined in commission with sir John de Vienne.—Ed.

wardship of all her property; and that the father and mother had not any way interfered since she had been under the care of the count, nor had the young lady cost them anything; that she had been often demanded in marriage, but the count de Foix had turned a deaf ear, saying, she was yet too young, and in particular by sir Bernard, brother to the count d'Armagnac, who had repeatedly pressed the matter, promising, on the accomplishment of this marriage, to put an end to his war on Béarn and his claims on that country. Notwithstanding these fair promises, the count would not listen to him, but said that his cousin was too young. He gave, however, other reasons to his confidential friends, and said to sir Espaign du Lyon,—"These Armagnacs must think me a great fool, when they ask me to consent to my destruction. If I give them my cousin, I shall add to their strength and weaken myself. They already withhold from her by force her inheritance, in right of her mother, of Comminges; for the count de Boulogne is as nobody to oppose them."

When the count d'Armagnac and his brother, sir Bernard, found they could not succeed, they spoke to the duke of Berry, during the life of their aunt, his first duchess, that it would be a good match for his son John of Berry. The duke, in consequence, had sent properly qualified persons to the count de Foix in Béarn, to entreat that all former animosities might be forgiven and forgotten, and that he would consent to the marriage of his cousin and ward with his son John; for that the count de Boulogne, her father, was very well satisfied that it should take place.

The count entertained the envoys handsomely, but excused himself for not complying with their demand, as the lady was too young; and because he had most solemnly promised and sworn to the countess her mother, when she delivered her into his hands, that he would never betroth her to any person whatever without her knowledge. He would therefore keep his oath, and no one ought to attempt to make him break it. These were the excuses the count made; for he knew well that his cousin, the countess of Comminges, who resided with her brother, the count d'Urguel, in Arragon, would never consent to her daughter's marriage with any one connected with the Armagnacs.

The ambassadors from the duke of Berry returned, therefore, unsuccessfully; and in their absence the count de Foix said, (as I learnt from sir Espaign du Lyon)—"The duke of Berry and his advisers must think me very weak and ignorant, when they propose that I should reinforce my enemies. John of Berry is cousin to my adversaries, the Armagnacs: this match I will never consent to, and had much rather marry her in England; and I have already had proposals from Henry of Lancaster, son to the duke of Lancaster. If I were not afraid of too much angering the king of France, no one else should have my cousin. At this moment I know not how to act; but I will marry her to my own satisfaction, to prevent any of the Armagnacs having her against my will; for, as the whole depends on my determination, I have no occasion to be melancholy, or to be very anxious on this subject."

When the duke of Berry knew for certain that the duke of Lancaster intended marrying his daughter with the infant of Castille, and that there were no hopes of breaking it off, he was so pensive and melancholy for five or six days, that those of his nearest relations inquired the cause of it. Having opened his mind to them, and complained of his disappointment, his council replied,—"Sir, if you have failed with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, you may be more successful in another quarter, with the daughter of a great lord, and who, in due time, will be a considerable heiress, though at this moment she is a little too young for your time of life; and I know not if the count de Foix will not on this account refuse his consent." "Is she the daughter of the count de Boulogne?" asked the duke "Yes, my lord." "In God's name," replied the duke, "let us make the trial."

It was not long after this before he wrote to the count de Foix to signify to him, in the most friendly manner, that he would send to him four knights of high quality, such as the count de Sancerre, the lord de la Riviere, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and the viscount d'Assy, to treat with him for his ward, the daughter of the count de Boulogne, in marriage; and these lords were of such importance, as to justify him in putting implicit faith in them; but he begged of him to send him a speedy answer to his letter, that these knights might not undertake a commission that would be unsuccessful. The count de Foix received handsomely the

messengers who brought this letter, and wrote back by them to the duke of Berry, that he was very happy in the proposals he had made, and was ready to receive the four knights either in Foix or in Béarn; but that the consent of the count and countess de Boulogne must first be had.

The duke of Berry was well pleased on receiving such an answer, and negotiated with one and another, during the winter, that his marriage might take place in the course of the summer. The business, notwithstanding, was not so soon accomplished; for the duke of Berry knew well that the count de Foix was not a person to act hastily, and that there would be many questions and replies before the matter could be expected to be brought to a conclusion. He therefore prudently carried on the treaty, by sending special messengers to pope Clement, who was nearly related to the young lady. The pope was rejoiced at hearing his cousin would be so highly connected as with the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France; and he wrote, in consequence, to the count de Foix, to notify to him in an honourable manner, that he would not on any account this proposal should be rejected, for their families would be made by it. The count de Foix received letters from all quarters; for he could, on such occasions, well dissemble his real sentiments, and yet retain the affections of all, the pope as well as the duke of Berry; but there were none so wise among them, that knew what were the count's real thoughts.

We will now leave this matter, and return to the siege of Ventadour.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE IS WOUNDED IN THE HEAD, AT A SKIRMISH, AND COMMITS EXCESSES WHICH CAUSE HIS DEATH.—HE MAKES A WILL, AND SUBSTITUTES TWO GOVERNORS OF VENTADOUR IN HIS ROOM.

You have before heard how sir William de Lignac and sir John Bonne-lance, with many knights and squires from Auvergne and Limousin, had besieged the castle of Ventadour, and Geoffry Tête-noire within it. It was so strong, that it could not be taken by storm; and he had laid in such stores of all things, as to secure a sufficiency for seven or eight years, without anything new being added. The besiegers, who had surrounded it with blockhouses, came at times to skirmish at the barriers; and it happened that, at one of these, Geoffry Tête-noire advanced so far that he was struck on the head by a bolt from a cross-bow, which passed through the helmet and cap underneath, and wounded him so severely as to occasion him to be carried to his bed. His companions were much vexed at this, and, during the time he was in this state, all skirmishing ceased. Had he taken proper care of himself, he would have soon been cured of this wound; but he indulged himself in many excesses, particularly in fornication, for which he paid dearly enough by his death. He was warned of the consequences of this conduct, and told that he was in so dangerous a condition, (the wound having become an imposthume) that it was necessary he should settle his affairs. He did, and made his will in the way I shall relate.

He ordered the principal persons of his garrison, and those who had been the most used to arms, into his presence; and when they were come, he said to them, sitting up in his bed,—"My fair sirs, and companions in arms, I know I am in great danger of death: we have been a long time together, and I have been a loyal captain to you all, to the utmost of my power; I should wish, therefore, to see, before I quit this world, my successor appointed, who would gallantly behave himself towards you and defend this castle, which I shall leave plentifully stocked with all necessary things, such as wines, provision, and artillery. I therefore beg you will tell me if you have taken any steps, or have thought of electing any one able to govern and lead you as men at arms ought to be governed and led, for such has been my manner of carrying on the war; and in truth I cared not against whom. I did indeed make it under shadow of the king of England's name, in preference to any other; but I have always looked for gain and conquest wherever they may be had; and such should ever be the conduct of adventurous companions, who are for deeds of arms and to advance themselves. This country is very fertile: many good compositions have been made with it, though the French now check them by their war; but this cannot always last, for their

blockhouses and siege must have an end. Now, tell me truly, have any of you thought of the person who is to succeed me?"

The companions remaining silent, he again addressed them with the utmost good humour, saying,—"I can easily believe you have had some conversations together on what I have mentioned; and I also, during the time I have been forced to keep my bed, have thought on this matter for you."—"Sir," replied they, "we refer the matter to you; and it will be more agreeable if it came from you than from us: you will therefore be pleased to inform us of your will." "Yes," said Geoffry, "I will tell you, and name those I wish to succeed me. Here is Alleyn Roux and his brother Peter, my cousins, who are good men at arms and of my blood: I entreat you, therefore, to accept of Alleyn as your governor, and that you will swear to him, in my presence, loyalty and obedience, as well as to his brother; but I mean that Alleyn should have the sovereign command."—"Sir," answered they, "We will cheerfully do so, for you have well chosen." All the companions then took oaths of obedience to Alleyn Roux, and to his brother Peter. When this was done, Geoffry Tête-noire again addressed them: "Well, my friends, you have complied with my request, and I thank you for it. Because I wish you should partake of what you have helped me to conquer, I must inform you, that in that chest which you see yonder (pointing to it with his finger), there is a sum of thirty thousand francs. I would acquit my conscience and myself towards those who have faithfully served me: say, therefore, if you will truly fulfil the articles of my will." Having said they would, he continued: "In the first place, I leave to the chapel of St. George, within our walls, the sum of fifteen hundred francs for repairs and additional buildings. I give to my mistress, who has been faithfully attached to me, two thousand five hundred francs—To Alleyn Roux, your governor, two thousand francs—To my valets-de-chambre, five hundred francs—To my officers, fifteen hundred francs. The surplus I thus dispose of: you are about thirty companions, all engaged in the same enterprise, and you should behave like brothers to each other, without envy, riot, or strife. The sum I have mentioned you will find in the chest: divide it, therefore, among you fairly and honourably; but should the devil get among you, and you cannot agree, here is a well-tempered sharp axe, cut open the chest, and let those who can seize the contents." To this speech, they unanimously replied,—"Lord and master, we will not disagree. We have so much loved and feared you, we will never break the chest, nor disobey any of the orders you have given us."

Such as I have related was the last will of Geoffry Tête-noire, who only lived two days more, and was buried in the chapel of Saint George in Ventadour. All his legacies were paid, and the overplus divided among them according to his orders, and Alleyn Roux with his brother Peter were obeyed as governors of the castle. The blockade, however, was not for this raised, nor were the skirmishes less frequent. The French knights and squires of Auvergne and Limousin were rejoiced at the death of Geoffry Tête-noire, and were not so much afraid of those he had left behind, for he had been a most active and successful captain in war and in forming garrisons.

We will now return to the duke of Gueldres for a short time, and say what befel him at this season; having already mentioned the trouble he had given to the king of France and his uncles, by forcing them to march to the borders of his country, and then to return without doing him any considerable damage.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES IS MADE PRISONER IN PRUSSIA; AND, THOUGH DELIVERED BY THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER, HE RETURNS TO KEEP HIS FAITH TO THE PERSON WHO HAD TAKEN HIM.

When the duke of Gueldres perceived that the whole army of France had retreated, and that peace was established with the duchess of Brabant and his other enemies by means of the treaties, the particulars of which you have heard related: one of the articles being understood to have been the surrender of the town of Grave within the year, on such conditions as had been agreed on between him, the duke of Burgundy and duchess of

Brabant, and when he found he had now nothing to do at home, under these circumstances, I say, he resolved to make an excursion into Prussia. He made preparations accordingly, and, accompanied by many knights and squires of his own and other countries, began his journey thither about the octave of Saint Martin, taking his road through Germany. Wherever he passed, he was handsomely received, and arrived on the territory of Prussia. I know not how it happened, but he and his company were waylaid in the plains, and attacked by a body of men at arms, of whom he had not the least suspicion, and for that reason they were overpowered. They lost their arms, horses, gold and silver plate, and were carried prisoners to a town hard by, where all who could ransom themselves did so: particularly the duke of Gueldres pledged himself to a squire called Arurant; his sirname I am ignorant of; and then the duke of Gueldres and his company were led to a strong town of the duke de Stolpen, not that the duke was there in person.

When the grand master and knights of the Teutonic order heard that the duke of Gueldres had been attacked and made prisoner on his road to Prussia, they were exceedingly enraged, and said it should not remain unpunished, otherwise they would be greatly blamed. They instantly issued their summons for the attendance of their vassals, and marched with a large force of men at arms from Commisberg * to the town wherein the duke of Gueldres was detained prisoner. The squire who had made the duke prisoner, having heard of this expedition, was alarmed for the consequences, and determined to leave the castle, as ill might befal him should he be taken; but before he departed he waited on the duke of Gueldres, and thus spoke: "Duke of Gueldres, you are my prisoner, and I am your master. You, as a gentleman, have pledged your faith and oath, that wherever I should please to go, thither you would follow me. I know not if you have sent for the grand-master of the Teutonic order, but he is marching hither in such force that I do not think it prudent to wait for him. Do you remain, if you please, but I shall carry away your faith with me." To this the duke of Gueldres making no reply, the squire departed, and, having mounted his horse, rode off to a castle of greater strength; but, on his going away, he added, "You will find me at such a place," and named to him the castle, which was very strong, and far from all roads. He was no sooner gone than the grand-master arrived, with a considerable force: no one issued forth to oppose him: and, had he found the squire within, he would infallibly have put him to death. He therefore returned to Koningsberg, carrying the duke of Gueldres with him.

I will relate what was the end of this event; for in whatever country it was told, and especially in Germany, it was variously spoken of, to the great astonishment of all lords who heard it. When the duke of Gueldres arrived at Koningsberg, having obtained his liberty in the manner I have said, he considered that he had pledged his faith to return to the squire who had made him prisoner: likewise remembering what the squire had said on his departure, he was much cast down, and thought himself bounden in honour to acquit himself loyally towards him. He therefore told the grand-master he could not longer remain with him, nor for any dispensation or absolution would give up his intention of surrendering himself to his master in the castle where he had been appointed to do so; which every one considered as an act of great honour. When this came to the ears of his relations and subjects in Gueldres, they treated for his liberty, which they obtained through the means of the duke of Stolpen, who took much pains in the business; but, before the duke would consent to his enlargement, he made the duke of Gueldres swear, that neither himself, his heirs, nor any person attached to him, would ever seek open or private revenge for the insult he had received. Thus was the duke of Gueldres set at liberty; but in the year 1388 did this misfortune befall him. Let us return to sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and relate what he said from the king of France to the king of Castille.

* "Commisberg." Q. Koningsberg.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, HAVING RECEIVED HIS ANSWER FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, RETURNS TO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER PROCEEDS IN THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO THE INFANT OF CASTILLE.—THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, HAVING MADE SOME CRUISES ON THE COASTS OF NORMANDY, RETURNS WITH HIS FLEET TO ENGLAND.

THE admiral of France continued his journey until he arrived in Castille, when he inquired where the king resided. He was answered, "Most commonly at Burgos," whither he then rode. Having dismounted at his inn, he made himself ready to go to the palace; but as soon as the king's household heard of his arrival, he was visited by them, most honourably, according to the custom of the country, from their attachment to the king of France, to whom they held themselves much indebted, and he was conducted to the king's apartment. Sir John was kindly greeted by the king, to whom he gave his letters. The king took them, and called his council aside, when, having read and considered them, they found he had full powers given him, and sir John was called and bade to explain the cause of his coming. He, who was ready prepared, thus spoke, in handsome language: "Sir king, and you gentlemen of his council, the king of France sends me hither, on account of the marriage which he has heard is about to take place between your son and the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, who is, as you know, his enemy. The king of France and his ministers are greatly at a loss to conceive how you could think of entering into any treaty of marriage or other engagement, without their being made acquainted with it; for they say truly, that no union can be formed between children without great intimacy and affection of the parents being the consequences. They therefore tell you by my mouth, to be careful not to enter into any treaties that may be prejudicial to the king of France; and that those, so solemnly sworn to be observed by the late king Henry, your father, the prelates, nobles and cities of the realm, be no way infringed, otherwise you will incur the pain of excommunication from the pope, and the indignation of the king and barons of France, whom you will find, to your disgrace, your most bitter enemies. This is what I am ordered to say to you from the king of France and his council."

When the king of Castille and those present heard such a reproachful message from the king of France, they were so much astonished, that they looked at each other, but not one attempted to make any reply. A bishop, however, who happened to be there, made the following answer: "Sir John, you are newly arrived in this country, and the king and ourselves are glad to see you, and bid you welcome. Fair sir, the king has perfectly heard and understood your message, and you shall shortly, within a day or two, have such an answer as will give you satisfaction." "It is enough," replied sir John de Vienne, who then took leave of the king and council and returned to his lodgings. It was reported to me that he remained seven days without having any answer; that there was very great dissembling on this occasion, and he became quite melancholy, for he never saw the king, but remained in his apartment, scarcely visited by any one. Sir John de Vienne, noticing this delay, spoke of it to some of the council, whom he sometimes saw, declaring he would return without the answer. They suspected he would keep his word and do as he said, for in truth such was his intention.

He was therefore invited to the palace, and such answers made him, that, on his return, he told the king of France, and those who had sent him, not to be under any uneasiness respecting the king of Castille or his council, for they would never enter into any treaties with England that should, in the smallest degree, be detrimental to those which had been formed between France and Castille. If the king of Castille married his son to the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, according to the unanimous wish of his country, as the means of obtaining peace, and extinguishing all claims on his crown, it ought not to have given umbrage to the king of France nor to that nation; for the king of Castille and his subjects were firmly resolved to adhere to every point of the treaties existing between them and France.

Such was the purport of the answer sir John de Vienne had brought from Castille. The

king of Castille and the duke of Lancaster proceeded in the marriage, and a treaty of peace was amicably agreed on between them, by the before-mentioned commissioners, for the duke still resided in the Bordelois. He had come with his duchess and daughter from Bayonne to Bordeaux, where he was joyfully received, as they were desirous of his living among them, and thence had gone to Libourne*.

When it was known for certain, in the castle of the count de Foix, that the king of Castille had made peace with the duke of Lancaster, and had put an end to all his claims, by the marriage of his son with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, to whom he had given extensive territories in Castille, besides a large sum to the duke, amounting to two hundred thousand nobles, the count was greatly astonished, (for I was then present) and said: "This king of Castille is a poor creature, to make peace with a dead man; for I am sure the duke of Lancaster was in so bad a way he knew not where to turn himself. On my faith," continued the count, "the duke is a man of ability, and has prudently managed this matter."

It was about Christmas that the fleet of the earl of Arundel, which had been hovering the whole year along the coasts of Brittany, la Rochelle, Saintonge, and the Bordelois, came to the shores of Normandy, and sailed by Carentan. It had indeed before landed at Cherbourg, and the earl seemed inclined to make war on that part of the country. The town of Carentan and its dependencies were under the command of the lord de Hambre and the lord de Torci, who had with them a considerable number of knights and squires of Normandy. The earl of Arundel learning how strongly it was garrisoned, passed by, thinking he might lose more than he could gain were he to attack it, and fell on another town, called Torigny†, which he took by storm, and gained great wealth by plundering it. They carried away many prisoners, and marched to the barriers of Bayeux, but only made a slight skirmish. The English passed the fords of St. Clement, and did great damage to those parts; for they staid there for fifteen days without any one coming to oppose them.

The marshal de Blainville was indeed in Normandy; but he had no information of what was passing, or he would have provided a remedy. The English having finished their expedition, and done one hundred thousand francs of mischief to Normandy, made a prudent retreat, and recrossing the fords, returned to Cherbourg, where they embarked their pillage safely on board the fleet: having weighed anchor, they took to the deep, and landed at Southampton. Such were the deeds done by this fleet, under the command of the earl of Arundel.

CHAPTER CXL.—THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE VISITS THE COUNT DE FOIX AT ORTHES.—A DEED OF ARMS IS PERFORMED, BEFORE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT BORDEAUX, BETWEEN FIVE FRENCH AND FIVE ENGLISH MEN.

The lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, at this time resided at Toulouse or Carcassonne in Languedoc, and was well informed of the treaties that were in agitation between the duke of Berry and the count de Foix, for the marriage of the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom the duke wished to have, although the lady was very young. The marshal had a desire to visit the count de Foix at Orthès, and I believe (from the information I had from his people who found me there at Christmas) the king of France had ordered him thither, and I will relate on what errand.

The king of France was at this period very young, though anxious to manage his government well. He had never visited Languedoc, which is an extensive province filled with towns and castles, that had been almost ruined by the oppressions of the duke of Berry. Heavy complaints of this had been made to the king when he took the government into his own hands; and he said he would travel into Languedoc, and visit the pope, whom he had never yet seen. and he was likewise desirous of seeing the count de Foix, of whose largesses and valour he had heard so much.

The marshal de Sancerre left Toulouse with full five hundred horse, rode to Tarbes in

* "Libourne," a town on the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne, five leagues north-east from Bordeaux.
† "Torigny," a town in Normandy, three leagues from St. Lô, eight from Coutances.

Bigorre, and thence to Orthès in Béarn. The count de Foix, having had intimation of his coming, ordered the stewards of his household to have the town of Orthès properly prepared for his reception, as his visit gave him great pleasure. These orders were punctually obeyed, and lodgings were marked out in the town for the marshal's attendants, but he himself dismounted at the castle. The count de Foix went out of the town to meet him, attended by more than three hundred horse, and received him most kindly. The lord Lewis de Sancerre remained at Orthès about six days; and he then acquainted the count of the king's intended journey into Languedoc, and his desire to see him. "In good faith," replied the count de Foix, "he will be welcome there, and I will with pleasure wait on him." "Indeed, my lord," answered the marshal, "but it is the king's wish to know on his arrival in Languedoc, plainly and openly, whether you mean to attach yourself to the French or to the English; for in these wars you have dissembled your real sentiments, and have never borne arms either from summons or entreaties."

"Ah, lord Lewis," said the count de Foix, "I give you many thanks for having spoken to me on this subject. If I have excused myself from bearing arms for either side, I have, as I think, good reasons for it: the wars between England and France no way concern me, for I hold my country of Béarn from God, my sword, and by inheritance. I have not, therefore, any cause to enter into the service, or incur the hatred, of either of these kings. I know well, that my enemies, the Armagnacs, have done all in their power to put me in the ill graces of both monarchs; for before the prince of Wales marched into Spain, at the instigation of the count d'Armagnac, he would have made war on me, having a strong inclination for it, if sir John Chandos had not prevented him. Thanks, however, to God, I have always kept myself on my guard in as courteous a manner as possible, and shall continue to do so as long as I live: after my death, matters must take the turn that is natural for them." Thus did the count de Foix and the marshal de Sancerre converse as long as he staid. On his departure, the count presented him with a handsome courser, a fine mule and good hackney, all of them richly caparisoned. He gave also to sir Robert Challies, to sir Richard Dauphin, and to the knights of the marshal, two hundred francs each, and to five of his squires fifty francs.

When the marshal took his leave, to return to Toulouse, I wanted to accompany him; but the count de Foix would not allow me, and bade me stay longer with him. This I was forced to comply with, and wait his will. The lord Lewis, on leaving Orthès, took the road to Tarbes, whither he was escorted by the lord dauphin of Bigorre, and sir Peter Cabestan, one of the count de Foix's household.

About this time, of the year 1389, there was a deed of arms performed at Bordeaux, before the duke of Lancaster, between five Englishmen and the same number of French, of whom some were of the household of the marshal of France. The combatants were sir Petiton de Pellagie, a Gascon Englishman; against sir Morice Mauvinet, a Frenchman; sir Raymond of Arragon, English, against the bastard de Chauvigny, French; sir Lewis Malapers, governor of Aigues-Mortes, English, against Jannequin Corne de Cerf, French; Archibald de Villiers, French, against the son of the lord de Chaumont, Gascon-English. Many knights and squires from Béarn, and of the household of the count de Foix, being desirous of seeing these combats, went thither: I accompanied them; for it is but twenty-four leagues from Orthès to Bordeaux, and we were spectators of these duels, which were fought in the square before St. Andrew's, in the presence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, their daughter, and the ladies and damsels of the country. They did not combat altogether, but each party separately; and were to perform three courses with spears, three with swords, the same number with battle-axes, and three with daggers, all on horseback. The tiltings occupied three days, and were gallantly performed without any of the ten being wounded. Sir Raymond killed the horse of the bastard de Chauvigny, which greatly angered the duke of Lancaster; he blamed the knight much for having pointed his spear too low, and presented the bastard with one of his own horses.

Such was the end of this deed of arms, which being finished, every one returned to his own home.

CHAPTER CXLI.—THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER CARRIES HER DAUGHTER TO CASTILLE, TO MARRY HER TO THE INFANT.—HAVING FOUND THE BONES OF HER FATHER, SHE HAS THEM CONVEYED TO SEVILLE, AND BURIED WITH REGAL OBSEQUIES.

SHORTLY after these deeds of arms, the duchess of Lancaster made preparations for her ourney into Castille, whither she was to carry her daughter, to solemnise her marriage with the son of the king of Castille. It was her intention, when in Castille, to visit the field of battle of Monteil, where her father, don Pedro, had lost his life, and make strict inquiries where his body had at that time been buried, which, when found, was to be taken up, and conveyed to the city of Seville, and magnificently interred there, in a manner becoming a king. When, in the month of March 1389, the sun began to have some force, and the days to lengthen, the duchess, having her array ready, set out from Bordeaux, and went to Bayonne, where she parted from the duke, who returned to Bordeaux. She and her ladies continued their journey to the city of Dax, where they were joyfully received, as that town belonged to England. They there reposed themselves for two days, and then pursued their road through the country of the Basques, the pass of Roncesvalles, and entered Navarre. At Pampeluna, they found the king and queen of Navarre, who received them kindly: for the queen was sister to the king of Castille*.

The duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were upwards of a month traversing Navarre, for they resided at different parts with the king and queen; and wherever they went all their expenses were defrayed. On their entrance into Castille, they were most respectfully treated by those of the king's household who had been sent to meet them: there were also deputies from different parts of the realm. All the kingdoms of Spain, Castille and Galicia, Seville and Toledo, and Cordova, were rejoiced at the arrival of these ladies, since the younger was about to marry the son of king John their lord. And it seemed to them all that profound peace would ensue, for they should be freed from all fear of the English; and as to the Portuguese, they should, as they said, make head against them very easily. Thus the ladies proceeded to meet king John of Castille at Burgos, who gave them a splendid and affectionate reception; the prelates and barons of the country were there also, who received them in a similar manner. So they were entertained in such a manner as was due to them; and the agreements before entered into, written and sealed, between John king of Castille and John duke of Lancaster were then confirmed. The duke of Lancaster, and his wife were to receive a yearly revenue of fifty thousand francs, for which four cities and the whole country of Medina del Campo were pledged; and further, the duchess of Lancaster was to receive for the support of her household sixteen thousand francs; and her daughter and the son of the king were, during the lifetime of the king, to be put in possession of the whole country of Galicia, and the young prince was to have the title of prince of Galicia†.

The marriage having been solemnised, and all contracts signed, the duchess left her daughter with the king and her young husband, who was then but eight years old. She took leave of the king to go to Monteil, as she had proposed, who had her attended by the greatest personages of his court. On her arrival at Monteil, such researches were made, that she discovered where her father had been buried, and had his bones taken up, washed and embalmed, and carried in a coffin to Seville, where the cavalcade was met by large processions from that town. The bones were conveyed to the cathedral, and there most reverently buried, with very solemn obsequies, which were attended by king John of Castille, his son, the young prince of Galicia, and the greater part of the prelates and barons of the realm. After the obsequies, each person returned home: the king of Castille, accompanied by his son and daughter-in-law, went to Val di Soria; but the duchess of Lancaster went to Medina del Campo, a handsome and large town, which now belonged to her by the late treaties of peace, and remained there some time.

We will leave speaking of her and of Castille, and relate the marriage of the duke of Berry, and other events which ensued.

* Charles II. king of Navarre married, in 1361, Leonora, daughter of Henry II. and sister of John, king of Castille.—ED.

† His title was Prince of the Asturias.—ED.

CHAPTER CXLII.—THE DUKE OF BERRY NEGOTIATES SO SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE COUNT DE FOIX, THAT HE SENDS TO HIM HIS COUSIN OF BOULOGNE, WHOM HE INSTANTLY MARRIES.

The duke of Berry, whose first duchess, the lady Joan of Armagnac, had departed this life, was very impatient to marry again; for no sooner was he assured of having failed in his proposals to the duke of Lancaster, than he set clerks to work, and, with proper messengers, sent to negotiate with the count de Foix for the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom he had had in wardship for nine years. Because the duke of Berry had no prospect of success but through the count de Foix, (who was of such a character that he would do nothing that was disagreeable to himself for either father, mother, pope, or any friend the young lady had,) he opened himself to his nephew the king of France, and to his brother of Burgundy, entreating them earnestly to interfere in the business. The king laughed most heartily at his uncle of Berry, who was now of a certain age, and said,—"My good uncle, what will you do with a young girl of only twelve years old, and you are sixty? On my faith, it is great folly in you to think of such things. Propose my fair cousin John, your son, to her, who is of a proper age, and a more suitable match." "My lord," replied the duke, "this has been proposed, but the count de Foix would not listen to it, because my son descends by the mother from the Armagnacs, and they are now and have been some time at war. If the girl is too young, I will spare her awhile, until she be a perfect woman." "Indeed!" said the king, "but, my bonny uncle, she will not spare you." He then laughingly added,—"However, since we see your love for her is so strong, we will cheerfully assist you in the matter."

Not long after this, the king ordered the lord de la Riviere, his first knight, steward of his household and chamberlain, to undertake a journey to Béarn, and with him the viscount d'Assy. The duke of Burgundy named, as envoys on his part, the bishop of Autun, and sir William de la Tremouille. The duke of Berry entreated a prudent and valiant knight, count John de Sancerre, to go thither on his part. These five knights, who were appointed to demand this young lady in marriage, for the duke of Berry from the count de Foix, left their homes, and were all to meet at Avignon. They staid with pope Clement, who was cousin-german to the father of the lady, full fifteen days, and about Candlemas departed, taking the road through Nismes and Montpellier to Toulouse.

They travelled, with great state and short journeys, unto Beziers and Carcassonne, where they found the marshal de Sancerre, who received them very magnificently, as was right. He conversed with them concerning the count de Foix, of his affairs and establishments, for it was not more than two months since he had returned from thence. From Carcassonne they went to Toulouse, and there remained while they sent messengers to the count de Foix, at Orthès. They opened their proposals of marriage, but distantly, for at the beginning the count was very cold, on account of the duke of Lancaster, who at the time resided at Bordeaux or Libourne, having made offers of his son, the earl of Derby, for the young lady of Boulogne; and it was thought, from the long time these lords remained at Toulouse, the marriage would not take effect. They regularly sent daily and weekly accounts of their progress, and what answers they received from the count de Foix, to the duke of Berry, who resided at La Nonnette* in Auvergne, and the duke, whose only anxiety was to bring the matter to a conclusion, repeatedly wrote back to press them not to desist until they had completed the business.

The count de Foix, who was wise and subtle, seeing the ardour of the duke, treated very coldly, and managed the matter so well, that, with the consent, and indeed at the entreaty of all parties, he received thirty thousand francs for the time the young lady had been under his care and wardship. He might have had a larger sum, had he demanded it; but he wished to show moderation, that he might have their thanks, and also that the duke of Berry should feel himself under some obligations to him. When everything was concluded,

* "La Nonnette," a town in Auvergne, election of Issoire.



Proclamation of the renewal of the truce between the Kings of France and England, after the King of France's recovery

the count de Foix sent the young lady of Boulogne to Morlans, escorted by five hundred lances, under the command of sir Espaign du Lyon, sir Reginald William, sir Peter de Cabestan, sir Adam de Cacasse, sir Manaut Nouilles, and sir Peter de Kes. She was there delivered, in the name of the duke of Berry, to the ambassadors from France, who were escorted by the marshal of France with five hundred spears, and there the two parties separated. Those from Foix returned home, and the French carried with them the lady.

The duke of Berry had sent to her his array of cars and horses, with every sort of dress and ornament for her head, as if she had been queen of France. I, John Froissart, the author of this history, took my departure from Orthès at the same time with her; for the count de Foix had told me, I need not be in a hurry to leave him, for he would take care I should return in good company. The duchess of Berry, for such I shall henceforth call her, continued her journey until she came to Avignon, when she dismounted at lodgings provided for her by the pope at Villeneuve, without Avignon. On the morrow, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, all the cardinals waited on her; when, having mounted a white palfrey the pope had given her, she crossed the bridge over the Rhône in great state, and waited on the pope at his palace at Avignon, who was seated in consistory on his papal throne to receive her. He kissed her on the mouth, on account of their relationship; and the duchess, with her company, then went to dinner at the hôtel of the cardinal of Turin, below the pope's palace, and there met a great company of cardinals. This was on a Tuesday: the following day the pope entertained her and her attendants at dinner; and this visit of the duchess, as I have heard say, cost the pope ten thousand francs.

On the Friday she supped at the palace, and took leave of the pope. On the Saturday she departed, and dined and lay at Orange. She continued her journey on horseback, or in a carriage, through Valence and Vienne, to Lyon, where she reposed herself for two whole days. On her departure she went to La Bresle, then passing through the country of Forêts, came to La Palisse, in Burgundy, then to Quissy, to Hanche-sur-Allier, and to Riom, in Auvergne, where she likewise remained two days before the duke of Berry arrived. He came thither in great state, the night of Whitsunday, and on that day, at two o'clock in the morning, he was married to her. The marriage was very magnificent, and there were present the count de Boulogne, the count d'Estampes, and the count dauphin d'Auvergne. The feastings and tournaments lasted for four days, and I, the writer of this book, was a partaker of them all.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—CERTAIN PRUDENT MEN NEGOTIATE A TRUCE, FOR THREE YEARS, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AND ALL THEIR ALLIES.

You have heard that a truce had been concluded with all the English garrisons, from the Loire to the country beyond the Garonne and Gironde, to last until Saint John the Baptist's day, 1389. During this time, some wise and great lords opened a negotiation for a general truce between France and England, on sea and land, for three years. It was the intention of these persons that all the allies of either side should be included in it, such as the kings of Castille and Scotland, the king of Portugal, and many barons of Upper Gascony. They had much trouble before they could accomplish this; for the Scots would no way listen to it, though, when the proposal was first made by the king of France to the king of Scotland, he himself had readily assented, for he wished not for war. He summoned, therefore, the prelates and barons of his realm, to lay the matter before them, as he could not agree to this truce for the kingdom without their consent; and, if he had, they would not have abided by it. The letters which had been received from the king of France were read in their presence, containing his wish that they would agree with him for a truce of three years. This intelligence was very disagreeable to them, and they said,—"The king of France seems to propose a truce, when it is the moment to continue the war: we have completely defeated the English at Otterbourne; and the season is not so far advanced, but that we may do it again and again." Many debates ensued, for they were very unwilling to accept of a truce. It was at length resolved to send a bishop and three knights to the king of France and his

council, to prevent the treaty from being further advanced, and to offer the friendship of the realm of Scotland.

The bishop of St. Andrews, sir Archibald Douglas, sir William Lindsay, and sir John Sinclair, were appointed on this embassy. They departed as speedily as they could, and, having landed at Sluys, rode on to Paris. They laid their credential letters, from the prelates and barons of Scotland, before the king of France and his council, and were readily listened to, from the great desire they had to prosecute the war against the English. But, notwithstanding this, the treaty was now so far advanced, that they could not retract: the Scots, therefore, had very civil answers given them; but the treaty was, of necessity, completed.

The truce was concluded, through the means of commissioners of high rank on both sides, who held their conferences at Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais. In it were included all the allies of France and England, who agreed to preserve the peace inviolate, by every means, public or private, for the space of three years. The commissioners from the king of France were the bishop of Bayeux, count Waleran de St. Pol, sir William de Melun, sir Nicholas Bracque, and sir John le Mercier, who resided at Boulogne. On the part of the king of England were the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, John Lanon, Nicholas de Gaberth, and Richard Roelle, clerk and doctor of laws, who remained at Calais. The place of conference, where they mutually assembled, was Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais.

At this period, there was much bustle in France and elsewhere, on account of the splendid feasts king Charles intended holding at Paris, on the entry of his queen Isabella, who had never as yet visited that city. Knights, squires, ladies and damsels made the richest dresses for the occasion; of all which I will give an exact account, before I say more of the truce that was fairly written out, and sealed by all the parties.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

FOURTH VOLUME

OF

THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

CHAPTER I.—FROISSART RELATES HIS TRAVELS AFTER HE HAD LEFT ORTHES.

You who take delight in this history must know, that on my leaving the castle of the noble count Gaston de Foix, I returned through Auvergne and France, in company with the gallant lord de la Riviere and sir William de la Tremouille, who had conducted the lady Jane of Boulogne to the duke of Berry in the town of Riom, where he had married her, as has been related; for, having been present at all these feasts, I may well speak of them. I went thence to Paris, where I met the noble lord de Coucy, one of my patrons, who had lately married a daughter to the duke of Lorrain.

The lord de Coucy entertained me kindly, and asked many questions about Foix, Béarn, pope Clement, and Avignon, as well as concerning the nuptials of the duke of Berry, and of a particular friend of his, and likewise one of my patrons, the lord Berald, dauphin of Auvergne. To all his questions I satisfied him as to what I knew, or had seen, insomuch that he was well pleased, and said,—"You shall come with me into Cambresis, for I am going to a castle the king has given me, called Crevecœur: it is two leagues from Cambray, and nine from Valenciennes." "The distances are very right, my lord," replied I, and accepted his offer. On the road, he told me, that the bishop of Bayeux, the count de St. Pol, sir William de Melun, and sir John le Mercier, were at Boulogne, by orders from the king of France; and that there were at Calais, on the part of king Richard of England, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, sir John Clambon, sir Nicholas Grandbourg, knights and chamberlains to the king of England, and sir Richard Rocharle*, doctor of laws; who had remained at Boulogne and Calais upwards of a month, waiting for commissioners from Scotland, "who were not arrived six days ago, as my cousin Saint Pol writes me word. The king of France has therefore written to king Robert of Scotland, to press him to accept of the truce, for the English will not consent to it unless the Scots be included."

Thus continuing our journey, we came to Crevecœur, where I remained with him three days to repose and refresh myself, when I took leave, and went to Valenciennes. After staying there a fortnight, I went to Holland, to visit my gallant patron and lord, the count de Blois, whom I found at Schoenhoven. He made me good cheer, and inquired after news. I told him enough of all I had seen or heard, and was with him upwards of a month, as well at Gouda as Schoenhoven, and then took leave to return to France, to learn the particulars of the conferences that were holding at Leulinghem, between the French and English,

* "Clambon,—Grandbourg,—Rocharle." These names are different in almost all the copies, MS. or printed. They are called Lanon, L'asnon—Gaberth, Gunboch—Roolle and Rohale. Lord Berners retains them as in the preceding chapter, but totally omits them in this. The treaty, which is at length in Rymer, has the names as follows. Those from France are also different from Froissart.

The bishop of Durham,—sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais,—sir John Devereux, steward of the king's household,—sir John Clanvow, sir Nicholas Dageworth, knights of the king's chamber.

and likewise to be present at the magnificent feasts that were to be given at queen Isabella's public entry into Paris, where as yet she had never been*.

To learn the most I could, I travelled through Brabant, and managed to arrive at Paris eight days before the commencement of the feasts. I had so much forethought, respecting the French and Scots lords who had been at the conferences at Leulinghem, that I made acquaintance with sir William de Melun, who related to me all their transactions, and that the count de St. Pol had passed over to England, to visit his brother-in-law, king Richard, and to have the truce confirmed, which was to last for three years; but he said he would be here at all events to partake of the feasts. I asked sir William,—"what lords the Scots had sent to the conference; for that in my younger days I had been in Scotland, as far as the Highlands, and as at that time I was at the court of king David, I was acquainted with the greater part of the nobility of that country." He told me, "that the bishop of Aberdeen, sir James and sir David Lindsay, and sir Walter Sinclair, were the commissioners for Scotland†." All this I carefully remembered, that I might enregister it in my Chronicle, with all I should see or hear at this grand feast of queen Isabella's entry, the arrangement of which was as follows.

CHAPTER II.—QUEEN ISABELLA OF FRANCE MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF PARIS.

On Sunday the 20th day of June‡, in the year of our Lord 1399, there were such crowds of people in Paris, it was marvellous to see them; and on this Sunday, the noble ladies of France who were to accompany the queen, assembled in the afternoon at Saint Denis, with such of the nobility as were appointed to lead the litters of the queen and her attendants. The citizens of Paris, to the amount of twelve hundred, were mounted on horseback, dressed in uniforms of green and crimson, and lined each side of the road. Queen Joan and her daughter§, the duchess of Orleans, entered Paris first, about an hour after noon, in a covered litter, and passing through the great street of Saint Denis, went to the palace, where the king was waiting for them, and this day they went no farther. The queen of France, attended by the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the duchess of Lorrain, the countess of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, with a crowd of other ladies, began the procession in open litters, most richly ornamented. The duchess of Touraine was not in a litter, but to display herself the more, was mounted on a palfrey, magnificently caparisoned.

The litter of the queen was led by the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon at the head; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the centre, and the lord Peter de Navarre and the count d'Ostrevant behind the litter, which was open and beautifully ornamented. The duchess of Touraine followed, on her palfrey, led by the count de la Marche and the count de Nevers, the whole advancing slowly, at a foot's pace. After her came the duchess of Burgundy and her daughter, the lady Margaret of Hainault, in an open litter, led by the lord Henry de Bar, and sir William, the young count de Namur. Then came the duchess

* Underneath is the translation of a note, vol. iii. p. 85. of M. Levesque's history of the five first kings of the race of Valois.

"One would be tempted to believe, from the recitals of our historians, that the queen, who had now been married four years, made this her first entry into Paris. It is a mistake. She was there in 1386, when Charles wrote to her, the 28th April, from Montdidier, to send to Amiens the amount of the taxes, and to hasten all the men at arms and foreigners that were intended for the invasion of England from Paris. He orders her at the same time to proclaim war against the Flemings and their allies. One may conjecture, from this letter, that he had entrusted her with the regency."

† The Scots commissioners are evidently wrong. The finest MS. in the British Museum has sir Archibald and sir William Lindsay, and sir John Sinclair. But in Rymer, there is mention only made of the archbishop of Glasgow and bishop of Dunkeld.

‡ "*June.*" My MSS. and that in the B. Museum have the 20th of *August.*

§ "*Queen Joan and her daughter.*" I suspect there must be some mistake, although this paragraph is in all the editions I know of, printed and MS.; but I cannot discover who these personages were, for all the queens of that name were dead, the last of them the preceding year, and the duke of Touraine, the king's brother, succeeded to the title of duke of Orleans on the death of Philip, in 1391: he had been lately married to Valentina, of Milan, who is mentioned afterwards as forming part of the procession.

of Berry, and the daughter of the lord de Coucy, in an open and ornamented litter, led by sir James de Bourbon, and sir Philip d'Artois. Then the duchess of Bar and her daughter, led by sir Charles d'Albret and the lord de Coucy. There was no particular mention made of the other ladies and damsels who followed in covered chariots, or on palfreys, led by their knights. Serjeants, and others of the king's officers, had full employment, in making way for the procession, and keeping off the crowd; for there were such numbers assembled, it seemed as if all the world had come thither.



Triumphal Entry of Queen Isabella into Paris. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

At the gate of St. Denis, that opens into Paris, was the representation of a starry firmament, and within it were children dressed as angels, whose singing and chaunting was melodiously sweet. There was also an image of the Virgin holding in her arms a child, who at times amused himself with a windmill, made of a large walnut. The upper part of this firmament was richly adorned with the arms of France and Bavaria, with a brilliant sun dispersing its rays through the heavens; and this sun was the king's device at the ensuing tournaments*. The queen of France and the ladies took delight in viewing this as they passed, as indeed did all who saw it. The queen then advanced slowly to the fountain, in the street of Saint Denis, which was covered and decorated with fine blue cloth, besprinkled over with golden flowers-de-luce. The pillars that surrounded the fountain were ornamented with the arms of the chief barons of France; and, instead of water, it ran in great streams of Clairé†, and excellent Piement‡. Around this fountain were young girls handsomely dressed, having on their heads caps of solid gold, who sang so sweetly, it

* Louis XIV. took the same device, with the motto of "Nec pluribus impar."

† "Clairé," or clairet,—light red wine.—Ed.

‡ "Piement"—is a liquor made of honey, wine, and different spices.—Du Cange.

was a pleasure to hear them; and they held in their hands cups of gold, offering their liquors to all who chose to drink. The queen stopped there to hear and look at them, as did the ladies as they passed by.

Below the monastery of the Trinity there was a scaffold erected in the street, and on this scaffold a castle, with a representation of the battle with king Saladin, performed by living actors; the Christians on one side and the Saracens on the other. All the lords of renown, who had been present, were represented with their blazoned war-coats, such as were worn in those times. A little above was the person of the king of France, surrounded by his twelve peers, in their proper arms; and when the queen came opposite the scaffold, king Richard was seen to leave his companions, and advance to the king of France, to request permission to fight the Saracens, which having obtained, he returned to his army, who instantly began the attack on Saladin and the Saracens. The battle lasted for a considerable time, and was seen with much pleasure.

The procession then passed on, and came to the second gate of St. Denis*, where, like to the first, there had been made a representation of a richly starred firmament, with the Holy Trinity seated in great majesty, and within the heaven little children as angels singing very melodiously. As the queen passed under the gate, two angels descended from above, holding an extraordinarily rich golden crown, ornamented with precious stones, which they gently placed on the head of the queen, sweetly singing the following verses:

"Dame enclose entre fleurs de Lys,
Reine êtes vous de Paris,
De France, et de tout le païs.
Nous en r'allons en paradis.

When they came opposite the chapel of St. James, they found a scaffold erected on the right hand, richly decorated with tapestry, surrounded with curtains, in the manner of a chamber: within which were men who played finely on organs. The whole street of Saint Denis was covered with a canopy of rich camlet and silk cloths, as if they had had the cloths for nothing, or were at Alexandria or Damascus. I, the writer of this account, was present, and astonished whence such quantities of rich stuffs and ornaments could have come; for all the houses on each side the great street of Saint Denis, as far as the Châtelet, or indeed to the great bridge†, were hung with tapestries representing various scenes and histories to the delight of all beholders.

The queen and her ladies, conducted by great lords in their litters, arrived at length at the gate of the Châtelet, where they stopped to see other splendid pageants that had been prepared for them. At the gate of the Châtelet was erected a castle of wood, with towers, strong enough to last forty years. At each of the battlements was a knight completely armed from head to foot; and in the castle was a superb bed, as finely decorated with curtains, and every thing else, as if for the chamber of the king, and this bed was called the bed of justice, in which lay a person to represent St. Anne. On the esplanade, before the castle, (which comprehended a tolerably large space) was a warren and much brush-wood, within which were plenty of hares, rabbits and young birds, that fled out and in again for fear of the populace. From this wood, on the side near the queen, there issued a large white hart, that made for the bed of justice; from another part came forth a lion and eagle, well represented, and proudly advanced towards the stag. Then twelve young maidens, richly dressed, with chaplets of gold on their heads, came out of the wood, holding naked swords in their hands, and placed themselves between the hart, the lion, and eagle,—showing that with their swords they were determined to defend the hart and the bed of justice.

The queen, the ladies and lords, having seen this pageant with pleasure, passed on to the bridge of Notre-Dame, which was decorated so handsomely, it could not be amended: it was covered with a starry canopy, of green and crimson, and the streets were all hung with tapestry as far as the church of Notre-Dame. When the queen and her ladies had passed

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, "that he thinks this gate was called la Porte aux Peintres," and was pulled down in the reign of Francis I. It was called Porte aux Peintres, because many painters resided near it. —Sauval.

† Denys Sauvage says, he means by the *great* bridge the bridge of Notre-Dame.

the bridge, and were near the church, it was late in the evening; for the procession, ever since it had set out from St. Denis, had advanced but a foot's pace. The great bridge of Paris was hung all its length with green and white sarcenet; but before the queen and her company entered Notre-Dame, she was presented with other pageants that delighted her and her ladies very much: I will describe them.

A full month before the queen's entry to Paris, a master engineer from Geneva had fastened a cord to the highest tower of Notre-Dame, which, passing high above the streets, was fixed to the most elevated house on the bridge of Saint Michael. As the queen was passing down the street of Notre-Dame, this man left the tower, and, seating himself on the cord, descended, singing, with two lighted torches in his hand, for it was now dark, to the great astonishment of all who saw him how he could do it. He kept the lighted torches in his hands that he might be seen by all Paris, and even two or three leagues off. He played many tricks on the rope, and his agility was highly praised.

The Bishop of Paris and his numerous clergy, clothed in their robes, were without the church of Notre-Dame, waiting for the queen, who was helped out of her litter by the four dukes, of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine and Bourbon.—When the other ladies had left their litters and dismounted from their palfreys they all entered the church in grand procession, preceded by the bishop and priests, singing aloud to the praise of God and the Virgin Mary. The queen was conducted through the nave and choir to the great altar, where, on her knees, she made her prayers according as she thought good, and presented as her offering, four cloths of gold, and the handsome crown which the angels had put on her head at the gate of Paris, as has been related. The lord John de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier instantly brought one more rich with which they crowned her.

This being done, the queen and her ladies returned to their litters, wherein they were seated as before; and, as it was late, there were upwards of five hundred lighted tapers attending the procession. In such array were they conducted to the palace, where the king, queen Joan, and the duchess of Orleans, were waiting for them*. The ladies here quitted their litters, and were conducted to different apartments; and the lords, after the dancing, returned to their hôtels†.

On the morrow, which was Monday, the king gave a grand dinner to a numerous company of ladies; and, at the hour of high mass, the queen of France was led by the before-mentioned dukes to the Holy Chapel, where she was anointed and sanctified as queens of France usually are. Sir William de Viare, archbishop of Rouen, said mass. After mass, which was well and solemnly sung, the king and queen returned to their apartments, as did the other ladies to theirs who lodged in the Palace. Shortly after the mass, the king, queen, and all the ladies entered the hall. You must know, that the great table of marble‡, which is in this hall, and is never removed, was covered with an oaken plank, four inches thick, and the royal dinner placed thereon. Near the table, and against one of the pillars, was the king's buffet, magnificently

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, that this queen Joan was the widow of Charles le Bel, and her daughter Blanche married to Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the late king John.

Froissart has mentioned them before; but the widow of Charles le Bel died, according to l'Art de Vérifier les Dates, at Brie-comte-Robert, 1370, and queen Isabella's entry was in 1389.

† Froissart having omitted a curious circumstance that happened at this entry of the queen, I shall translate it from Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denys.

"The king having heard what fine pageants were preparing, said to Savoisi, who was one of his valets-de-chambre, 'Savoisi, I beg that thou wouldst mount my good horse, and I will get up behind thee; and we will disguise ourselves so that no one shall know us, and go and see the entry of my wife.' Savoisi did all he could to dissuade the king from this, but the king would be obeyed. They therefore disguised themselves, and the king rode behind Savoisi to different parts of Paris.—They came to the Châtelet as the queen was passing, and the crowd was so great, that Savoisi got into the midst. Bailiffs, armed with staves, had been stationed there to prevent any harm being done to the pageant, who laid about them most lustily, to keep off the crowd. Savoisi and the king, still pushing forward, the bailiffs, who knew not the king, gave to each several sharp blows on their shoulders. In the evening, the king told the ladies what had happened to him at the Châtelet, and there was much laughing and joking on the occasion among them."

‡ "At one end of the hall of the Palace was placed a marble table that filled up almost the whole breadth of it, and was of such a size for length, breadth and thickness, that it was supposed to be the greatest slab of marble existing.

"It served, for two or three hundred years, very different purposes: at one time, for a theatre, on which the attorneys' clerks acted their mummeries, and at another for the royal feasts, where only emperors, kings, and princes of the blood were admitted, with their ladies: the other great lords dined at separate tables. It was consumed by fire in 1618."—*Sauval. Antiquites de Paris.*

decked out with gold and silver plate, and much envied by many who saw it.—Before the king's table, and at some distance, were wooden bars with three entrances, at which were serjeants at arms, ushers, and archers, to prevent any from passing them but those who served the table; for in truth the crowd was so very great, there was no moving but with much difficulty. There were plenty of minstrels, who played away to the best of their abilities.

The kings, prelates, and ladies, having washed and seated themselves at table, their places were as follows: the bishop of Noyon was seated at the head of the king's table, then the bishop of Langres, and then the archbishop of Rouen, by the side of the king of France, who was that day clothed in a crimson surcoat, lined with ermine, and the royal crown on his head. A little above the king was the queen, crowned also very richly. Next the queen was placed the king of Armenia, then the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, madame de Nevers, mademoiselle Bonne de Bar, madame de Coucy, and mademoiselle Marie de Harcourt. There were none others at the king's table, except at the very lower end, the lady de Sully, wife of sir Guy de la Tremouille. There were two other tables in the hall, at which were seated upwards of five hundred ladies and damsels; but the crowd was so great, it was with difficulty they could be served with their dinner, which was plentiful and sumptuous. Of this it is not worth the trouble to give any particulars; but I must speak of some devices which were curiously arranged, and would have given the king much amusement, had those who had undertaken it been able to act their parts.

In the middle of the hall was erected a castle of wood, forty feet high, twenty feet long, and as many wide, with towers at each corner, and one larger in the middle. This castle was to represent the city of Troy the great, and the tower in the middle the palace of Ilion, from which were displayed the banners of the Trojans, such as king Priam, Hector, his other sons, and of those shut up in the place with them. The castle being on wheels, was very easily moved about. There was a pavilion likewise on wheels, on which were placed the banners of the Grecian kings, that was moved, as it were, by invisible beings, to the attack of Troy. There was also, by way of reinforcement, a large ship, well built, and able to contain one hundred men at arms, that, like the two former, was ingeniously moved by invisible wheels. Those in the ship and pavilion made a sharp attack on the castle, which was gallantly defended; but from the very great crowd, this amusement could not last long. There were so many people on all sides, several were stifled by the heat; and one table near the door of the chamber of parliament, at which a numerous company of ladies and damsels were seated, was thrown down, and the company forced to make off as well as they could.

The queen of France was near fainting, from the excessive heat, and one of the doors was forced to be thrown open to admit air. The lady of Coucy was in the same situation. The king, noticing this, ordered an end to be put to the feast, when the tables were removed, for the ladies to have more room. Wine and spices were served around, and every one retired when the king and queen went to their apartments. Those ladies who did not lodge in the Palace returned to their hôtels, to recover themselves of their sufferings from the heat and crowd. The lady of Coucy remained in her hôtel until it was late; but the queen, about five o'clock, left the Palace, attended by the duchesses before named, and, mounting an open litter, proceeded through the streets of Paris, followed by the ladies in litters, or on horseback, to the residence of the king, at the hôtel de St. Pol. She was attended by upwards of one thousand horse. The king took boat at the Palace, and was rowed to his hôtel, which, though it was sufficiently large, there had been erected in the court, at the entrance leading to the Seine, an immense hall, covered with undressed cloths of Normandy, that had been sent from divers places: the sides were hung with tapestry, that represented strange histories, and gave delight to all who saw them. In this hall the king entertained the ladies at a banquet: but the queen remained in her chamber, where she supped, and did not again appear that night. The king, lords, and ladies, danced and amused themselves until day-break, when the amusements ceased, and every one retired to his home, each of them to sleep and repose themselves, as it was full time.

I will now speak of the presents the Parisians made to the king, queen, and duchess of Touraine, who was but lately arrived in France from Lombardy: she was called Valentine,

and was daughter to the duke of Milan. She had this year been married to the duke of Touraine, and had never been in Paris before this public entry of the queen: the citizens, therefore, were bound to bid her welcome. About twelve o'clock, forty of the principal citizens of Paris, all uniformly dressed, waited on the king at his hôtel of Saint Pol, bringing a present they had displayed through the streets of the town. Their gift was in a very richly worked litter, borne by two strong men, dressed as savages. This litter was covered with a transparent crape of silk, through which might be seen the magnificent things it contained.

On their arrival, they advanced to the king's chamber (which was open and ready prepared to receive them, as their coming was known, and welcome is always made to those who bring gifts); and, having placed the litter on vessels, in the midst of the apartment, they cast themselves on their knees, and thus spoke: "Most beloved lord and king, your citizens of your good town of Paris present to you the plate that is contained in this litter, as tokens of their joy that you have taken the government of the kingdom into your own hands." "Many thanks, my good people," replied the king: "they are fair and rich." The citizens then rose up, and having taken leave of the king, withdrew. When they were gone, the king said to sir William des Bordes, and to Montaigu*, who were then present, "Let us go nearer, and examine what their gifts are." They approached, and looked into the litter. I will now mention what presents it contained. First, there were four pots of gold, four saucers to match, four golden salts, twelve cups of the same, twelve porringers, and six dishes of gold also: the whole weighed one hundred and fifty marcs.

Another party of citizens, very handsomely equipped in uniforms of cloth, waited on the queen, and presented her with a litter borne by two men dressed, one as a bear, the other as a unicorn, which they placed in her chamber, and the citizens recommended their town and inhabitants to her protection. This present consisted of the model of a ship in gold, two large flaggons of gold, two comfit boxes, two salts, six cups, and as many saucers, all of gold: twelve lamps of silver, two silver basins, two dozen of silver porringers, the same number of silver cups: the whole weight of gold and silver being three hundred marcs.

The third present was carried, in like manner, to the chamber of the duchess of Touraine, by two men representing Moors, having their faces blackened, and richly dressed with white turbans, as if they had been Saracens or Tartars. This litter was ornamented and covered, like the others, with gauze, and accompanied by twelve citizens in uniforms, who presented the duchess with a ship in gold, a large flaggon of gold, two comfit boxes, two large dishes, and two salts, all of gold: six jugs of silver, and two dozen cups and saucers of the same: the whole weighing two hundred marcs. The duchess of Touraine was exceedingly pleased with this present, as she had reason, for it was very magnificent, and returned handsomely her thanks to those who had brought it, and to the good city of Paris that had given it to her.

Such were the gifts made this Tuesday to the king and queen of France, and to the duchess of Touraine. You may judge from them the liberality and riches of the Parisians; for it was assured me, the author of this history, that all these presents, which I saw, had cost upwards of sixty thousand golden crowns. When these ceremonies were concluded, the hour for dinner arrived; but this day the king and his court dined in private at their different hôtels, for at three o'clock the tournament was to take place in the square of Saint Catherine, where scaffolds had been erected for the accommodation of the queen and the ladies.

* M. Levesque says, that Charles owed his popularity to the wise choice he had made of the under-mentioned ministers. La Riviere, who had deserved the friendship of the wisest of kings:—Noviant, charged with the superintendence of the finances, was of the order of nobility, though without fortune,—and Montaigu, born in obscurity, raised himself by his talents;—but, above all, the duke of Bourbon, who had preserved his integrity, though he had been joined in the regency with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

"This John de Montaigu, grand master of the household, and superintendant of the finances to Charles VI. was accused of having robbed the king, and was condemned to be beheaded. This was done without the king's knowledge, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy and the king of Navarre. He was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, the 17th October, 1409, and his remains were carried to the gibbet at Montfaucon, where they remained hanging for nearly three years, since his body was not taken down until the 17th September, 1412, and carried to the convent of the Celestins of Marcoussi, which he had founded.

"Although he was executed without the knowledge of the king, he did not the less allow the confiscation of his property, to be given to Louis, duke de Guienne, dauphin.

"I was, however, informed by M. Perron, who has carefully applied himself to learn the particulars of the life of this lord, that his property was restored to his heirs."—*Menagiana.*

I will name the knights of this grand tournament, who were styled the Knights of the Golden Sun, which, although it was that day the king of France's device, was borne by others, who tilted in hopes of gaining the prize. These knights were thirty, including the king: first, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon his brother, sir William de Namur, sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir James de Vienne, lord d'Espaigny, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir William de la Tremouille his brother, sir Philip de Bar, the lord de Rochfort a Breton, the lord de Rais, the lord de Beaumanoir, sir John de Barbençon called the Ardenois, the halze of Flanders, the lord de Torcy a Norman, sir John des Barres, the lord de Nantouillet, the lord de la Rochefoucault, the lord de Garencieres, sir John de Harpedant, the baron d'Ury, sir William Marciel, sir Reginald de Roye, sir Geoffry de Carin, sir Charles de Changiet, and sir William de Lignac. All these knights were sumptuously dressed, and each had on his shield a splendid sun. At three o'clock, they entered the square of St. Catherine, where the queen had already arrived in a magnificent car, and the duchesses and other ladies in great state, and taken their places on the seats prepared for them. The king of France next made his appearance completely equipped for tilting, of which amusement he was very fond.

The justs now began, and were carried on with vigour, for there were many knights from foreign parts. Sir William de Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, tilted right well, as did those knights who had accompanied him, such as the lord de Gommines, sir John d'Andregines, the lord de Cantan, sir Ansel de Transsegines, and sir Clinquart de Herinno. Every one performed his part, in honour of the ladies; and the duke of Ireland tilted well: being then a resident at Paris, the king had invited him to the tournament. A German knight from beyond the Rhine, called sir Gervais de Mirande, gained great commendation. The number of knights made it difficult to give a full stroke, and the dust was so troublesome that it increased their difficulties. The lord de Coucy shone with brilliancy. The tilts were continued without relaxation until night, when the ladies were conducted to their hôtels.

The queen of France and her attendants were led back to the hôtel of St. Pol, where was the most magnificent banquet for the ladies ever heard of. The feast and dancing lasted until sunrise, and the prize of the tournament was given, with the assent of the ladies and heralds, to the king, as being the best tilter on the opponents' side, and the prize for the holders of the lists was given to the halze de Flandres, bastard-brother to the duchess of Burgundy. On account of the complaints the knights made of the dust which had prevented many from exerting themselves to the utmost at the late tournament, the king ordered the lists to be watereed. Two hundred water-carriers were employed on the Wednesday to water the square, but, notwithstanding their efforts, there was still a sufficiency of dust.

The count de St. Pol arrived this Wednesday straight from England, having made haste to be present at these feasts, and had left sir John de Châtel-Morant to follow with the treaty of the truce. The count de St. Pol was kindly received by the king and his lords: his countess, who had been near the person of the queen at these festivals, was rejoiced at his arrival. In the afternoon of the Wednesday, thirty squires, who had been in attendance the preceding day, advanced to the lists where the tournaments had been held, whither the ladies also came, in the same state, and seated themselves as before. The tilting was ably and vigorously kept up until night, when the company returned to their homes. The banquet this evening at the hôtel de St. Pol was as grand as the preceding one, and the prize was adjudged by the ladies and heralds to a squire from Hainault, who had accompanied the count d'Ostrevant, called John de Flaron, as the most deserving of the opponents, and to a squire belonging to the duke of Burgundy, called John de Poulceres, for the best tenants of the field.

The tournament was continued on the Thursday, when knights and squires tilted promiscuously, and many gallant justs were done, for every one took pains to excel. Night put an end to it, and there was a grand entertainment again for the ladies, at the hôtel de St. Pol, when the prize for the opponents was given to sir Charles des Armoyes, and for the tenants, to a squire attached to the queen, called Lons.

On the Friday, the king feasted the ladies and damsels at dinner, which was very splendid

and plentiful. Towards the end of it, as the king was seated at table, with the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the countess de Saint Pol, the lady of Coucy, and many more, two knights, completely armed, entered the hall, (which was very spacious, having been, as I have said, erected for the occasion) on barded horses, with lances in their hands. One was sir Reginald de Roye, the other sir Boucicaut the younger. Having tilted bravely for some time, they were joined by sir William de Namur, sir Charles des Armoyes, the lord de Garencieres, the lord de Nantouillet, sir John de Barbençon, and several others, who gallantly tilted for two hours before the king and ladies; and, when they had sufficiently amused themselves, they returned to their hôtels.

The ladies and damsels took their leave, this Friday, of the king and queen, as did such lords as pleased, and returned to their homes. The king and queen thanked very graciously such as took leave, for having come to this feast.

CHAPTER III.—SIR JOHN DE CHATEL-MORANT BRINGS FROM ENGLAND THE TRUCES FOR THREE YEARS, SEALED BY KING RICHARD AND HIS ALLIES.—LEWIS OF ANJOU, KING OF SICILY, IS BETROTHED AND MARRIED TO A DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ARRAGON.

After this grand festival, and when the lords and ladies, who had assisted at it, were returned to their castles, the lord de Châtel-Morant, whom the lord de Saint-Pol had left in England, arrived at Paris with the truces, signed by the king of England and his allies. He delivered to the king and his ministers the charter of the truce that was to last for three years, and read aloud its contents in the presence of the lord de Coucy, who was lieutenant for the king, to guard and defend all the country, from the Dordogne to the sea, including Auvergne and Limousin. All who should infringe, or any way break this treaty, or cause it to be broken, whatever were his rank, would be considered as a traitor, and incur punishment of death. The lord de Coucy had also a copy delivered to him, to show if necessary, to those garrisons of Ventadour, Chaluçet, Orbesi*, Donzach†, who were carrying on war under name of the English, that they might not have any cause of excuse, and incur the penalty, should they continue their warfare. The lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, had it in like manner read to him, and a copy given to him. This was very necessary; for he was lieutenant over all the country of Languedoc, from the river Rhône and Avignon, within which are many valuable estates and lordships, as far as the Dordogne. His government contained the seneschalships of Beaucaire, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Rouergue, Agen, Quercy, Bigorre, Perigord and Limoges, where were many forts and castles that minded not the truce, but continued to carry on the war, such as Châtel-Cuillier, and the strong castle of Lourdes, on the frontiers of Béarn, which kept the neighbourhood under continual alarms.

About this time there was a treaty of marriage on foot, between the lord Lewis d'Anjou, son to the late duke, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, and count of Provence, and the daughter of the king of Arragon. The queen of Naples went to visit the pope at Avignon, carrying with her the young lord Lewis, and there met the lord de Coucy, who was much rejoiced at her arrival. The queen was handsomely received by the pope and cardinals; of which she was indeed deserving, for she was an active bustling lady, and one who did not sleep over her interests. She entreated the lord de Coucy to escort her son to Arragon, and to remain with him until he were married. He replied—"Certainly, madam, there is not a voyage that, for seven years past, I would more willingly have undertaken than to Sicily and Naples, more particularly, in company with my lord your son, if I have the consent of our lord and king." "Many thanks, lord de Coucy," said the queen: "you show us your good inclinations; but, for the present, it will be sufficient if you will accompany our son to Arragon. The queen of Arragon will be very happy to see you, for your daughter is married to her brother, sir Henry de Bar."

The lord de Coucy cheerfully agreed to undertake this journey; and the king of Sicily, having made his preparations, took leave of pope Clement, and of his mother, with many tears. Their hearts were wrung, not indeed without cause, at this separation, for he was

* "Orbesi,"—Orbessan, a village in Armagnac.

† "Donzach,"—a village in Armagnac.

going to a far country, and it was uncertain when they should meet again. It had been settled, that instantly after the marriage had taken place, the young king and queen were to embark at Barcelona, and sail as expeditiously as they could for Naples or any other part of that country. The young king of Sicily was handsomely attended, and, having passed through Montpellier and Beziers, came to Narbonne, where he and his company were honourably received by the viscount. Having refreshed their horses for one day, they continued their route towards Perpignan, the first town of Arragon. News of his arrival had reached the court of Arragon, and the queen had sent proper persons to receive him and his attendants, and show them all respect, so that, wherever they passed, they were well entertained, and all their expenses paid. The viscount de Roquebertin and sir Raymond de Baighes were their conductors. They continued their journey until they arrived at Barcelona, where the king, queen, and princess were expecting them. The young king Lewis was very kindly received; and the queen was particularly pleased on seeing the lord de Coucy, and thanked her future son-in-law for having brought him with him, adding, that everything would fare the better for it.

The marriage was performed and consummated between these two persons; but as winter was approaching, the sea voyage was deferred, because at such a time the sea is stormy and dangerous. They said they would collect all the purveyances during the winter, and embark in the beginning of the ensuing month of March. The lord de Coucy was perfectly well received by the king and queen of Arragon; but, having had letters from the king of France, ordering him to return, he took his leave of them, and of the young king and the queen of Sicily, as well as of the lords of Arragon, and set out for France. If he had had time, he would have returned by Avignon; but he sent his excuses to the pope and queen of Naples, and went straight to Auvergne. At the time of this marriage of the king of Sicily with the princess of Arragon, many treaties were concluded between him and the Arragonians, who were to assist him with men and galleys in the recovery of his kingdom. They were to convey him to Naples, with two hundred spears, one thousand cross-bows, and the same number of infantry armed with brigandines, who were to serve him at their own charges, during the war, until he should have full possession of Naples, Sicily and its dependencies, la Puglia, Calabria and the city of Gaieta, the residence of Margaret de Durazzo, who claimed all these territories as her own.

When the sweet month of March was arrived, and the winds were become calm and the waters smooth, and the trees once more clothed in green, and all purveyances ready and embarked, as well as the men at arms who were to be of this expedition, the young couple took leave of the king and queen of Arragon. The queen with tears saw them depart, and recommended them to the particular care of the count de Roddes, a very valiant knight, and sir Raymond de Baighes. They promised special obedience to the queen's wishes, although the count d'Orghel and the count de la Lune were their superiors and had the command of the convoy.

There were on board these galleys fifteen hundred spears, two thousand cross-bows, and two thousand lusty varlets armed with pikes and shields. They were in such force the better to resist their enemies, and any adventurers they might encounter at sea; for the voyage from Barcelona to Naples is long, and Margaret de Durazzo, their adversary, might have had intelligence of their motions, and stationed a fleet accordingly: they therefore were desirous of having strength enough to oppose any she could bring against them.

We will now leave the affairs of Sicily, and return to those of France, which is our principal object, and to several other events.



The Marriage of King Louis Son of the Duke of Anjou to the Daughter of King Peter of Arragon.

CHAPTER IV.—THE KING OF FRANCE IS DESIROUS OF VISITING THE DISTANT PARTS OF HIS KINGDOM.—AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD DE COUCY, HE ORDERS THE DUKE OF IRELAND OUT OF FRANCE.

When the king of France saw that his kingdom was now at peace, in consequence of the truce with England, he had a great desire to visit the more distant parts of it, and particularly Languedoc. The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, at that time his most intimate advisers, urged him to visit the pope and cardinals at Avignon, who were desirous of that honour, and thence to go to Toulouse, saying that a king when young, should visit his realm to acquaint himself with its inhabitants and inquire how they have been governed, as it would redound to his profit and glory, and cause himself to be more beloved by his subjects.

The king was so inclined, and willingly attended to all matters of government. The lord de la Riviere, who was but lately returned from those parts, told him that his subjects in the seneschalships of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire, were impatient to see him; for that the duke of Berry, during his government of that country, had sorely oppressed them with taxes and other impositions, through the means of one of his familiars, called Bethisac*, who had pity on none, and that they were quite ruined. On this account, therefore it would be proper for him to go thither, and he could then summon the count de Foix, whom he was so anxious to see, to meet him at Toulouse.

The king having assented to this proposal, ordered immense purveyances to be provided for him on the road he was to travel. He signified to his uncle and aunt, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, that, as he passed through their lands, he should be glad to see their children, his cousins; and that he would bring with him his brother of Touraine, and his uncle of Bourbon. This news of the king's intended visit to Burgundy was highly pleasing to the duke and duchess. They had proclaimed a festival and tournament to be holden at Dijon, and sent invitations to the knights and squires of Savoy and the adjoining countries, who made their preparations accordingly. During the time all these different arrangements were making for the king's journey to Avignon and Languedoc, other events happened in France.

You have heard how the duke of Ireland, formerly earl of Oxford, had been driven out and banished England, for his demerits, by the power of the uncles of king Richard, but especially by the duke of Gloucester, who had been more bitter against him than all the rest; and how he had fled to Holland, and had remained a short time at Dordrecht, when he was forced thence by duke Albert, the lord of Dordrecht and Holland, who refused him a residence on his lands, from a wish not to act contrary to the will of his cousins in England, notwithstanding king Richard had written to him in his favour. The duke of Ireland, being forced to depart, went to Utrecht, where he resided some time, and might have staid there as long as he pleased; for Utrecht is a free town to receive whoever lists, if they pay for what they want, and this duke had a sufficiency of money; for he had received of the constable, sixty thousand francs, as the balance of the ransom of John of Brittany. You have also heard how the king of France had sent him passports to come to France, having invited him thither, and where he had remained for more than a year, the king showing him very great attention, because he was a foreigner.

* "John Bethisac was one of the chief advisers of the duke of Berry, and was accused with, Tiétac and de Bar, two other domestics of this prince, of having raised enormous levies from the Languedocians, over whom the duke was governor and, under his name of having committed great plunder and much violence, and of having put large sums into their own pockets. This report gave rise to the following pasquinade, that is even current in our times:

Tiétac, de Bar, et Béthisac,
Ont mis l'argent du roi au sac."

"Bethisac suffered the punishment of his crimes; but the duke of Berry having claimed him as his domestic, those who had sworn his ruin persuaded him to own he had erred in several articles of faith, which would cause him to be transferred to the bishop, and the duke could the easier save him. Crime often stupifies. Bethisac was simple enough to fall into their trap. The bishop of Beziers had him tried and given over to the secular arm as an heretic and sodomite. This wretch was burnt alive, which was, says Mézeray, a feu de joie for the people whom he had horribly tormented. History does not say whence he sprung, but probably he was of low origin who wanted to rise too rapidly."—*Dictionnaire Historique.*

There is nothing but what one is tired of. True it is, that, notwithstanding this duke was so well received by the king, the lord de Coucy mortally hated him, and not without reason; for although, in other affairs, he showed great good sense, honour and liberality, he had behaved infamously to the daughter of the lord de Coucy, whom he had married, and without any reasons, except temptation and deceit, he had divorced and taken another wife, who was from Bohemia, and one of the ladies attached to the queen of England. The king and queen had improperly and sinfully consented to this; and pope Urban had, at their entreaties, sent from Rome a dispensation for the marriage. This new marriage not only wounded the reputation of the duke of Ireland, but was the principal cause of his ruin.

The lord de Coucy was one of the king of France's council, and very deservedly in favour, from the services he had done, and was willing to do, his country: he therefore, with the assistance of his friends, sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, prevailed on the king to dismiss the duke of Ireland. Orders were, in consequence, sent him from the king, to choose any other residence but France, and that he should be safely conducted out of that kingdom. The duke of Ireland perceived they were tired of him, and that he ran daily risks, from the lord de Coucy and from his relations. He therefore thought it would be best for him to leave France as soon as possible, and retire to Brabant; and begged of the king to write to the duchess of Brabant, that he might live peaceably in her country. The king cheerfully complied with his request, and wrote to his aunt, the duchess, who at his desire assented to it.

The duke of Ireland was escorted by the king of France's officers as far as Louvain, where he fixed his residence: he went, indeed, at times, to a castle near Louvain, which he had borrowed from a knight of Brabant. The archbishop of York, who was of the house of Neville, lived with the duke, as he had been banished England for the same cause as himself. The archbishop's family were very powerful in Northumberland, from their property and connexions. These two lords, as I have heard, remained at Louvain as long as they lived, for they could never obtain favour with the uncles of the king of England, and there died. I never heard more of them.

CHAPTER V.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE VISITS HIS UNCLE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND POPE CLEMENT AT AVIGNON.

About Michaelmas 1399, the king of France set out from the castle of Beauté, near Paris, where he left the queen, and took the road to Troyes in Champagne in his way to Burgundy. He was accompanied by his uncle the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Touraine, the lord de Coucy and many other knights, and continued his journey until he arrived at Dijon.

The duke of Burgundy, and his son the count de Nevers, had gone as far as Châtillon-sur-Seine to meet the king. On his arrival at Dijon, he was received with every respect and affection by the duchess of Burgundy, the countess of Nevers, and all who had come thither to do him honour. From love to the king, many ladies and damsels, whose company he preferred, were come to Dijon, such as the lady of Sully, the ladies of Vergy and Pagny, and several others, handsome and gay, and richly dressed. The dancings and carollings instantly began: the ladies exerted their talents in singing and dancing to amuse the king, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Touraine and the lord de Coucy. On the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, were tilts gallantly performed, and prizes given to the most deserving. The king remained eight whole days at Dijon, thus amusing himself: on the tenth, I believe he took leave of the duke and duchess of Burgundy and their family. It was the intention of the duke of Burgundy instantly to follow the king, and remain with him; and, on this being settled, he departed from Dijon, having bidden adieu to the ladies and damsels.

The king continued his journey until he came to Villeneuve, near Avignon, where his palace had been prepared. The cardinals of Amiens*, Aisgrenel†, Saint Marcel‡, Neufchastel§,

* John de la Grange was minister of state under Charles V. who procured him the purple. He was covetous and ambitious.

† Not in the list of cardinals.

‡ Q. if not Marcellin.

§ John de Neufchastel, — created cardinal by pope Clement. For further particulars, see Morerl, &c.

and upwards of thirteen others, went out to meet the king, as they were rejoiced at his arrival. The duke of Berry was already at Avignon, and lodged in the palace of the pope; but he came to Villeneuve to meet his nephew, and fixed his quarters at the hôtel of Arras, called Amontais, on the road to Montpellier. The duke of Burgundy arrived the day after the king, at Villeneuve, down the Rhône, for at Lyons he had embarked on board a large barge.

These three dukes, being assembled, determined to accompany the king in his visit to the pope in his palace. Having had everything prepared accordingly, the king of France, attended by his brother, his three uncles, and twelve cardinals, crossed the Rhône at nine o'clock, and went to the palace, where pope Clement was waiting for him in full consistory, seated in his robes, on his papal chair.

When the king came into his presence, he bowed; and, when near to him, the pope rose up, and the king kissed his hands and mouth. The pope then seated himself, and made the king sit by him on a handsome seat that had been prepared for the occasion. The four dukes, after having kissed the pope's hands and mouth, seated themselves also among the cardinals. When these ceremonies were over, it was dinner-time: they therefore went into the other apartments of the pope and the hall, where the tables were spread. When they had washed, the pope took his place at a table alone, in much state. The king was placed at another table below that of the pope, and alone also. The cardinals and dukes seated themselves according to their rank. The dinner was splendid, plentiful and long. When over, wine and spices were brought; and the king then retired to an apartment that had been prepared for him in the palace, as did the dukes to theirs, for all of them had chambers, properly ornamented, provided for them, and which they inhabited as long as they staid at Avignon.

On the fifth day after the arrival of the king of France at Avignon, the young count de Savoye, cousin to the king, and nephew to the duke of Bourbon, came thither. The king was pleased at his coming, for he had seen him as he passed through Lyons, and had invited him to Avignon. The king of France, the duke of Touraine and the count de Savoye, being young and giddy, neither could nor would refrain from dancing, carolling and amusing themselves with the ladies and damsels of Avignon, though they were in the pope's palace and among the cardinals; and the count of Geneva, brother to the pope, was their master of the revels. The king made such magnificent presents to the ladies, that they all praised his liberality.

The pope and cardinals were much rejoiced at this visit of the king of France, as indeed they had good reason to be; for without his support they would have been in little estimation. There were no kings in Christendom who paid him obedience but such as were allied to France. The kings of Castille and Scotland acknowledged him for pope, as did the king of Arragon, through the intercession of the queen Jolande de Bar, who was cousin-german to the king of France, otherwise he would have remained neuter like his father. You may therefore suppose the pope and his cardinals were happy in receiving the king of France; for all they had to depend on was obtained through his favour. The king of France remained, I know not how many days, with the pope and cardinals, revelling and amusing himself. The pope, on this joyful occasion, gave pardons to the clergy who were in his courts, and plenary indulgences to all for one month to come. He likewise presented the king with the nominations to all his cathedrals and other churches, and in each church the reversion of two prebends, deferring all his former promises, that these now made to the king might have the precedency, which was fortunate for many of the French clergy, who were thus provided. He gave also reversions to the dukes of Touraine, Berry, and Burgundy, and the lord de Coucy, which threw back all those he had formerly promised; and the pope was so courteous and liberal on this occasion, that none went away discontented.

CHAPTER VI.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY TO THEIR HOMES, TO THEIR GREAT DISSATISFACTION, AND CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY FROM AVIGNON TO LANGUEDOC.

The king of France resided with the pope about eight days, during which time his holiness had fully discussed with him his situation, and what trouble the other pope at Rome gave him, in depriving him of his right, in the schism he caused in the church. The king was willing to do everything in his power to relieve him, and said that on his return to France, he would endeavour to provide a remedy, and exert himself to unite the church. Upon this he took leave of the pope, and went to Villeneuve, as did his brother and his uncles of Berry and Burgundy. The king entertained at dinner all the cardinals and the count of Geneva, after which he took leave of them, returning them his thanks for their attentions, saying, he should, on the morrow, begin his journey to Montpellier.

The cardinals having left the king, it was determined in council, that he should set out very early, in company with his brother and the duke of Bourbon. He took leave, therefore, of his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, bidding them return to their own estates, as he had not then any further occasion for them, intending to go as far as Toulouse, and summon thither the count de Foix to meet him. His uncles were much discontented at this order; but the king's council was at that time so formed, that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had no voice in it, nor weight, but in trifles. The government of Languedoc had been taken from the duke of Berry, and divided into séneschalships, which was not only more profitable to the king, but more agreeable to the country; for the duke of Berry, during his government, had grievously oppressed the inhabitants, by heavy taxes, as I shall more fully relate, for it is deserving to be detailed.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were very melancholy, when they found the king was determined they should not accompany him in his journey; but they dissembled their thoughts from all but each other, and thus conversed: "The king is going to Languedoc to hold inquisitions on those who have governed it, and to treat with the count de Foix, (who is the proudest person existing, and never loved nor esteemed, though neighbours, the kings of France, England, Castille, Arragon or Navarre,) and only takes with him la Riviere, le Mercier, Montaigu and the bègue de Villaines. What do you say to this, brother?" added the duke of Berry. "Our nephew is young, and if he follow young counsel he will be deceived, and the end will not be prosperous, as you will see. For the present, we must dissemble this affront; but the time will come, when those who have advised it shall repent of it, as well as the king. Let them go whither they please, in God's name: we will return to our own home; and, so long as we are united, they cannot do us any injury, for we are the greatest personages in France." Such was the language of these two dukes.

The king of France left Villeneuve early in the morning, for Nîmes, where he arrived to dinner; but his uncles and the lord de Coucy staid with the pope, at Avignon, four days longer, when they all separated, and each went different ways. The day the king dined at Nîmes, he lay at Lunel, and the next day dined at Montpellier, which was but three short leagues distant. He was joyfully received by the citizens, ladies, and damsels, who were desirous to see him, and offered him magnificent and rich presents; for Montpellier is a powerful and wealthy town, full of merchandise, and was much valued by the king, when he had considered its importance. The citizens told him, it had been infinitely richer than he now found it, before the dukes of Anjou and Berry had plundered it, as they had severally done in their turn. The king compassionated them much for the losses they had sustained, and promised that he would have every grievance reformed, and the government placed on a different footing. The citizens likewise addressed the king during his stay at Montpellier, saying,—"Sire, the poverty of this town is nothing to what you will see the farther you advance; for this place has many resources in its commerce, which the inhabitants carry on by sea and land. In the séneschalships of Toulouse and Carcassonne, and in that part of the country, where these dukes have laid their hands, there is absolutely nothing; for they have carried off everything portable; and you will find the inhabitants so poor that those who

were in good circumstances have not wherewithal to cultivate their fields or vineyards. It is melancholy to see them, their wives and children; for they had every year five or six taxes on their backs, and they compounded for a third, a half, and sometimes all their property was taken from them; and no sooner was one tax paid than another was demanded. These two lords, your uncles, since they have had the government of Languedoc, have collected, as the accounts will prove, upwards of thirty thousand francs, from the country, beginning with Villeneuve, near Avignon, to the Toulousain, as far as the river Garonne, and turning back by the river Dordogne. Since the departure of the duke of Anjou to Naples, this government has been given back to the duke of Berry, and he has more severely oppressed the country, which he found rich and plentiful: the duke of Anjou made only the rich pay, who were well enabled to do so; but the duke of Berry spares neither poor nor rich: he swallows up everything by means of one Bethisac, his counsellor and treasurer, who is a native of Beziers, as you will hear from the complaints the poor will make to you, in crying out for vengeance against him."

The king replied,—"May God forsake my soul, if I will not cheerfully listen to their complaints, and, before I return, provide a remedy for them. I will punish the wicked, and have an inquisition holden on the officers and servants of my uncles, who formerly have had this government; and those who have behaved ill shall be treated accordingly."

CHAPTER VII.—DURING THE TIME KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS AT MONTPELLIER, THREE OF HIS CHAMBERLAINS UNDERTAKE TO HOLD A TOURNAMENT NEAR TO CALAIS, AGAINST ALL COMERS.

The king of France resided at Montpellier upwards of twelve days, because the respect and amusements he enjoyed there from the citizens, ladies and damsels, pleased him greatly. Indeed, the king was at this time young and giddy: he therefore danced and carolled with these frisky ladies of Montpellier all night. He entertained them with handsome suppers and banquets, and presented to those most in his favour rings and clasps of gold. He acquired so greatly the love of the Montpellier ladies that some wished he had made a longer stay, for it was one continued revel and pastime the whole time he was there. You know, or must have heard it noticed, that the intercourse of young gentlemen with the fair sex encourages sentiments of honour and a love of fame. I mention this, because there were with the king of France three gentlemen of great enterprise and valour, which they were probably induced to display from that intercourse, as I shall relate.

The names of these three knights were, sir Boucicaut the younger, sir Reginald de Roye, and the lord de Saimpi. These knights were chamberlains to the king, and were much esteemed by him for their worth, for accoutring him so ably with his arms, and in other services, such as good knights owe to their lord. While they were at Montpellier amusing themselves with the ladies and damsels, they were called upon to answer a challenge in the course of the ensuing summer: the principal cause of this, as I was informed, was as follows.

During the reign of king Charles V. of happy memory, an English knight of high birth and great renown, called sir Piers Courteney, came from England to Paris to challenge sir Guy de la Tremouille, in a combat before the king and lords of France, and whoever else might wish to be spectators of it. Sir Guy de la Tremouille accepted the challenge; and the king, with the duke of Burgundy and many of the great barons, were present at this combat. I believe they only ran one course with the lance; for the king would not suffer more to be done, to the great discontent of the English knight, who seemed desirous of pushing the combat to extremities. He was, however, appeased by fair speeches, saying, he ought to be satisfied, for he had done enough; and he was presented with very rich gifts by the king and the duke of Burgundy *.

* Sir Piers Courteney is mentioned by Dugdale, vol. i. p. 639, to have obtained licence, in the 7th Ric. II. to send various presents to the king and lords of France, in return for the honours they had paid him in his combat with a knight of that country. This knight was probably sir Guy de la Tremouille. The licence is in the Fœdera.

Perceiving he could do nothing more, sir Piers Courteney set out on his return to Calais; and the lord de Clary, who at that time was a gay and lively knight, was ordered to escort him. They rode on until they came to Lucen*, where the countess de St. Pol, sister to king Richard of England, resided. The countess was rejoiced to see sir Piers Courteney; for before her marriage with the count de St. Pol, she had been united to his cousin the lord Courteney†, but he had died young, and the English called her lady Courteney rather than countess of St. Pol. While there, the countess, in the course of conversation, asked sir Piers what he thought of the kingdom of France: he replied,—"Certainly, madam, France is very extensive, rich and plentiful, and well guarded. In our country we do not form a true estimate of it." "And are you pleased with the reception the lords of France have given you? have they not entertained you handsomely?" "To be sure, madam, I am perfectly contented as to the reception I have had; but, in regard to the cause of my having crossed the sea, they have but shabbily acquitted themselves: and I must say, that if the lord de Clary, who is a French knight, had come to England, and challenged any one, however high his rank, it would have been accepted, and the terms faithfully fulfilled to his utmost pleasure; but this has been refused me. True it is, that sir Guy de la Tremouille and myself were brought into the lists; but, when we had run one course with the lance, I was stopped, and ordered from the king to attempt nothing more, for that we had done enough. I therefore say, madam, and shall say and maintain it wherever I go, that I have not met any one able to oppose me in arms; and that it has not been my fault, but rests solely with the knights of France."

The lord de Clary, who was present, marked this speech in his memory, and with great difficulty held his tongue, on account of having the English knight under his care. The countess of St. Pol replied,—"My lord, you will leave France with much honour, having complied with the request of the king of France, not to proceed further in your combat; for you would have been unable to do more contrary to his will. You cannot incur any blame in this matter; and all those on each side of the sea that shall hear it told, will give you more praise than blame: I therefore beg of you to rest satisfied." "Lady," said the knight, "that I will do, and not give myself any further care or trouble about it."

Here the conversation on this matter ended; and other subjects were discoursed on, during the day and night they remained. On the morrow, sir Piers Courteney took leave of the countess de St. Pol, who presented him with a handsome clasp of gold, and another to the lord de Clary, as being his companion, and because the English knight was under his care and escort. They left Lucen early in the morning, and took the road to Boulogne, where they lay that night, and the next day rode through Marquise to Calais. Between Boulogne and Calais there are but seven short leagues, and a good road; and at the distance of two leagues from Calais you enter on the territory of Melle, Oye, and Guisnes, which then belonged to the king of England. When they were near to Calais, sir Piers Courteney said: "Lord of Clary, we are now on the territories of the king of England: you have handsomely acquitted yourself, in escorting me; and I give you many thanks for your company."

The lord de Clary had not forgotten the speech of sir Piers to the countess St. Pol, in the presence of many persons; for it had made him sulky and full of anger, which although at the time he had not noticed as he thought it deserved, he was unwilling it should pass off unanswered; for he considered it as presumptuous, and dishonourable to the chivalry of France. Sir Piers had publicly declared, that he had purposely left England to seek deeds of arms in France, and had not found any one in that country willing to oppose him. The lord de Clary had therefore determined, in his own mind, that such expressions should not remain unnoticed. He therefore, on taking leave, said,—"Sir Piers, you are now on the lands of the king of England, whither I have escorted you, by orders of my king and my lord of Burgundy. You may recollect that, the day before yesterday, when we were in the

* "Lucen." Q. Luzeuz, a town in the comté de St. Pol.

† This person was Hugh Courteney, *son* of the earl of Devonshire; but he died before his father, and of course did not inherit the earldom. His widow Maude, daughter of sir Thomas Holland, married Waleran count de St. Pol.—Dugdale.

apartment of the countess de St. Pol, who entertained us handsomely, you spoke with too great latitude, as it seemed to me, and too much to the blame and prejudice of the French chivalry; for you said, you had come to the court of the king of France, and had found none willing to oppose you in arms: and you seemed to have it understood, that there was not a knight in France who dared to tilt with you three courses with a lance. I wish you therefore to know, that I (who am one of the smallest knights of the realm) offer myself, to maintain that France is not so devoid of knights, but that you may find many willing to accept your challenge; and if you will accept of me to this intent, either this day or to-morrow, I will meet you without hatred or any ill-will. It is solely with a view to defend our honour, and that you may not return to Calais or England, and boast you have defeated the chivalry of France without striking a blow: now, say whether you will accept my challenge or not." Sir Piers Courteney was ready with his answer, and said,—"Lord de Clary, you speak well: I accept your challenge, and propose that you be at this place to-morrow, armed as you please. I will be so likewise; and we will tilt three courses with the lance, by which you will recover the honour of France, and give me much satisfaction." "Agreed," replied the lord de Clary: "I will be here at the hour you shall appoint." The two knights then pledged their faith to each other for this tournament, and separated: the lord de Clary went to Marquise, which was not far distant, where he provided himself with armour, a shield, and lance. He was not long in doing this; for the knights on the frontier of Boulogne and Calais take care to have ample supplies. He did it all, however, as secretly as he could; for he was unwilling that too many should know and speak of it.

In like manner, sir Piers Courteney, on his arrival at Calais, was not unmindful of the engagement he had made. He had no occasion to seek either for armour or arms, for he had brought with him from England his own proper arms, which were good and strong.

At this time sir John Warnes* was governor of Calais, to whom he told the engagement he had made with the lord de Clary. Sir John replied, that he would accompany him, with some other knights of Calais. On the ensuing morning, the two knights met at the appointed place; but the English knight was better accompanied than the lord de Clary, for he had with him the governor of Calais. On their meeting there was not much conversation, for each knew what he was to do.

Both of them were strongly and completely armed, to abide the event, such as the fortune of arms should decide, and they were well mounted. They had their targets fast buckled on, and their lances given them, which were of sharp, well-tempered Bordeaux steel. Having taken their distance, they spurred their horses full gallop, against each other, but missed their strokes, which seemed to vex them greatly. On the second course, they met full; and the lord de Clary gave sir Piers so severe a blow with his stiff and well-tempered lance, that it pierced the target, and, entering deeply into the shoulder, struck him off his horse. The lord de Clary, having so ably tilted, passed on, and finished his career as an accomplished knight should, and remained quiet; but seeing the English knight was unhorsed, surrounded by his friends as he lay on the ground, and thinking that he might have wounded him, for his lance with the blow was shivered in pieces, rode towards him. The English advanced to meet him, saying he was not a courteous tilter. "Why so?" replied the lord de Clary, "Because you have thrust your lance into sir Piers' shoulder: you ought and could have tilted more liberally." "It was not my part to be over courteous; for I was ready prepared to meet with such an accident, or perhaps a worse, if it had so happened: but since he had such pleasure in justing, ask him, or I will for you, if he be satisfied, or wish for more." Sir John Bernes, upon this, said,—"No, sir knight: you may depart, for you have done enough." The lord de Clary went away with his company, and the English carried sir Piers Courteney to Calais, that his wound might be attended to and cured. The lord de Clary returned to France, expecting to receive great praise for the goodly act he thought he had done: but I will tell you how it turned out.

When it was made known to the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and their council, that the lord de Clary, in accompanying sir Piers Courteney, had fought with, and

* I cannot discover sir John Warnes, and must suppose it a mistake; for sir William Beauchamp was governor of Calais when the truce was signed. Lord Berners calls him sir John Bernes.

so dangerously wounded him, that he was in danger of his life, they were highly enraged against him, and in particular sir Guy de la Tremouille. They declared his conduct deserved at least confiscation of his lands, and perpetual banishment from the kingdom of France. Others, who were his enemies, said he had acted like an infamous traitor, in challenging and fighting a knight that had been placed under his guard by the king and the duke of Burgundy; that he was guilty of an unpardonable crime, and ought to suffer death.

The lord de Clary was summoned to appear, which summons he obeyed, and when brought before the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the council, was sharply reprimanded, for having dared to injure a knight who had come from foreign countries to the court of France to perform a deed of arms and gain renown, and had left that court with perfect satisfaction to all, and under his safeguard; notwithstanding which, he had on his return, at the boundary of the two kingdoms, challenged him to mortal combat, without having demanded permission of his sovereign, on whose territories he was: that this was a crime deserving the severest punishment, by which others might take example. The lord de Clary, on hearing this bitter reproof, was thunderstruck, for he thought what he had done deserved a contrary treatment. Having paused awhile, he said,—"My lords, it is indeed true that you intrusted to my care sir Piers Courteney, with orders to escort him as far as Calais or to the borders of the kingdom. Of this I have acquitted myself loyally and faithfully, which, if necessary to prove, I can readily do so from himself. It is also true, that on our road we visited the countess de St. Pol at Luzieuz, who received us very kindly. While there, the following conversation passed: The lady asked sir Piers, if he were contented with the lords of France, and what he thought of the country? The knight courteously replied, 'Madam, the state of France is rich, extensive, and plentiful. With respect to its lords, I am perfectly satisfied with the reception and entertainments I have had from them, excepting one thing. I have put myself to very great expense in my preparations and journey to Paris, to perform a deed of arms, but, when arrived there, found none willing to accept of my challenge.' My lords, when I heard this speech before such a lady as the countess of St. Pol, sister to the king of England, my blood boiled within me; but, with much difficulty I kept silence, because you had entrusted him to my care and protection; and I never gave him the least cause to suspect I was any way hurt by what he had said, so long as we continued together in France. But true it is, that when we were about to separate on the borders of the country of Guisnes, I reminded him of his expressions to the countess de St. Pol, which, I said, were neither civil nor honourable, as he seemed to wish it to be understood, that the chivalry of France was so much debased that he could not meet with any one who dared to fight with him: that I, as a knight of France, if such were his meaning, offered to prove the contrary, being unwilling that, on his return to England, he should have the power of renewing his boastings: that I was ready and desirous to afford him the pleasure of tilting three courses with a lance, either that or any future day. Certainly, my lords, I made this offer for the honour of the kingdom of France and its chivalry, who are here present: and it seemed to me, that he accepted my challenge with much joy, and fixed the meeting for the morrow, on the spot where we were speaking. He then went to Calais, and I returned to Marquise, where I provided myself with the necessary arms, as he was to do at Calais. On the morrow, according to our appointment, we met. He came well attended by some of the garrison of Calais, and some of the knights and squires of the borders came with me, such as the lord de Montcarel and sir John de Longvilliers. When we met, we had but a short conversation, and then tilted with spears of war, for we were both completely armed, to the best of our abilities. The fortune of the combat fell to me, for at the second course I drove my lance into him, and threw him on the ground. I then went to see what situation he was in, and if he wished to continue the combat. The governor of Calais told me that what had been done was sufficient, and that I might depart. This I did. You have ordered me hither, and here I am. I thought I had acted properly in support of the honour of the kingdom and its chivalry, and have related to you the exact truth. If I am to be punished for what I have done, I shall submit myself to the judgment of my lord the constable, and the marshals of France, and also to the evidence of sir Piers Courteney himself, with whose consent I have

fought this duel, and to the discretion of all knights and squires of honour in France or England, who may wish to attend to it."

The lord de Clary, having thus clearly exculpated himself, greatly softened the anger of those who had sent for him: but this did not prevent him from being committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time in much danger. His lands were seized, and himself on the point of banishment from France, when the lord de Coucy and the duke of Bourbon, who loved him, interfered, and with great difficulty made his peace, by means of the countess de St. Pol, who testified to the truth of what he had said, of the conversation that had passed at her house. On obtaining his liberty, he was addressed,—"Lord de Clary, when you challenged sir Piers Courteney to fight, instead of acting, as you thought, very gallantly, you behaved infamously; for he was under the protection of the king, and you had orders to conduct him in safety to Calais. You committed a great outrage, when you noticed, in the manner you have yourself declared, the conversation he held in joke at the countess de St. Pol's. Before you had proposed this combat, you ought to have returned hither to my lords, and have told them, that sir Piers Courteney had held such and such insolent language against the honour of the knights of France in your presence. They would then have ordered you how to act. Because, therefore, you have not done this, you have been thus punished. Be another time more discreet; and return thanks for your deliverance to my lord of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy: they have exerted themselves much to serve you, as has the countess de St. Pol; for that good lady took great pains that you should be acquitted." The lord de Clary replied,—"Many thanks, my lords;" adding, "I certainly thought I was deserving more praise than blame, when I acted as I did."

During the stay of the king of France at Montpellier, he gave a grand banquet to many ladies and damsels of that town; during which, all I have just related was talked over, and the cause was, that the three knights, who were desirous of holding the lists against all comers, wished to avoid falling under like blame to the lord de Clary.

Sir Boucicaut the younger, sir Reginald de Roye, and the lord de Saimpi, offered to hold a field of arms on the frontier of Calais, in the course of the ensuing summer, against all foreign knights and squires, for the space of thirty days, and to tilt with blunt lances or others. The king of France, as well as those present, thinking this proposal was rather presumptuous, remonstrated with them, and desired they would put down their challenge on paper, that if any improper language were made use of, it might be corrected; for the king and his ministers wished to examine it, being unwilling that any improper or unusual terms should be used. The three knights agreed that this would be right, and, in reply to the king, said they would instantly obey his commands. They ordered a clerk, with pens, paper, and ink, into another apartment, and dictated to him as follows:

"From the great desire we have to become acquainted with the nobles, gentlemen, knights, and squires bordering on the kingdom of France, as well as with those in the more distant countries, we propose being at St. Ingelvere* the twentieth day of May next ensuing, and to remain there for thirty days complete; and on each of these thirty days, excepting the Fridays, we will deliver from their vows all knights, squires, and gentlemen, from whatever countries they may come, with five courses with a sharp or blunt lance, according to their pleasure, or with both lances if more agreeable. On the outside of our tents will be hung our shields, blazoned with our arms; that is to say, with our targets of war and our shields of peace. Whoever may choose to tilt with us has only to come, or send any one, the preceding day, to touch with a rod either of these shields, according to his courage. If he touch the target, he shall find an opponent ready on the morrow to engage him in a mortal combat with three courses with a lance: if the shield, he shall be tilted with a blunted lance; and if both shields are touched, he shall be accommodated with both sorts of combat. Every one who may come, or send to touch our shields, must give in his name to the persons who shall be appointed to the care of them. And all such foreign knights and squires as shall be desirous of tilting with us, shall bring with them some noble friend, and we will do the same on our parts, who will order what may be proper to be done on either side. We particularly entreat, such noble knights or squires as may accept our challenge,

* "St. Ingelvere,"—a village in Picardy, near Calais.

to believe that we do not make it through presumption, pride, or any ill will, but solely with a view of having their honourable company, and making acquaintance with them, which we desire from the bottom of our hearts. None of our targets shall be covered with steel or iron, any more than those who may tilt with us; nor shall there be any fraud, deceit, or trick made use of, but what shall be deemed honourable by the judges of the tournament. And that all gentlemen, knights, and squires, to whom these presents shall come, may depend on their authenticity, we have set to them our seals, with our arms, this twentieth day of November, at Montpellier, in the year of grace 1389." Underneath was signed, Reginald de Roye, Boucicaut, Saimpi.

The king of France was well pleased with this courageous challenge of his three knights, and declared it should have his consent, if, on examination by his ministers, there was no fault found with the terms it was couched in. It was objected to by some, that it was wrong to fix the place for this tournament so near to Calais, as the English might think it was arrogantly and particularly aimed at them; and that all occasions of quarrel should be avoided, for a truce had been agreed to for three years between France and England. The king's ministers were one whole day considering the matter, without coming to any conclusion. Some of the most prudent said, it ought not to be allowed, nor the whims of wild young knights to be acceded to, for more evil than good might ensue from them. The king, however, who was young himself, greatly inclined towards them, and said,—"Let them perform their enterprise: they are young and courageous, and, besides, have vowed to do so before the ladies of Montpellier. We are desirous they should undertake it, and bring it to the happiest end they can."

When the king had thus declared his mind to the council, no one made further opposition, to the great joy of the knights. The challenge having been agreed to in the manner the knights had drawn it out, the king called them into his closet, and said,—"Boucicaut, Reginald, and Saimpi, be attentive in this your enterprise, to guard well your own honour and that of our kingdom: let nothing be spared in the state you keep; for I will not fail to assist you as far as ten thousand francs." The three knights cast themselves on their knees, and returned the king their warmest thanks.

CHAPTER VIII.—DURING THE KING OF FRANCE'S RESIDENCE AT BEZIERS, ACCUSATIONS ARE MADE AGAINST BETHISAC, TREASURER TO THE DUKE OF BERRY.—THINKING TO BE SENT TO THE POPE AND ESCAPE PUNISHMENT, HE CONFESSES HIMSELF A HERETIC AND SODOMITE, BUT IS TRANSFERRED OVER, BY THE OFFICIAL AT BEZIERS, TO THE SECULAR POWER, AND BURNT.

When the king of France had, for fifteen days or more, taken his amusements with the ladies and damsels of Montpellier, and his ministers, during that time, had attended to the state of the town, for that had been the cause of his coming, and had made many reforms and taken off several heavy taxes of which the inhabitants had complained, he graciously took his leave of the ladies, and one morning very early departed, following the road to Alipiam*, where he dined, and lay that night at St. Thibery†. On the morrow, after his morning-draught, he set off and came to Beziers, where he was received most joyfully; for the good people of that town, and the adjoining ones of Pezenas, Cabestan, and Narbonne‡, were anxious to see him, in order to make their complaints against an officer of the duke of Berry, called Bethisac, who had impoverished the country all around, by seizing whatever he could lay his hands on. This Bethisac had attended the king's company ever since he had left Avignon; but the king's ministers, who sought his ruin, never told him, "Bethisac, look to yourself, for very strict inquiries will be made into your management: there have already been made very heavy accusations against you to the king." But, on the contrary, they

* "Alipiam." It is Olipiam in the MSS. and Alpiam in Verard. Q. if not intended for Ville Airac, which is on the line from Montpellier to St. Thibery.

† "St. Thibery,"—a town in the diocese of Adge, near Pezenas.

‡ "Pezenas, Cabestan, and Narbonne," towns in Lower Languedoc.

made him good cheer, joked and laughed with him, and promised him increased honours, in which he was disappointed, as I shall shortly relate.



ENTRY OF CHARLES KING OF FRANCE TO BEZIERS. Designed from Illuminations of the period.

The king of France left St. Thibery at one o'clock in the afternoon, and between three and four entered the town of Beziers. He was met by the bishop and all the clergy in their robes, and the citizens, ladies, and damsels in procession: they formed a lane, through which he rode a foot's pace; and, as he passed, they all fell on their knees. In this manner was he conducted to the cathedral, and dismounted at the portico, where had been erected a rich altar, adorned with holy relics from the church. The king, having on his knees very devoutly made his prayers at this altar, was conducted into the church by the bishop of Beziers and the duke of Bourbon, followed by all the great lords. He remained in the church about half an hour, and then went to the palace that was adjoining, where he, his brother the duke of Touraine, and his uncle the duke of Bourbon, were lodged. The other lords were lodged in the town, which was of a sufficient size, for Beziers is a large city.

The king was for three days revelling with the ladies and damsels of Beziers, before any notice was taken of Bethisac; but the inquisitors who had been appointed to make inquiries concerning him were not idle, but did their office secretly, and discovered many atrocious acts deserving the severest punishment. On the fourth day, Bethisac was summoned before the council, and shut up in a chamber for his examination. He was ordered to make answer to the following accusations, and was shown at the same time a number of complaints and petitions that had been presented to the king at Beziers, accusing him of weak management and such great extortions as made the whole country cry out against him. All these were read in his presence. To some he gave satisfactory answers, to others not, saying he had no knowledge of them, and referring them to the séneschals of Beaucaire and Carcassone, and to the chancellor of Berry. They concluded this examination by telling him, it was necessary to commit him to prison until he should clear himself from these heavy charges. This he obeyed, for he could not help it; and, as soon as he was gone, the inquisitors went to his house, and seized all his papers and accounts of whatever things he had been concerned in, carrying them away to search into them more at leisure. They discovered a variety of

transactions and accounts of large sums that he had extorted from these countries. He was asked, if these accounts were just, and what had become of the large sums he had received; he answered, "that the accounts were just; that the whole amount had been paid to his lord of Berry, and had passed through his hands, or those of other treasurers, for which he had received legal acquittances, that were in such a place of his house." Persons were sent thither, who laid them before the council: and they were found, on comparing them, to tally tolerably well with the accounts of receipt.

The inquisitors and the council were satisfied, and Bethisac was no longer closely confined. The council conferred together, and said,—"Bethisac is clear from this accusation; for it is apparent, that all the sums the people complain of having been exacted from them have been paid to the duke of Berry. How can we help it if these sums have been extravagantly spent?" Bethisac's defence was nothing but the truth; for this duke of Berry was the most covetous man alive, and if he could only get money, cared not by what means; and when he had it, he miserably expended it, like many of the present and past times.

The king's ministers found nothing in the conduct of Bethisac that was deserving death. All, however, were not of this opinion; for some of them said,—"Bethisac has made such cruel levies, and so impoverished the people, to gratify the passions of my lord of Berry, that the blood of these poor creatures cries out loudly against him; for that he being the only one from those parts of the duke's council, and knowing the poverty of the country, should have remonstrated with the duke, and if he refused to listen to him, he should have come and informed the king and council of the situation of the country, and of the duke's intentions: proper measures would then have been taken, and himself exculpated for the large sums he was now accused of having amassed."

In consequence, Bethisac was remanded before the council, and again more closely examined, touching the expenditure of the great sums that had been raised and paid to the duke of Berry; for they had found the amount to be three millions of francs. He replied,—"My lords, I cannot make out any clearer account of this: the duke has laid out large sums in the reparations of his castles and houses, in the purchase of lands in the county d'Estampes, from the count de Boulogne, and in jewels; and you know he is very careless in such purchases. His establishments, which were very great before, have been much increased; and he has made such presents to Thibaut and Morinot, and the valets about his person, that they are become very rich." "And you, Bethisac," asked the council, "have you been well paid for the pains and services you have done him? one hundred thousand francs is a pretty tolerable recompense." "My lords," said Bethisac, "I am very well satisfied with what my lord of Berry has given me; for he wishes all his people to be rich." "Ha, Bethisac," replied the council, "you now talk like a fool: riches, ill acquired, are neither honourable nor profitable. You must return to prison, and we will consider what you have now told us, and wait there the king's pleasure, to whom we will report everything you have said in your defence." "My lords," replied Bethisac, "God assist me!"

He remained in prison four days without being noticed by the council. When it was known in the country that Bethisac had been arrested and thrown into prison, and that an inquisition was holding on his conduct; and that whoever had any complaints to make should come forward; numbers hastened to Beziers, and presented petitions and accusations of heavy charges against Bethisac at the king's palace. Some complained that he had robbed them of their lands without cause; others of the violences he had committed on their wives and daughters. In short, the complaints were so numerous, that the king's council were tired of hearing them: they plainly showed how much he was hated by the people, which arose from the great exertions he had made to fill the purse of the duke of Berry.

The council were embarrassed to know how to act; for the duke of Berry had sent to Beziers two knights, the lord de Nantouillet and sir Peter Mespin, with credential letters to the king. These knights avowed, in the name of the duke, all the acts Bethisac had committed, as done by his command, and claimed, at the same time, the person of Bethisac, that they might conduct him to his lord, the duke of Berry. The king, from the many infamous stories he had heard of Bethisac, hated him, and he and his brother were inclined to have him put to death: but the council dared not condemn him, as they too much feared

the duke of Berry. They said to the king,—" In case my lord of Berry takes on himself all the acts of Bethisac, whatever they may deserve, we do not see that, with any plea of justice, we can put him to death. For at the time when he raised all these vast sums, by harassing the people with taxes, levies, and subsidies, the duke of Berry acted as if he were king, with the same royal power you have at this moment. We can, however, do one thing, as a punishment for his crimes: we may take possession of all his goods, moveable and immoveable, and reduce him to the state in which the duke of Berry found him, and distribute these among such as have suffered the most from his wickedness."

Why should I make a longer story of it? Bethisac was on the point of escaping with the loss indeed of his fortune, when other events happened that I will relate. I know not, nor have ever been able to learn but from his own confession, whether he was or was not guilty of the crimes he accused himself of. He declared he had been for a long time a heretic, and had done many horrid and wicked deeds. According to the information I had, some persons visited him by night in his prison, and, to frighten him, said, " Bethisac, you are in an unfortunate situation; for the king of France, his brother, and the duke of Bourbon, are determined on your death; and they have had so many accusations against your conduct, when you formerly governed Languedoc, that they judge you deserving the gallows, and you will not escape with the confiscation of your wealth. This has been offered to the king; but he hates you mortally, and refused it, saying, that both your property and your body too was forfeited to him, and you should not long remain confined. We tell you this, that you may consider and make the best use of your time; for to-morrow you will be brought from prison, and, from the appearances we have observed, we suppose you will be condemned to death. This speech greatly terrified Bethisac, who exclaimed, " Ah, holy Mary! are there no means to avoid this?" " Yes," replied they: " say to-morrow that you wish to speak to the council: they will either come or send for you. When in their presence, say, ' My lords, I fear I have greatly offended God, and for this offence am I now suffering under these slanderous reports.' They will ask what you mean. Reply, that you have for a long time erred from the faith, and that you are a heretic. Keep steady to this declaration. The bishop of Beziers, when he hears this, will claim you to be given up to him. This will be instantly complied with, for such cases devolve to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. You will be sent to Avignon, where no one will venture to accuse you in opposition to the duke of Berry, whom the pope dare not anger. By this means you will escape, without loss of life or fortune; but, if you hesitate in taking advantage of the earliest opportunity, to-morrow you will be hanged: for the king hates you from the clamour of the people, with whom you know how unpopular you are."

Bethisac unfortunately believed all this false information that had been given to him, for those who are in peril of their lives are much confused in mind: he said,—" You are my good friends who thus kindly advise me, and may God reward you for it! The time may perhaps come when I shall be enabled to thank you otherwise than by words." Upon this, his visitors departed. When morning came, Bethisac called the gaoler, and said,—" My friend, I beg of you to go, or send, to such and such persons," whom he named, in the number of his inquisitors. He replied, he would do so; and they were informed, that Bethisac wanted to speak with them in his prison. They hastened thither, in the hope that they were already acquainted with the purport of his sending for them. When arrived, they asked what he wanted: he answered,—" My fair sirs, I have had time to examine the state of my conscience; and I fear I have greatly offended God, by having for a long time erred in my faith; for I do not believe one word of the Trinity, nor that the son of God has ever deigned to debase himself by descending from Heaven, and putting on the human form by being born of woman. I believe likewise, that when we die, our soul dies with us." " By holy Mary, Bethisac," replied the informers, " you do indeed err greatly against the church: consider well what you have said, for your speech deserves the flames." " I know not," answered Bethisac, " whether my speech deserves fire or water, but such have been my opinions ever since I came to understanding, and such will they continue as long I live."

The inquisitors were so rejoiced at what he had said, that they would not for the present listen to more, but, on their departure, strictly charged the gaoler not to admit to him man

or woman, lest he should retract his opinions, and hastened to lay before the council what they had heard. They went to the king, in his chamber, and reported what Bethisac had declared. He was greatly astonished, and said,—"We order him to be put to death: he is a wicked wretch, a heretic and thief. We will, that he be burnt and hanged, that he may have the reward he deserves; nor for anything my uncle of Berry shall say, will I pardon him."

News was soon spread through Beziers and other places, that Bethisac had of his own free will, without the least constraint, confessed himself a heretic and had long followed the doctrines of the Bulgarians*, and that the king had condemned him to be burnt and hanged. The inhabitants of Beziers were pleased at this, for he was much hated by them. The two knights from the duke of Berry were thunderstruck, and knew not how to act: at length sir Peter Mespin, addressing himself to the lord de Nantouillet, said,—"I suspect that Bethisac has been betrayed, and that some one, who has been to see him in prison, has frightened him, and advised him to accuse himself; and that, if he persist in owning himself guilty of these horrible and infamous crimes, the church will claim him to be tried according to its canons, and he will be delivered up to the pope at Avignon. Ah, the blockhead will be deceived! for I have already heard the king has declared he shall be burnt and hanged. Come, let us hasten to his prison, and remonstrate with him on his folly, and make him retract all he has said, for he has been betrayed by false friends."

The two knights immediately went from their lodgings to the prison, and demanded from the gaoler to speak with Bethisac. The gaoler excused himself, saying,—"My lords, I am particularly ordered, as well as these four serjeants at arms, who have been sent hither by the king, not to suffer any one to converse with the prisoner, under pain of our lives; and this command of the king we dare not disobey." The knights perceived all further attempt would be vain, for it was over with Bethisac, and that he must die for the crimes of which he had been wickedly induced to accuse himself. They then returned to their inn, paid their expenses, mounted their horses, and set out on their return to the duke of Berry.

The end of Bethisac was, that about ten o'clock in the morning of the next day he was carried from prison to the palace of the bishop, where were assembled his judges and the official of the bishop's court. The bailiff of Beziers, under whose care he had been committed prisoner, said to the officers of the bishop, "Here is Bethisac, whom we deliver to you as a Bulgarian, a heretic, and one erring greatly against the faith, who, had he not been a clerk, should have been punished by us according to his deserts." The official demanded if he were such a person as he had been represented, and that he would, in the hearing of the people, avow or deny it. Bethisac, who expected to escape by confessing himself guilty, replied, that the charges were true. He was thrice asked this question, and thrice acknowledged it aloud. You may suppose how grossly he must have been deceived: had he kept firm to the defence he had made to the accusations brought against him, he would have been acquitted; for the duke of Berry had taken upon himself all the charges of extortion, in raising the taxes in Languedoc. Fortune, one may conclude, played him this trick; and when he was seated, as he thought, on the top of her wheel, she suddenly turned it round and whirled him in the dirt, as she has done to thousands since the world began.

Bethisac was, by the official, given over to the bailiff of Beziers, who, in temporal matters, governs for the king: without delay, he led him to the square before the palace, and made such haste, that Bethisac had no time to make any defence, nor retract what he had said; for when he saw the fire, and that he was put into the hands of the executioner, he was affrighted, and perceived that he had been betrayed. He called aloud to be heard, but no attention whatever was paid to him: he was told,—"Bethisac, the order is given, and you must die: your evil deeds have brought you to a disgraceful end." Much haste was made, for the fire was lighted; and they had erected a gallows and a post, with a large collar and chain: they opened the collar by a hinge, and closed it again, when round his neck, and

* This name was given to the Manicheans. Their doctrines had passed from Greece into Bulgaria, from whence they had spread over Europe: hence the name of *Boulgres* or Bulgarians was given to those whom the church of Rome called heresiarchs. The Albigenses had in the preceding century been distinguished by this name.—Ed.

dragged him to the post, fastening him thereto with the chain. He cried aloud, saying,—"Duke of Berry, they wrongfully and treacherously are putting me to death." The moment he was fastened to the stake, they covered him with dry faggots, to which they set fire; and thus was Bethisac burnt, and his bones hanged: the square being in front of the palace, the king of France, if he pleased, might have witnessed it from the windows of his apartments. Such was the miserable end of Bethisac; and the people revenged on him the many great vexations and violences he had committed during the time he governed Languedoc*.

CHAPTER IX.—WHEN THE KING OF FRANCE IS AT TOULOUSE, HE SUMMONS THE COUNT DE FOIX, WHO, ON HIS ARRIVAL, PAYS HIM HOMAGE FOR HIS COUNTY OF FOIX.

The king of France did not remain long in Beziers after this severe act of justice, but set out with his array, taking the road towards Carcassone. Since he had left Avignon, he had been always attended by his marshal, sir Lewis de Sancerre. The king did not follow the straight road, but visited different towns, such as Cabestan†, Narbonne‡, Lymoux§, Montroyal‖, and Fougans, thence he returned to Carcassone, where he resided four days. On his departure, he passed through Ville-franche¶, Avignonet** and Mont-giscard††, in his way to Toulouse. The inhabitants of this city, being anxious to see him, went out in grand procession, handsomely dressed, and escorted him with much pomp to the castle of Toulouse. The citizens of the town, which is rich and important, made the king such presents, on his arrival, as well pleased him.

When the king had refreshed himself, for three days, in Toulouse, he was advised to summon the count de Foix, who had left Béarn, and fixed his residence at a town in Foix, called Mazeres, fourteen leagues from Toulouse; for he had received information of the king's arrival at Toulouse, and of his intention to summon him. The marshal of France and the lord de la Riviere, were ordered to wait on the count, who, setting out on a Wednesday after dinner, arrived at a tolerably good town in the Toulousain, called Isle Jourdain‡‡, and on the morrow, by dinner-time, came to Mazeres. The count de Foix, on learning their arrival, received them kindly, from his affection to the king, and from his former acquaintance with them.

The marshal, addressing him, said,—"My lord of Foix, our very dear lord, the king of France, sends us to invite you to come to Toulouse; otherwise, so great is his desire to see you, that he will do his utmost to visit you in your own country." The count replied,—"Sir Lewis, I will not give the king the trouble of coming to me; for it is more becoming that I wait on him. You will tell him, therefore, if you please, from me, that I will be in Toulouse within four days." "It is well said," replied the knight: "we will return, and carry him this your answer." "That you may boldly do," said the count; "but not to-day; for you shall now stay with me, as I am heartily glad to see you both; and in the morning you shall set out on your return." The two knights remained with the count, who was in the highest good humour, that day and night, and they conversed on various subjects. The count was a wise and prudent man, and had a talent of drawing from any person with whom he conversed, be his station what it might, his most private thoughts. At bed-time, they took leave of the count, intending to set out very early in the morning for Toulouse, which they did, and I believe performed the journey in one day. On their return,

* Don Vaissette, in his history of Languedoc, gives very satisfactory reasons, to show that 'Froissart was mistaken as to the time of Bethisac's execution, which took place the 22d December, 1389, at Toulouse, some months after the king had left Beziers. For further particulars, I refer to that history.

† "Cabestan,"—a town in lower Languedoc, diocese of Nîmes.

‡ "Narbonne,"—a large city in lower Languedoc.

§ "Lymoux,"—a city in upper Languedoc, five leagues from Carcassone.

‖ "Mont-royal." Q.

¶ "Ville franche,"—a town in upper Languedoc, diocese of Alby.

** "Avignonet,"—a town in upper Languedoc, diocese of St. Papoul.

†† "Montgiscard,"—a town in upper Languedoc, three leagues from Toulouse.

‡‡ "Isle Jourdain,"—a town in Armagnac, six leagues from Toulouse.

they found the king playing at chess with the duke of Bourbon, who, on seeing them, called out, "Well, what news? Will the count de Foix come or not?" "Yes, sire," replied la Riviere: "he has a very earnest desire to come to you, and will be here within four days." "Well," said the king, "we shall be very happy to see him."

The two knights then left the king to continue his game, and went to sup and refresh themselves, for they had rode a long day's journey. The count de Foix, who resided at Mazeres, was not forgetful of the journey he was to make; and his preparations were soon ready, for he had given orders on that head when he had first heard of the king's coming to Toulouse. He sent forward to Toulouse purveyances in abundance, suitable to his rank, and had ordered two hundred knights and squires from Béarn to attend him. On the day the count had fixed for his arrival at Toulouse, he entered the city with upwards of six hundred horse, and well accompanied by knights and squires of his vassalage. Among them were, sir Roger d'Espaign his cousin, the lord de Corasse, the lord de Valentin, the lord de Quer, the lord de Baruge, sir Espaign du Lyon, the lord de Roquepaire, the lord de Lane, the lord de Besach, the lord de Perle, sir Peter de Cabestain, sir Menaut de Noailles, sir Richard de la Mothe, sir Arnold de Saint Basile, with many others. He was also attended by his two brothers, sir Peter and sir Arnold de Béarn, and his two bastard sons, whom he affectionately loved, sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix. The count had intentions of settling on these two sons the greater part of Béarn, which, being free land and dependent on no one but God, he could dispose of as he pleased.

The count de Foix dismounted at the convent of the Friar Preachers, where he and his household were lodged; and his people quartered themselves as near him as they could. The citizens of Toulouse showed much joy at the arrival of the count de Foix, for they loved him from his being so kind a neighbour, and never suffering any of his people to make war or commit any violence on their country. They presented him with the finest wines, and so many other things, that he was well contented with them. He made his entry into Toulouse rather late in the evening, and remained all that night in his lodgings. On the morrow, about ten o'clock, he mounted his horse, as did those who were to attend him to the king, consisting of more than two hundred knights, all men of distinction; and in this state he paraded through the streets of Toulouse to the castle, where the king resided. He dismounted in the court within the first square of the castle, where servants took and held their horses.

The count and his company ascended the steps of the great hall, whither the king had gone from his chamber to wait his arrival; for he was very anxious to see him for the gallant actions he had performed, and on account of his fair reputation. The count de Foix, who was very handsome in person and in countenance, entered the hall bareheaded (for he never wore a cap), with his hair scattered about: when he perceived the king, his brother, uncle, and the lords of France, in the act of doing the king honour, and not till then, he bended very low on one knee: he afterwards rose up, advanced, and knelt a second time close to the king, who raised him up with his hand, and embraced him, saying, "Fair cousin of Foix, you are welcome, for your visit has greatly rejoiced us." "My lord," replied the count, "I thank you much for what you are pleased to say." They had a long conversation together, until dinner-time arrived, but I neither heard the words nor the subject. Water being brought, they washed, and seated themselves at table. The archbishop of Toulouse was seated at the head of the king's table, next to him the king, then his uncle the duke of Bourbon, then the count de Foix, the counts de la Marche and de Vendôme, and none others. At the second were seated, the lord Charles d'Albret, the count de Harcourt, the lord Philip de Bar, and four other knights attached to the count de Foix. At another table were placed, the marshal de Sancerre, sir Roger d'Espaign, and eight of the count's knights. This dinner was magnificent and splendid in all respects. When they had dined, the tables were removed; and, grace being said, they amused themselves in various ways. The king and the lords were on their feet nearly two hours, in the presence chamber, listening to the minstrels, for the count de Foix took delight in them.

After this, wine and spices were brought, and the comfit box was presented solely to the king by the count de Harcourt. Sir Gerard de la Pierre did the same to the duke of

Bourbon, and sir Menaut de Noailles to the count de Foix*. When this was done, it was about four o'clock in the afternoon: the count de Foix took leave of the king, the duke of Bourbon, and the other lords, and, leaving the hall, went into the court, where he found his horses and attendants waiting for him. The count and his company having mounted, returned to his lodgings, much pleased with the reception and entertainment the king of France had given him, and praised him exceedingly when conversing with his knights. During the time the king of France and count Gaston de Foix were at Toulouse, many tokens of affection passed between them, which was encouraged to the utmost of their power by the marshal de Sancerre and the lord de la Riviere, because they saw the king, as well as the duke of Bourbon, had conceived a friendship for the count de Foix.



Count de Harcourt presenting the Comfit-Box to the King. Designed from Royal MS. 14 E. 4

The count de Foix one day entertained at dinner the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, and the other French lords. The dinner was beyond measure grand and plentiful, with numerous dishes and devices. Upwards of two hundred knights were seated at table, served by those of the count de Foix; and, just as the tables were on the point of removal, the king of France, who had dined at the castle, made his appearance, attended by the lord Charles d'Albret and the lord Philip de Bar, his cousin-germans. He could not resist the pleasure of seeing this company, and had come to the lodgings of the count attended by only eleven others. The count de Foix and the whole company were highly pleased at this condescension of the king in coming to visit him. Various were the diversions on this occasion; and the Gascons and French tried their skill and strength in wrestling, throwing the bar or javelin for the farthest or highest; and it was night before the

* "There was another custom at the tables of the king and great barons, which was not usual at the entertainments of private persons. Besides the spices which composed the dessert, and were intended for the guests in common, there were other more rare spices, that were served in a box divided into compartments, which was of gold, silver, or silver gilt, and called a 'drageoir' (comfit box.) It was commonly a squire or some person of distinction who had the honour to present it to his lord alone, unless he wished to have particular respect paid to any of his guests, to whom he sent it." Froissart is then quoted as in the text, by M. le Grand d'Aussy, to whom I refer for further particulars respecting this and other ancient customs, in his "Vie privée des François."

king and the company separated. The count presented that day to the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, and to the knights and squires attached to the king, more than sixty coursers, palfreys, and ambling mules, all saddled and caparisoned becoming their different ranks. He gave also to the minstrels of the king, the duke of Touraine, and the duke of Bourbon, two hundred golden crowns, and to the heralds the like sum. All, therefore, were loud in the praise of his generosity.

On the fourth day after this entertainment, the count de Foix, well attended by the barons and knights of Béarn and Foix, waited on the king, at the castle, to perform what had been required of him; that is to say, his homage for the county of Foix and its dependencies, reserving to himself, as free land, Béarn. There had been, before this, many treaties negotiated between the king and count de Foix, through the king's ministers, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, and the bishop of Noyon, who had lately arrived from Avignon; but these treaties were kept very secret. It was said, that the count de Foix required of the king that his son Evan de Foix should, after his decease, inherit that country, in consideration of which the king should receive, on the day of the count's death, one hundred thousand francs; that his other son, sir Gracien, should hold the lands of Aire in Béarn, with the good towns of Aire and Mont-marsen; and that all the lands the count then held in Béarn, should revert to his heir, the viscount de Châteaubon. This distribution had caused a difference between the count, his barons, and knights; several of whom said, that this could not be legally done without the public consent of the vassals of Béarn and Foix. As an intermediate step, homage was made of the county of Foix to the king of France, who, by the advice of his council, said to the count and barons of Foix,—"I now hold in my hand the homage for my county of Foix; and if the succession should happen to be vacated, by the death of our cousin, the count de Foix, in our lifetime, we will come to such resolutions concerning it, through the advice of our council, that Evan de Foix, and all the vassals of that country, shall be perfectly satisfied therewith*."

This speech was sufficient for the count and his barons then present. When the regulations had been properly written out and sealed, the count de Foix took leave of the king, his brother, uncle, and the French lords; but that day he dined with the king, and in the evening returned to his lodgings. On the morrow, after drinking a cup, he departed from Toulouse, leaving his purveyors behind to pay his expenses, and, having crossed the Garonne, at the bridge of Toulouse, returned to his own country, by way of Montmarsen, and arrived at Orthès, where he dismissed all who had accompanied him, retaining only those necessary for his service. It was told me, and I believe it, that this visit of the king of France to Languedoc and Toulouse, cost the count de Foix more than forty thousand francs: great, however, as this sum was, the count was so courteous and liberal, that he very cheerfully paid it.

CHAPTER X.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS BROTHER, THE DUKE OF TOURAINE, WAGER WHICH SHALL ARRIVE THE SOONEST AT PARIS, FROM MONTPELLIER, EACH ATTENDED BY ONLY ONE KNIGHT.

I BELIEVE that the king of France, during his residence at Toulouse, attended much to the state of that part of his realm. He removed séneschals and other officers, and made such reforms that he was popular with all ranks of people. One day, in the presence of his brother, his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, and numbers of lords of France and Gascony, that it might be had in perpetual remembrance, he gave permission to his cousin-german, the lord Charles d'Albret, to quarter the fleurs-de-lis of France, alternately with his own; for the arms of Albret were simply gules without any distinction, but at present they are quartered with those of France. The lord d'Albret considered this as a most distinguished gift; and the day the

* These precautions were vain. Matthieu de Foix, a descendant of Roger Bernard, viscount de Castel-bon, lord of Moncade and youngest son of Gascon I. count de Foix, having his pretensions supported by the nobility, seized the government, and had his right acknowledged by the court of France, through some arrangements he made with it.—*Villaret*, tome vi.



The Journey of Charles VI^th of France and his brother the Duke of Touraine from Montereau to Paris.

king had thus enriched the arms of Albret, the lord Charles gave a dinner that cost him one thousand francs; and presented the heralds and minstrels who had attended it with two hundred francs, which circumstance caused them to proclaim his liberality.

Shortly afterward, it was announced that the king would leave Toulouse, on his return to Paris, and his attendants made preparations accordingly. As soon as it was known, the archbishop and senéschal of Toulouse, with the citizens and ladies, came to take their leave of the king, who received them all very kindly. He set out from Toulouse after breakfast, and lay the first night at Château-neuf d'Aulroy, and then continued his journey to Montpellier, where he was joyfully received. He there remained for three days to amuse himself; for the town and the ladies afforded him much pleasure. He was, however, very impatient to return to Paris, to see his queen. One day, while at Montpellier, he said, jokingly, to the duke of Touraine,—"Fair brother, I wish we were at Paris, and our attendants where they now are: for I have as great a desire to see the queen, as I suppose you must have to see my sister-in-law." "My lord," replied the duke, "we shall never get there by wishing it: the distance is too great." "That is true," answered the king; "but I think, if I pleased, I could very soon be there." "Then it must be by dint of hard riding," said the duke of Touraine, "and not otherwise, and I also can do that; but it would be through means of my horse." "Come," said the king, "who will be there first? you or I: let us wager on this." "With all my heart," answered the duke, who would at all times exert himself to get money. A wager was, in consequence, made between them, for five hundred francs, who should the first arrive at Paris, setting out, on the morrow, at the same hour, taking with them only one servant, or one knight, as they pleased. No one attempted to prevent the race from taking place, and they set out as they had settled it: the lord de Garencieres accompanied the king, and the lord de Viefville the duke of Touraine. Thus these four, who were young and active, rode on night and day, frequently changing horses, or had themselves conveyed in carts, when they wished to take any repose.

The duke of Bourbon returned by Puy in Auvergne to his own country, and, on his road, visited his father-in-law, the dauphin of Auvergne, the dauphiness, and their children, who were eight in number, brothers and sisters to the duchess of Bourbon by a second marriage.

The king of France and his brother continued their journey with much exertion, to gain the wager. Consider what pains these two young princes must have taken, for all their establishments were left behind. The king took four days and a half to perform the journey to Paris, and the duke of Touraine only four days and one third*, so near were they to each other; but the duke won the wager, by the king sleeping eight hours at Troyes in Champagne. The duke embarked on the Seine, and went as far as Melun by water: there he remounted and rode on to Paris, straight to the hôtel de Saint Pol, where the queen and the duchess resided, and inquired after the king (for he was ignorant whether he was arrived or not,) and was rejoiced to learn that he was not come. He said to the queen, "Madam, you will very shortly hear of him." This was true; for not long after the duke's arrival, the king made his appearance, and the duke ran to him and said, "My lord, I have won the wager: order me to be paid." "That is but just," replied the king, "and it shall be done." They then related to the ladies their adventures on the road, and how they had come in four days and a half from Montpellier, which was distant from Paris one hundred and fifty leagues. The ladies turned the whole into a joke, and laughed at it; but they were sensible how greatly they must have been fatigued, and nothing but their youth and courage could have borne them through it. You must know, the duke of Touraine insisted on the wager being paid in ready money.

* The distance from Montpellier to Paris is 191 leagues.—*Gazetteer.*

CHAPTER XI.—THE DEATH OF POPE URBAN AT ROME, CALLED THE ANTI-POPE.—POPE CLEMENT WRITES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, HIS UNCLES, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, ON THE OCCASION.—THE ELECTION OF POPE BONIFACE BY THE ROMAN CARDINALS.

About this period, pope Urban VI. died at Rome, to the sorrow of the Romans, who loved him much*. He was buried, with great solemnity, in the church of Saint Peter; and, when this ceremony was ended, the cardinals formed a conclave to elect another pope, and hastened the matter that it might be done before any intelligence of the death of Urban could be carried to Avignon. Pope Clement and his cardinals did not hear of the decease of Urban until the tenth day after it had happened. They immediately assembled at the palace, where many proposals were discussed; and they had strong hope that the schism of the church would he concluded, and a union formed of the two parties; for this error had lasted too long. They imagined that the cardinals at Rome would not be in any hurry to form a conclave, but would agree to acknowledge the pope of Avignon, and were indulging in these flattering hopes, when other accounts forced them to think differently. They signified to the king of France the death of Urban, whom they called the anti-pope, and entreated him to support the pretensions of Clement, by writing in his favour to his cousins the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the count de Vertus, and to the duke of Austria, who had acknowledged the late pope Urban, and to request they would agree to restore peace to the church; for that there ought not to be any variation in the faith, and, as there is but one God in Heaven, there cannot, nor ought there to be, more than one vicegerent on earth.

When this information arrived at Paris, the duke of Burgundy, to whom the pope and cardinals had likewise written to the same purport, was with his nephew. The king appeared very much pleased on hearing it, and said to the duke,—"Good uncle, we had a great desire to march a large army to Rome, and destroy these unbelievers; but this is checked by the death of the anti-pope, for pope Clement and his cardinals have assured us that Urban is dead. They suppose that there will not be any conclave held at Rome to elect another, but that the cardinals will submit themselves to the obedience of pope Clement. He has likewise requested, that we would write to our cousins the emperor of Germany, his brother the king of Hungary, to the count de Vertus, and to the duke of Austria, to secure their favour in his support. What would you advise us to do?" "My lord," replied the duke of Burgundy, "it is very true that Urban is dead; but we know nothing of the state of the cardinals at Rome, nor of the Romans; nor whether these cardinals mean to persist in their opinion. It will be difficult for them to change, as the Romans are their masters; and as they formerly forced them to elect the archbishop of Bari pope, whom they obeyed as long as he lived, they may again force them to elect another according to their pleasure. You have therefore no occasion to be in any haste respecting this matter, nor to write to those who will not do much for you in the business, as they have already shown. Remain quiet, therefore, until you shall hear further on the subject; for it may happen that the cardinals at Rome may be of one mind, and, though differing with each other, may dissemble with the Romans, and acknowledge no other pope but Clement; and, in order to keep the Romans in good humour, promise them that Clement shall fix his residence at Rome, which he will very readily consent to, if the matter could be brought to depend on that. Should this appear probable, it will then be time for you to write to those Christian kings and lords who hold contrary opinions in religion to you, to entreat they would unite to put an end to the schism, and to promote the re-establishment of union in the church. This is what you ought to do; for we are not as yet assured what turn the business may take, and it will not be long before we have further intelligence." When the duke had ended this speech to the king and council, no one made any reply; for they thought the duke's reasoning unanswerable. The king seemed convinced by it, and said; "Good uncle, we believe your reasons, for you see farther into church

* He died 18th Oct. 1389. But so far from being beloved, he was detested for his violent and tyrannical conduct.—Ed.



The Coronation of Pope [illegible] after the Death of Boniface VIII.

affairs than we do; and we will not take any steps in the matter without your advice and approbation." The business was here ended, and other matters discussed.

The intelligence of the death of Urban caused great disputes among the students at the university. They ceased following their usual studies, and were employed in disputing how the cardinals would act; whether they would elect a pope in the room of Urban, or acknowledge the pope of Avignon. They made it the subject of argument, and it was carried on with much heat and animosity. They knew that Clement had written to the king, to the duke of Touraine, to the duke of Burgundy, and to the ministers, on the state of his affairs; and he had also written, in general terms, to the university, that that body might do as much as was possible, andwith all diligence, for his assistance. The students proposed several subjects of argument, which were warmly discussed among themselves. Those interested for Clement said,—"It is time for the king and our lords in France to write to the chiefs in Christendom, such as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the lord of Milan, the duke of Austria, and all who hold contrary opinions respecting the pope, and press them to return to the true faith; for it would do them infinite honour." Three times, in three several days, the principal students of the university assembled, and went in a body to the hôtel de St. Pol, to entreat the king and his council to put an end to the schism, and to comply with the solicitation of the pope, who had written to them in such humble terms. They, however, were not admitted, nor had any answer given to them, which made them very discontented: however, the following news, which arrived a few days after, appeased them.

The Roman cardinals had assembled in conclave, and elected the cardinal of Naples, a prudent and courageous clerk, to the papacy, who took the name of Boniface*. The king of France



Coronation of Pope Boniface. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

and his lords, on hearing this, were very melancholy, and thought the schism in the church likely to continue for a long time. "Now see," said the duke of Burgundy to the king, "of how little avail your letters would have been, which they were urging you to write: it has happened just as I foresaw." "My good uncle," replied the king, "you have indeed judged truly." Pardons were offered in abundance by Boniface, and notified to all the clergy in the different kingdoms under his obedience. Those who wished to gain them set

* Pietro, or Perrin de Tomacelli, cardinal of Naples, pope Boniface IX.

out on their journey to Rome; but when they approached near Ancona and Romagna, they ran great risks; for sir Bernard de la Salle, who guarded this frontier, and made war on the Romans in the name of Clement, had these pilgrims watched on all the roads, and did them much evil, several of whom were slain or lost. We will for the present leave speaking of these popes, and introduce other events.

CHAPTER XII.—THE SURRENDER OF THE STRONG CASTLE OF VENTADOUR IN LIMOUSIN, THAT HAD BEEN THE CHIEF RESIDENCE OF GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE.

You have before heard how Geoffry Tête-noire was master of the castle of Ventadour, which he had held against all the force sent against him as long as he lived; that he had laid the country under contributions upwards of thirty leagues round; and that, when he died, he had on his death-bed named his two nephews, Alleyne and Peter Roux, to succeed him in the command, to whom all the leaders of that garrison had in his presence sworn obedience and fidelity. After the decease of Geoffry Tête-noire, these two brothers governed successfully for some time, keeping the whole country under subjection. This castle belonged to the duke of Berry by purchase from the count de Montpensier, and his son, John of Berry, bore its title; but, though the garrison gave him much vexation, he could not then amend it. He had besieged it several times with block-houses, and pressed it as much as he could, but in vain: the garrison held his attempts cheap, and sallied out, whenever they pleased, to overrun the country. The two brothers would not pay any attention to the truce that had been agreed to between France and England, saying they were not bound to abide by it, but would make war when and where they pleased. The two countries of Auvergne and Limousin suffered greatly; and to remedy it, a gallant knight of Auvergne, sir William le Bouteiller, with sir John Bonne-lance, sir Lewis d'Ambiere, and other knights and squires from Limousin and Auvergne, erected block-houses before Ventadour, and had there remained the whole of the season, at the charge of the country.

It was about this time, as I was told, that the governors laid a plot to entrap sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, who had done them much mischief. They determined to have it told these two knights in a secret way, that they were desirous of surrendering the fort for a certain sum of florins; for they were tired of remaining there longer, and wished to return to their own country or elsewhere. They imagined the knights would readily comply, for the duke of Berry was eager to gain it on any terms; and they resolved not to ask a larger sum than what might be instantly procured. One brother asked the other, "What sum shall we fix on?" "Ten thousand francs, for that will be enough, as we shall have beside the bodies of the two knights by an ambush we will place in one of the towers."

Consider how foolish these two Bretons must have been to imagine they could deceive two such knights and keep their money. If evil befel them, they are unworthy of regret or pity. Following their plan, they sent one of their varlets out of the castle, saying,—"Go as far as the French block-houses: allow thyself to be taken, but demand to be carried to sir William le Bouteiller or sir John Bonne-lance, which of them thou pleasest, give them these letters, and require an answer, as their contents are of consequence to them and to us." The servant, who thought nothing evil, said he would obey their commands, and advanced to the nearest block-house of the French. On perceiving him, those within came out to meet him and demanded his business: he said, he wanted to speak with sir William le Bouteiller or sir John Bonne-lance. He was conducted to them, for the two knights happened to be then together. When in their presence, he bowed, and took them aside to deliver his letters, saying that sir Alleyne and sir Peter Roux had sent him to them. They were much surprised on hearing this, and that the governors of Ventadour should write to them. They took the letters, and read them; but their contents were merely to say, that Alleyne and Peter Roux would willingly have a parley with them on something to their advantage. When they had perused the letters, they were more astonished than before, and suspected some treachery. They, however, consulted together on what could be wanted with them, and returned a

verbal message, that if the governors wished to meet them without the castle, they would promise them, and those who should accompany them, perfect security for their persons until they had re-entered the place. Such was the answer the varlet brought back to his masters. Sir Peter said to sir Alleyne,—"May we confide in such promises?" "Oh yes," replied his brother; "for consider, their word is given, and they are loyal knights incapable of breaking it. We will inform them of our intended surrender, which they will eagerly accept."

On the morrow, about eight o'clock, they ordered the wicket adjoining the gate to be opened, and the bridge to be lowered down, and they leant on the chains until sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance arrived, who dismounted before the bridge, and ordered their attendants to retire. When the two Breton governors, on the bridge, saw them, they asked, "May we come and converse with you in safety!" "Yes," replied the knights; "but is there no treachery on your side?" "Oh no," answered the Bretons: "it is now truce between us." "Well then, come with all security, and tell us what you have to say. Peter and Alleyne Roux then passed the bridge, and went to the place where they were waiting for them. The two knights said,—"What is the subject of the treaty or parley you wish to have with us? Are you inclined to surrender Ventadour?" "Yes," said they, "but on conditions. We only ask ten thousand francs for the stores; for we are tired of carrying on the war longer, and wish to retire to Brittany or to whatever other country we may chuse." The two knights were rejoiced at this proposal, and replied,—"You offer terms we shall not refuse; but at this moment we have not such a sum. We will, however, instantly set about providing it." "Well," answered the governors, "when you have got it, let us know, and we will keep to our offer: but let the matter be most secret, for if the garrison should hear of it, they would instantly murder us, and you would be disappointed in your expectations of gaining the place." Sir William le Bouteiller replied, "Never fear us: we will manage the business in such a manner that you shall not incur any danger." On this, they separated: the brothers re-entered Ventadour, and the knights returned to their quarters.

Sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance believing this transaction was honourable, no way suspecting the Bretons meant to deceive them and gain possession of their persons as well as money, instantly wrote as fair-languaged letters as they could to the duke of Berry, who at that time was at Riom in Auvergne. They desired one of their gentlemen, who had been well educated, called Guyonnel de Saint-Vydel, to carry the letter, and, having informed him of the fact, desired he would forget nothing, in his conversation with the duke of Berry, that might induce him to agree to the terms of surrender: for they thought he would be well pleased, as he had been for a long time very anxious to get possession of Ventadour. The squire, having received the letter, and his instructions, what to say and how to act, left the block-house, and, traversing Limousin and Auvergne, rode on until he came to Riom, where I believe he found the duke of Berry.

On entering his presence, he knelt and gave the duke the letters, recommending to him the two knights, as he knew well how to do. The duke took the letter and read it: when he had a short time considered its contents, he was so well pleased, that he ordered his attendants to take particular care of the squire, which was done. The duke called to him such of his council and treasurers as were with him, and said,—"Here is great news. Our knights, who are blockading Ventadour, write us word they have opened a treaty with Alleyne and Peter Roux, who are willing to surrender that place for ten thousand francs. That is no large sum: it has cost Limousin and Auvergne, yearly, sixty thousand francs, as composition money, to be unmolested by the garrison. We wish to accept their offer, and as speedily as may be, lest they should repent of having made it. Now, treasurers, find me instantly ten thousand francs. We will make a loan of them, as is but just; and when we are in possession of this castle, will levy a tax on all the lands which have paid contribution, that will doubly repay us." "My lord," replied the treasurers, "we are prepared: only give us five or six days to collect it." "You shall have them," said the duke. Thus was the matter settled. The treasurers produced the sum in golden crowns, and in francs of France, which were packed up in four small boxes.

The same day on which those who were to carry the money to the two knights were on their departure, everything being ready for their setting out, the dauphin of Auvergne and the lord Reneil arrived at Riom, on business with the duke of Berry, such as was common between great lords. They were made welcome by the duke, who was so pleased at the thought of gaining Ventadour so cheaply, that he could not refrain from making them acquainted with it, and showing them the letters from sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance. When they had perused them, they were silent, and the duke noticing it, said,—"What are you considering? Have you any suspicions of deceit? Tell me, before the money be sent off. "My lord," replied the dauphin, "you know for how long a time the count d'Armagnac and myself have been employed by the countries of Limousin, Cahorsin, Rouergue, and Auvergne, to gain possession, by force or otherwise, of all the enemy's forts in these séneschalships. We have entered into several treaties with many of them, but we never could any way make the least impression on the garrison of Ventadour, to induce them to surrender; and scarcely would they deign to return us an answer when we sent to them. If, therefore, they have agreed to the treaty you have shown us, it cannot be from want of provision; for, should no purveyances enter the fort for eight years, I know they have enough; and it is this which astonishes us, and makes us suspect treachery; for such men at arms, when shut up in fortresses, have a lively imagination, and, when it turns to wickedness, they know too well how to succeed: therefore, my lord, be cautious how you act." "In God's name," answered the duke of Berry, "you do not tell us anything extraordinary, but have well spoken, when you thus advise us; and I will take more precautions than I at first intended."

He then called to him a knight, whose name was sir Peter Mespin, and said,—"You will go with the ransom-money for Ventadour to the block-houses before that place, and tell sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, from us, to be very cautious how they act, respecting their treaty, and not to put too much confidence in these Bretons of Ventadour; for that we have had such intelligence concerning them, of which they are ignorant, they must be very prudent and observing.

The knight undertook the journey, and, being soon ready, departed with the money from Riom, and rode on until he arrived at the block-houses, where he was kindly received by his companions. The money was unpacked, and placed in security. Sir Peter Mespin, after some general conversation, told his message as follows: "My lord of Berry orders me to inform you, sir William and sir John, that you must act with the greatest precaution in this treaty with the governors of Ventadour, that you may not lose your own persons and the money he sends you by me, for that he has had accounts given him of the characters of these people that displease him much, which is the reason he is anxious for you to act with prudence to be a match for them, as he suspects this offer is only made to betray you. The countries of Auvergne and Limousin would many times have given sixty thousand francs for the evacuation of Ventadour, which the governors well knew, and now they offer it to you for ten thousand: it is this which makes my lord suspect treachery." The two knights were for a moment pensive, and then said,—"Two heads are better than one. You have well spoken, and we thank you for the advice you have given. You will remain here to assist us, which will be but right, for within two days we shall know how the matter will turn out." Sir Peter Mespin replied, he would cheerfully stay with them.

Shortly after this the two knights sent one of their servants to the castle, for there was now a truce between them, to let the governors know the ten thousand francs were come, and that they were ready to complete the bargain. They replied, they would keep to their agreement, that they might come when they pleased, or inform them when they were to bring the money. Alleyne and Peter Roux, who had no good inclinations, as was proved against them, had already made their preparations for the capture of the two knights. They had thus planned it. At the entrance of the castle of Ventadour, and withinside, is a large tower, that commands the gate; and, without having first gained this tower, the castle cannot be won. It was for this reason it was always kept well stored with artillery, provision, and men, that in case the castle should be surprised, the garrison might retire thither in safety.

The two Bretons, whose heads were full of malice, posted in this tower thirty determined men, armed at all points; who, when the French should think themselves in secure possession of the castle, towards late in the evening, were to sally forth and slay all without mercy. Everything being now ready, they sent to sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance that they might bring the money in all security to the castle, the gates of which would be thrown open to them. The French knights were all alive at this message, and said to the servant who had brought it,—"Return to thy masters, and tell them from us, that we will be with them to-morrow-morning." When the servant was gone, the two knights assembled a larger council than ever they had before done, on account of the orders sir Peter Mespin had brought from the duke of Berry.

It was resolved in this council to place an ambuscade near the castle, and that the two knights should go thither accompanied by thirty men armed secretly like themselves. On their entrance into Ventadour, they were cautiously to examine every part of it: if they should perceive anything that could induce them to suspect treachery, they were to sound a horn and seize the draw-bridge. On hearing this horn, the ambuscade was to advance full gallop, dismount at the bridge, and gain the castle. In the manner in which they had planned it the project was executed; and on the morrow morning, all being prepared, they rode forward, and placed a large ambush of six score lances, and then, with thirty companions, secretly armed, went to Ventadour, carrying sir Peter Mespin to assist them with his advice. They did not forget the ransom-money, which was neatly packed up in three baskets, on the backs of two strong horses. They found Alleyne and Peter Roux at the barriers, which were thrown quite back on their approach: having passed them and entered the gate, the brothers would have closed the barriers again; but the French knights said,—"Let them remain: is it a fair bargain or not? You know you have engaged to surrender the castle for ten thousand francs in hard money: they are ready, and on the two sumpter horses you see. If you act loyally to us, we will do the same to you." They knew not what answer to make to this speech; but to prevent them having any suspicions, they said,—"You say well; and we are willing to act as fairly as yourselves."

The French party passed on, and the barriers remained open. Had they been closed, the ambuscade would never have been able to arrive in time to counteract the trick the Bretons intended playing them, and their scheme would have succeeded. All having entered the gate, Alleyne and Peter Roux went to shut it; but the French said to Alleyne,—"Let it be open: we wish it, for we are ready to pay you down the money as agreed upon between us." "Be it so," replied the Bretons: "let us see the cash." "That you shall," said the French, and instantly spread on the ground a sheet, on which they emptied the florins. While the two Bretons were examining the money, which made a handsome heap, the knights were doing the same to the castle; and, in consequence, sir Peter Mespin said to sir William le Bouteiller,—"Have that tower opened before you count the money, for there may perchance be in it an ambush to surprise us, and we may lose our lives as well as our money."

"On this, sir William said to Alleyne Roux, "Let that tower be opened, for we will have that done before we proceed any farther." Alleyne replied,—"that he would do no such thing, for the keys were lost." The moment he had uttered this, the knights were more suspicious then before, and said: "Alleyne, it is impossible that the keys of the principal tower should be lost. Open it by fair means, or we will have it forced; for you have promised to surrender to us the castle, as it is, without fraud or treachery, for the sum of ten thousand francs, which you now see lying before you." Alleyne answered,—"I will neither open it myself, nor suffer it to be done, until I shall have received and placed in security the whole money: when that is done, I will seek for the keys." The knights replied,—"We will not wait so long; and we tell you plainly, that we expect no favour from your last speeches, which clearly indicate that you mean to deceive us. We therefore arrest you, Peter and Alleyne Roux, in the names of the king, our lord, and the duke of Berry. The tower shall be opened by force, though the doors of it be broken: and every part of it, as well as of the castle, shall be minutely searched, to see if you have not placed an ambush to surprise us, and regain the castle. Should any such be found, you are lost,

past redemption, as in justice due to treason; but if, on the contrary, the castle be in the situation it ought loyally to be, from an honourable bargain, we will punctually keep every article of our treaty, and you shall be safely conducted whithersoever you may please; even as far as the gates of Avignon, should you desire it."

The two brothers were thunderstruck, and half dead, on being thus arrested; and, hearing this declaration of the knights, their courage failed them, and they repented having gone so far, for they found their intentions must now be discovered. The French knights saw plainly they were guilty of what they had suspected, and that the castle was not meant to be surrendered. They made a sign for him who bore the horn to sound for their ambuscade to advance: which having done, those in ambush stuck spurs to their horses, saying, "Let us hasten to Ventadour, for we are wanted: our people have not found things as they expected, and have been deceived by Alleyne and Peter Roux." They were soon at the castle, for it was not far distant, and the barriers and gate being open, though well guarded by the French, for the Bretons were no longer masters, they entered the place, and found their captains in the court talking to the garrison. The governors were more astonished than before, on seeing themselves thus surrounded by their enemies; for they knew they had acted dishonourably.

Those within the great tower were ignorant of what was going forward; for the openings in the walls were too high for them to see what passed. Some said,—"We hear in the court a great noise: our people may perhaps be tricked, for the French are a cunning race. We thought to deceive, but we may be deceived, and Alleyne, as well as ourselves, may be entrapped and taken; for we cannot get out without his permission." They would willingly have been anywhere else; for their governors had brought them into a melancholy situation. Sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, finding themselves so superior in force, spoke out more boldly their sentiments, and ordered the cash, which was scattered over the sheet, to be collected and replaced in the baskets, before the face of the two brothers, who were surrounded by the French. They said; "Alleyne and Peter, give us the keys of the tower; for it must and shall be examined, to see if any one be within it;" but they answered, in the hope of prolonging the time,—"Begin your search elsewhere, and come here at the last." But the knights replied; "Alleyne, you trifle too much with us, for we will examine this tower first; and, if you make any further resistance, we will put you to death with our daggers." On hearing this, they feared they would put their threat into execution; for all avoid death as long as they can, though, in good truth, it would have been more honourable for them had they been slain, than carried away, and afterwards punished for this act, by a disgraceful death, as you will speedily hear in this history. During the dispute, Peter Roux thought of an expedient to excuse their conduct, but this was of no avail, and said,—"My lord William, and you sir John, it is indeed true that there are in this tower thirty armed men, whither my brother and self have with much difficulty forced them; for we well knew they would not assent to our treaty with you. It is for this reason that we have confined them in that tower until you should be masters of the castle; and we will, with your permissions, leave them there, to be your prisoners. Give us the money, the whole, or part of it, as you are bounden to do, and let us go away."

The knights were tolerably satisfied on hearing this; but sir William le Bouteiller, having considered a little, said,—"Whatever truth may be in what you have told us, before we unpack the money again, we must have all the keys of the castle delivered to us, and the different parts pointed out to which they lead." Alleyne, seeing he could no longer delay, sent for them to the room wherein they were deposited. On their being brought to the court, the knights said,—"Now, explain to us what gates they unlock, and whither they lead." Very much against their will, they pointed out the keys of the great tower, for their destruction lay in it. When they had possession of them, they opened its gates, and found the thirty companions completely armed, who had been therein hid.

Alleyne was much cast down, when he saw the French knights draw themselves up in array before the gate, and heard sir William le Bouteiller say,—"You are hidden within this tower, come forth instantly and without fear, under pain of being all put to death. We shall make you our prisoners, and you need not fear any punishment if you tell us the

truth." When they saw and heard the French offer them pardon, taking them as prisoners only, they flung down their staves and arms, and surrendered, for defence would not have been of any avail. These men were then separated, and examined one by one in the presence of Alleyne and Peter Roux, and acknowledged the intended treason, which they now could no longer deny. The French knights addressed them,—"It is very displeasing to us, that you should have been guilty of so disgraceful a crime. We shall not punish you for it: as it seems to us so heinous, we shall leave it to my lord of Berry; and, if he will shew you mercy, we shall not object. We rather hope he may be so inclined, from the great pleasure the possession of this castle will give him, which was the thing in the world he was most anxious to gain." This speech gave some hopes to the two brothers, who found themselves fallen into a similar trap to what they had laid for others. They were confined in rooms well guarded, and the garrison in the towers and in other parts of the castle. It was then thoroughly visited, and found full of stores and provision; all of which they left untouched, contenting themselves with the money and arms they discovered, and which, as fair plunder, was divided among them; but the prisoners were given to the knights.

Thus, as I have related, was the strong castle of Ventadour regained by the French. Sir William le Bouteiller appointed a valiant and prudent squire of Limousin, called Peter Madich, governor, with thirty good lances for its defence. He ransomed such as were deserving of it; but having discovered among the prisoners several renegade Frenchmen, who had been cruel plunderers, he had their heads cut off, or hung them on a new gallows that had been erected in front of the castle. When all things had been settled, the two knights resolved to ride to Riom, to wait on the duke of Berry, and carry Alleyne and Peter Roux with them. News was soon spread abroad that Ventadour was retaken, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Auvergne and Limousin; for the enemies of the realm had kept possession of it fifteen years, and, during that time, had done much mischief to the country, and had greatly impoverished it.

Sir William le Bouteiller had found in the castle of Ventadour a young and handsome squire from Brittany, called le Monadich*, a cousin to Geoffry Tête-noire, who had lately left a convent in Brittany, and come thither to learn the art of war, for he would not be a monk. The French knights wanted to have him beheaded, or hanged like the others; but sir William took compassion on him, and saved his life, for which he swore he would faithfully serve him, and remain for the time to come a loyal Frenchman. They made no long stay after this, but, having pulled down the block-houses, went to the duke of Berry. The men at arms separated, each going to his own home. The knights arrived at Riom, with the two brothers prisoners. They were much cast down, and on the road entreated sir William and sir John to interest themselves in their behalf, that the duke might not be too severe on them. The duke was with his duchess at Riom, and most kindly received the two knights: he considered the gain of the castle of Ventadour as a very gallant exploit, for which he made them handsome and rich gifts.

The knights asked him, what was his pleasure respecting the two prisoners. He said, he would consider of it; which having done, it was thought by his council most advisable to send them to the king at Paris. The séneschal of Auvergne was sent for, and to him were delivered the Bretons. He carried them to Paris, where they were confined in the castle of Saint Anthony†, under the guard of the viscount d'Asci, who was at that time governor of it. They were not kept long in prison, but delivered over to the provost of Paris, who carried them to the Châtelet, where they were tried and judged guilty of death, as traitors and robbers. They were then given up to the hangman, who placed them bound in a cart, and carried them through the streets, with sound of trumpet, to a place called Les Halles, and put on the pillory, which was turned four times round, that the populace might view them. Their actions were then read aloud; after which they were beheaded and quartered, and their quarters fixed to the four principal gates of the town. Thus did Alleyne and Peter Roux lose their castle of Ventadour, and forfeit their own lives by a disgraceful death.

* "The little monk."—Ed.

† Probably the Bastille, which was at the gate of St. Anthony before the revolution in 1789.

CHAPTER XIII.—THREE FRENCH KNIGHTS HOLD A TOURNAMENT AT SAINT INGLEVERE, NEAR CALAIS, AND DEFEND THE LISTS, FOR THIRTY DAYS, AGAINST ALL COMERS, FROM ENGLAND, AND ELSEWHERE.

At this season, the truce between England and France was punctually observed on sea and land by both parties, excepting a few pillagers in Auvergne, who continued a war against the peasants, on each side the river Dordogne. Their principal leaders, who had surrendered on capitulation, were not openly guilty of any breach of the truce, but secretly encouraged the mischiefs that were daily committed in Auvergne. Such complaints were made of this to the king of France, that he determined, with the advice of his council, to remonstrate with the king of England on the conduct of these pillagers, who, notwithstanding the truce, still carried on a war in Auvergne and the adjoining country, which could not be suffered, neither ought it to be. I believe the king of England excused himself, by saying that those who had committed the acts complained of were lawless people, over whom he had no controul.

During the time in which these things were passing, the three knights before mentioned, who had undertaken to maintain the lists against all comers, at Saint Inglevere, near Calais, namely, sir Boucicaut the younger, the lord Reginald de Roye and the lord de Saimpi, were making preparations to fulfil their engagement. This tournament had been proclaimed in many countries, but especially in England, where it had caused much surprise, and excited several knights and squires, who were fond of adventures and deeds of arms, to confer on the subject. Some said they would be blameworthy, if they did not cross the sea, when the distance was so short to Calais, pay a visit to these knights and tilt with them. I will name those who were most eager in these conversations. The first was sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, sir John Courtenay*, sir John Traicton†, sir John Goulouffre‡, sir John Roussel§, sir Thomas Scorabonne‖, sir William Cliseton¶, sir William Clinton, sir William Taillebourg**, sir Godfrey de Seton, sir William de Haquenay††, sir John Bolton, sir John Arundel, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir John Beaumont and many more, to the amount of upwards of one hundred knights and squires, who said,—"Let us prepare ourselves to attend this tournament near Calais; for these French knights only hold it that they may have our company: it is well done, and shows they do not want courage: let us not disappoint them."

This challenge was made so public in England that many who had no intention of taking part themselves, said, they would go thither to witness the performances of others. Such knights and squires as proposed being there, when the appointed term was approaching, sent beforehand their purveyances, and arms for tilting and for war, to Calais. Sir John Holland, half brother to the king of England, was the first to cross the sea: more than sixty knights and squires accompanied him, and took up their quarters in Calais.

At the beginning of the charming month of May, the three before-mentioned young French knights were fully prepared to maintain their challenge in the lists at Saint Inglevere. They first came to Boulogne, where I know not how many days they tarried, and then went to the monastery of Saint Inglevere. On their arrival, they learnt that numbers of English knights and squires were come to Calais. This gave them much pleasure; and to hasten the business, and that news should be carried to the English, they ordered three rich vermilion-coloured pavilions to be pitched near the appointed place for the lists, and before each were suspended two targets, for peace or war, emblazoned with the arms of each lord. It was ordered, that such as were desirous of performing any deed of arms should touch, or send to have touched, one or both of these targets according to their pleasure, and they would be tilted with agreeably to their request.

On the 21st of the month of May, as it had been proclaimed, the three knights were properly armed and their horses ready saddled according to the laws of the tournament. On

* My MSS. have sir Peter Courtenay.
† "Sir John Traicton." Q. Drayton. The MSS. Peter.
‡ "Sir John Goulouffre." Q. Sir John Walworth.
§ "Sir John Roussel." Q. Russel.
‖ "Sir Thomas Scorabonne." Q. Sherborne.
¶ "Sir William Cliseton." Q. Clifton.
** "Sir William Taillebourg." Q. Tallboys or Talbot.
†† "Sir William de Haquenay." Q. Hackney.



Tournament held at St Inglevert near Calais between Henri Hungerford and [illegible] on behalf of King Richard II against all comers from England and elsewhere.

the same day, those knights who were in Calais sallied forth, either as spectators or tilters, and, being arrived at the spot, drew up on one side. The place of the tournament was smooth, and green with grass.



Tournament at St. Inglevere. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

Sir John Holland was the first who sent his squire to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who instantly issued from his pavilion completely armed. Having mounted his horse, and grasped his spear, which was stiff and well steeled, they took their distances. When the two knights had for a short time eyed each other, they spurred their horses and met full gallop with such force that sir Boucicaut pierced the shield of the earl of Huntingdon, and the point of his lance slipped along his arm, but without wounding him. The two knights, having passed, continued their gallop to the end of the list. This course was much praised. At the second course, they hit each other slightly, but no harm was done; and their horses refused to complete the third. The earl of Huntingdon, who wished to continue the tilt, and was heated, returned to his place, expecting that sir Boucicaut would call for his lance; but he did not, and showed plainly he would not that day tilt more with the earl. Sir John Holland, seeing this, sent his squire to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. This knight, who was waiting for the combat, sallied out from his pavilion, and took his lance and shield. When the earl saw he was ready, he violently spurred his horse, as did the lord de Saimpi. They couched their lances, and pointed them at each other. At the onset, their horses crossed; notwithstanding which, they met; but by this crossing, which was blamed, the earl was unhelmed. He returned to his people, who soon re-helmed him; and, having resumed their lances, they met full gallop, and hit each other with such force in the middle of their shields, that they would have been unhorsed had they not kept tight seats by the pressure of their legs against the horses' sides. They went to the proper places, where they refreshed themselves and took breath. Sir John Holland, who had a great desire to shine at this tournament, had his helmet braced and grasped his spear again; when the lord de Saimpi, seeing him advance on a gallop, did not decline meeting, but, spurring his horse on instantly, they gave blows on their helmets, that were luckily of well-tempered steel, which made sparks of fire fly from them. At this course, the lord de Saimpi lost his helmet; but the two knights continued their career, and returned to their places.

This tilt was much praised; and the English and French said, that the earl of Huntingdon, sir Boucicaut, and the lord de Saimpi, had excellently well justed, without sparing or doing themselves any damage. The earl wished to break another lance in honour of his lady, but it was refused him. He then quitted the lists, to make room for others, for he had run his six lances with such ability and courage as gained him praise from all sides.

A young and gallant knight of England next came forth, called the earl-marshal*, who sent, according to the regulations, to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. This being done, sir Reginald came from his pavilion completely armed, and mounted his horse that was ready for him: having had his shield and helmet buckled on, he seized his lance and took his distance. The two knights spurred their horses, but, at this first course, failed in their strokes, from their horses swerving out of the line, to their great vexation. Sir Reginald was hit with the second lance, and had his own broken. At the third course, they met with such force that the fire sparkled from their helmets, and the earl was unhelmed. He continued his career to his own place, but justed no more that day, as he had done sufficiently.

The lord Clifford†, a valiant knight, and cousin-german to the late sir John Chandos, of famed renown, then advanced, and sent to have the war-shield of sir Boucicaut touched with a rod. Sir Boucicaut instantly appeared, and, having his armour laced, mounted his horse: placing his lance in its rest, they met full gallop, and made, by their blows, the fire fly from their helmets, but they neither broke their lances nor lost their stirrups: having passed, they returned to their places, making ready for the second course. This was done without anyway sparing themselves: sir Boucicaut broke his lance and was unhelmed, but did not for this fall to the ground. Lord Clifford returned to his place, to prepare himself for another course, but sir Boucicaut did not again put on his helmet. Lord Clifford, noticing this, resolved to perform a tilt with another knight, and sent his squire to touch the shield of the lord de Saimpi. The lord de Saimpi being ready, sallied forth from his pavilion; they ran at each other with great force, met full, and lord Clifford broke his lance into three pieces against the target of his adversary. In return, the lord de Saimpi struck off his helmet, and both continued their career to their places. The lord Clifford tilted no more that day, for the spectators said he had honourably and valorously borne himself.

Sir Henry Beaumont‡ then came forward, and sent to have the target of sir Boucicaut touched, who was instantly ready to reply to the call, having not dismounted from the tilts with lord Clifford. The lord Beaumont did not manage his lance well, and hit Boucicaut on the side; but sir Boucicaut struck him so full on the middle of his shield that it drove him to the ground, and continued his course. Lord Beaumont was raised up by his attendants and remounted. The lord de Saimpi then presented himself, and they tilted two courses very handsomely without hurt to either.

Sir Peter Courtenay, who was anxious to engage and to run six lances, sent a squire to touch with a rod the three shields of war. This caused a good deal of surprise, and he was asked what were his intentions by so doing. He replied, that he wished to tilt with each of the French knights two lances, if no misfortune befel him, and he entreated they would comply with his request. They were ready to consent to it, and sir Reginald de Roye first offered himself. Having made themselves ready, they spurred their horses, and took good aim not to miss their stroke; but, from the restiveness of their horses, they failed. They were much vexed, and returned to their places. On the second course, they met full gallop; and sir Reginald de Roye, having unhelmed his adversary, returned gently towards his pavilion, his two courses being completed. Sir Peter Courtenay being armed once more, the lord de Saimpi advanced, and their lances were broken at the first shock: they continued their course, when new lances were given them. They advanced towards each other furiously, and the lord de Saimpi hit sir Peter, whose horse swerved a little; but sir Peter struck off his helmet, and rode on at a gentle pace to his post. Sir Boucicaut now came to complete the two other courses; and at their onset they struck each other on the shield so

* I suppose this must be Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and earl-marshal: he was afterwards created duke of Norfolk. See Dugdale.

† Froissart calls him sir Louis de Clifford, but he was Thomas lord Clifford of Cumberland. See Dugdale.

‡ Lord Beaumont. See Dugdale.

rudely that the two horses were suddenly checked in their career: no other damage ensued. At the second course, they were both unhelmed. When these six tilts were done, sir Peter requested, as a favour, to run one more with any of the three knights who pleased, but it was refused; and he was told, that he had done enough that day.

An English knight, called sir John Gouloufre, came forth, armed from head to foot, and sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight obeyed the summons, and both advanced full gallop. They hit each other's helmets, but were neither unhelmed nor had their lances broken. Their horses refused to run the second course, to their great vexation. At the third tilt they struck their shields and broke their lances. They were supplied with others, and, from the swerving of their horses, passed their fourth career without striking a blow. The fifth lance was too well employed, for they were both unhelmed, and then each rode to his own party.

Sir John Rousseau *, an expert and valiant knight from England, but well known for his prowess in various countries, ordered his squire to touch the shield of the lord de Saimpi, who was already armed and mounted. On receiving his lance, he spurred his horse against the English knight, and the shock of their spears against the targets instantly forced them to stop. Each returned to his post, and it was not long before they commenced their second course with equal vigour: but when near, the horses swerved, which prevented their stroke. To their sorrow, they were thus obliged to return again to the end of the lists. They were more successful the third course; for they struck each other with such force, that the vizors of their helmets were broken off: the knights continued their career, and the Englishman tilted no more that day.

Sir Peter Shirborne, a young knight, but of good courage, sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight was ready to answer him, for he was armed and on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait for an adventure. Perceiving himself called upon, he raised his spear, and looked to see what his adversary was about, and observing that he was handling his horse, did the same. When they began their course, they couched their spears, thinking to make sure blows; but they were disappointed, to their great vexation, by the swerving of their horses, which forced them to return to their posts. They determined to manage them better at their second tilt, and spurred them both so vigorously, they each struck the other on the vizor. Sir Boucicaut broke his lance, but not so the English knight; for he employed it with such force, that he not only unhelmed, but made the blood spout from his nose as he broke off the helmet of sir Boucicaut, who then retired to his pavilion: he tilted no more that day, for it was now nearly vespers. Sir Peter Shirborne, however, would not desist until he had completed his number of lances: he, in consequence, sent his squire to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was prepared to meet him. The two knights spurred on violently against each other, and hit on the top of their helmets; but the lances slipt over, and they passed each other without hurt. The spectators said, had their spears been pointed lower, and the shields received the blows, one or both must have suffered severely from the shock. The next course they struck full on their targets, and broke their lances into three parts; but the blow of the lord de Saimpi was so strong that the English knight lost his seat and fell to the ground, from whence, however, he instantly arose, and was led by his attendants from the lists. The lord de Saimpi returned to his post, viewing the state of his adversary, and showing his willingness to renew the tilt with him he had overthrown or with any other; but none came forward, as it was now time to leave off for this day, and return to their hôtels. The English, and such as had accompanied them, set off full gallop for Calais, where they remained that night enjoying themselves, and talking over the feats of arms that had been performed. The French retired to Saint Inglevere; and, if the English talked much of what had been done, you may readily suppose the French were not silent.

On Tuesday, after mass and drinking a cup, all those who intended to tilt, and those who wished to see them, left Calais, and rode in an orderly manner to where the lists had been held the preceding day. The French were already there, as was right, and prepared to receive them. The day was bright, clear, and sufficiently warm. The English drew up on one side, and armed those who were to tilt.

* He is called before Roussel. In the MS. in the British Museum, Roussel.

Sir William Clifton, a very valiant and expert knight, was the first who sent his squire to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut: the knight instantly came forth, armed completely for the tournament, mounted his horse, and grasped his lance. The two knights met full gallop, hitting each on the target, but passed on without anything more. The second course was very handsome: they met, and hit each on the helmet, the lances crossing. The third course they struck again their shields, and with such violence that the horses were stopped. The fourth course with lances was gallantly performed, for they hit each other so strongly on the vizors of their helmets, they were driven off by the blow to different sides. The English knight tilted no more that day, for he was told he had done enough.

After this, sir Nicholas Clinton, a young English knight, sent to touch the target of the lord de Saimpi, who immediately appeared ready armed and mounted. The two knights spurred their horses, bearing their spears in good array: when near, they struck their opponent's target with such violence that the steel remained fixed; and it is wonderful no other harm ensued, for they were both young, of good courage, and did not spare themselves. They neither fell nor were wounded, but their lances were shivered to pieces. They then passed on, each to his post. The second course was well tilted: they struck each on the helmets, but, as it was on the top, they did no damage, and passed on. At the third course with lances, the horses swerved, to their sorrow; and, at the fourth, the lord de Saimpi unhelmed the English knight, who returned to his countrymen and tilted no more, for they assured him he had behaved most valiantly, and that he must allow others to have their share.

When sir Nicholas Clinton was returned from the lists, a gallant knight of England, nearly related to the earl of Huntingdon, called William Seimort*, left his tent, and sent to touch the target of sir Reginald de Roye, who appeared to meet him. Each having taken his post, they vigorously spurred their horses, and gave such blows on their shields, that it was surprising they were not unhorsed; but both kept their seats, as they rode well. They passed on to their places; but the English knight let fall his lance, and sir Reginald bore his in handsome array.

The English knight having had his lance given to him, he placed it in its rest, and spurring his horse, intended to have done wonders. Indeed the blow would have been good if it had been straight, but, by the swerving of his horse, it was very weak; and I doubt if it were not, in some measure, the fault of the knight. Sir Reginald struck him such a blow on the shield, as made him bend backward, but they passed on without further hurt. Being prepared for the third course, they again spurred their horses and couched their lances, and hit each other so rudely on the helmets that the fire sparkled from them. They passed on, but from this blow their lances fell to the ground: persons were at hand to pick them up and give them to the knights. Having replaced the lances in their rests, they renewed the tilt, and, aiming well, struck each other on the vizors of their helmets so severely, that sir William Seimort was unhelmed and nearly thrown to the ground, but, though he staggered, he kept his seat. The English knight then went to his countrymen, and did nothing more that day.

A squire called Lancaster now stepped forth, and sent to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut. He was ready mounted to answer the call, and, having grasped his spear, they met most courageously: they struck their helmets, so as to make the fire fly from them, and it was astonishing they kept them on their heads. No harm being done, each returned to his post, where they made no long stay before they began their second course with great vigour, each hitting on his opponent's target: the horses swerved, which prevented this from being a handsome or effectual tilt, but this they could not help. At the third lance they met, and the blow was so well placed, that the Englishman was unhelmed, and passed on to his post bareheaded all but the scull-cap, and would not that day tilt more.

A young knight whose name was sir John Tallboys, next made his appearance, completely armed, and sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. That knight was ready for the tilt, and, having grasped his spear, stuck spurs into his horse: their first onset was so rough, their lances were shivered. The two knights passed each other without other damage, and were not long before they began their second course, having received new lances, of

* Q. Seymour.—Ed.

which there was a provision ready, all of the same length. From the fault of their horses, though they aimed well, they missed hitting; but the third course was well performed, for they unhelmed each other, and then each retired to his own party, and the English knight did nothing more that day.

Sir Godfrey de Seca next presented himself: he was a gallant knight, and showed, by his manner of riding and bearing his lance, that he was an able tilter, and desirous of renown. He sent his squire to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. That knight came forward instantly, as he was ready mounted, and, placing himself properly for the tilt, they both set off full gallop, and gave such blows on their targets, that though their spears, from their strength, did not break, they remained fastened to the shields, and by dint of hard pushing, the horses were checked: each knight returned to his post without losing his lance, but bearing it handsomely before him. Having placed them in their rests they again spurred their horses, which were strong and active, but by their swerving they missed their stroke and dropped their spears. Those near picked them up and returned them, and again they renewed the tilt; for they were heated, and seemed unwilling to spare each other. The English knight hit sir Reginald a very severe blow on the top of his helmet, without otherwise damaging him; but sir Reginald gave him so strong a thrust on the target, (for at that time he was counted one of the stoutest tilters in France, and was smitten with love for a young lady that made all his affairs prosper) it pierced through it as well as his left arm: the spear broke as it entered, the butt end falling to the ground, the other sticking in the shield, and the steel in the arm. The knight, however, did not for this fail to finish his course gallantly; but his companions came to him, and the broken spear and steel were extracted, the blood stanched, and the arm tied up. Sir Reginald returned to his friends, and there remained, leaning on another lance that had been given him. Sir Reginald was much praised by the French and English for this tilt; and no one said anything improper against him, on account of the Englishman being wounded, for such are the events of arms: to one they are fortunate, to another the reverse; and, to say the truth, they did not spare each other.

An English squire, called Blaquet*, then sent to strike the war-shield of the lord de Saimpi. When they were both ready, they spurred their horses, and hit on the helmets hard blows, though the points of their spears slipped off: on finishing their career, they lost their lances. When they were restored to them, they began their second course, but, by the fault of their horses, nothing was done. At the third onset, Blaquet gave the lord de Saimpi a hard blow on the helmet, but was struck by him much harder on the vizor, and unhelmed, with a force that broke the buckle which fastened it behind, and it fell on the ground. They finished their course, and the English squire went among his countrymen, not intending to tilt more that day. The lord de Saimpi remained gallantly on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait until he should be again called upon.

Sir John Bolton, a gallant knight from England, shortly after this tilt was over, sent his squire to touch the shield of the lord de Saimpi, who, being prepared, entered the lists, his target on his neck and spear in hand. Each hit his adversary's shield, and it was surprising they were not pierced, for their lances were strong, and their heads well tempered; but they passed without further loss than of their spears, which fell to the ground. When they were picked up and given them, they again spurred their horses, and struck the helmets, but without effect, and continued their career. At the third course their horses crossed. The lord de Saimpi, at the fourth, unhelmed sir John Bolton, by a hard blow, and then the two knights returned to their friends.

Thomelin Messidon†, a young English knight, well and richly armed, with a great desire to gain honour, sent to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight instantly came forth, and, having grasped his lance, both spurred their horses; and each made his stroke by crossing under the helmet: they passed on without hurt or blame, but were not long before they spurred on again. In this course, they hit very roughly on the targets; Thomelin Messidon shivered his lance; but sir Boucicaut's blow was so severe, it drove his opponent over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Those of his party ran to raise him up, and carried him off, for he tilted no more that day.

*"Blaquet." Q. Blake. †"Thomelin Messidon." It is Messiden in the MSS.

Another squire of England, called Navarton*, instantly stepped forth, and sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, saying he would revenge his companion, whom he had struck to the ground in his presence. Boucicaut was ready to answer him, being armed and mounted, and leaning on his spear. They met full gallop, and hit each other on the vizors of their helmets, but passed on without other damage. Having had their helmets re-adjusted, and their lances given them, they again met with great violence, and from the shock of the blows on the targets, the horses were stopped, and the lances broken into three pieces, but they completed their course without any hurt. They had new spears given them; and at the third course sir Boucicaut was hit hard on the target, but he gave Navarton a blow that unhelmed him: he then withdrew to his countrymen, and tilted no more that day; for they said he had done sufficient, and had gained great applause.

After this, another squire advanced, called Sequaqueton†, an able man at arms and expert tilter. He sent to touch the shield of sir Reginald de Roye, who replied, that he was prepared and mounted. They spurred their horses, and gave violent strokes on their targets, without sparing each other. Sequaqueton bore himself handsomely without falling, to the surprise of the spectators, for sir Reginald's blow made him bend backward almost on the crupper of his horse; but he raised himself, and gallantly finished his career with the loss only of his lance. Having received another, they ran the second tilt with great courage, and struck such blows on their helmets as made the fire fly from them. It was a handsome course, and no damage done. They repaired to their posts, and spurred again for the third time. In this tilt, Sequaqueton was severely unhelmed, and on the point of falling, both himself and horse, for he staggered considerably. The squire, when on his feet, returned to his companions and tilted no more: indeed, there was an end to the whole for the day, as it was now late. The English collected together, and returned to Calais, as did the French to St. Inglevere.

You must know, though I have not before made mention of it, that king Charles of France was present at these justs. Being young, and desirous of witnessing extraordinary sights, he would have been much vexed if he had not seen these tournaments. He was therefore present at the early part and latter end of them, attended only by the lord de Garencieres; but both so disguised that nobody knew of it; and they returned every evening to Marquise‡.

The ensuing day, Wednesday, was as fine as the foregoing; and the English, who had crossed the sea to take part in or view this tournament, mounted their horses, at the same hour as on the preceding day, and rode to the place appointed for the lists, to the delight of the French, who were rejoiced to see them. It was not long after their arrival when an English squire, a good tilter, called John Savage, squire of honour and of the body to the earl of Huntingdon, sent to touch the shield of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight answered, he was ready and willing to satisfy him. When he had mounted his horse, and had his helmet buckled and lance given to him, they set off full gallop, and gave such blows on the targets, that had the spears not broken, one or both must have fallen to the ground. This course was handsome and dangerous; but the knights received no hurt, though the points of the lances passed through the targets, and slipped off their side-armour. The spears were broken about a foot from the shaft, the points remaining in the shields; and they gallantly bore the shafts before them, as they finished their career. The spectators thought they must have been seriously wounded; and the French and English hastened each to their companion, whom, to their joy, they found unhurt. They were told they had done enough for that day; but John Savage was not satisfied, and said he had not crossed the sea for only one tilt with a lance. This was reported to sir Reginald, who replied,—"He is in the right; and it is but just that he should be gratified, either by me or by one of my companions." When they had rested themselves a while, and received new lances, they began their second course, each aiming well at the other; but they failed, from the swerving of their horses, to their great vexation, and returned to their posts. Their lances, which had been accidentally dropped, were given to them, and they set off on their third course. This time they hit on

* Warneston.—*Buchon.* †: "Sequaqueton." Q. Swinnerton.
‡ "Marquise,"—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Calais, three and a half from Boulogne.

the vizors of their helmets; and, by the force and crossing of their lances, both were unhelmed as they passed. The tilt was much applauded for its correctness and vigour. When they were returned to their posts, the English told John Savage, that he had very honourably performed, and that it was now time for him to make way for others to tilt as well as himself. He complied with this, and, laying aside his lance and target, dismounted, and rode on a hackney to witness the performances of others.

An English squire, named William Basquenay, cousin to the earl marshal, came forth fully armed for the occasion, and sent to have the war-shield of sir Boucicaut stricken. The knight instantly made his appearance at the end of the lists, and each galloped towards the other as straight as they could. They struck their helmets gallantly; and the blow was so effectual on the vizors that they were both unhelmed, and continued their course without further hurt. Their friends who were near re-adjusted their armours; and, giving them their spears, they commenced their second course by desperate strokes on their targets; but, the lances breaking, no harm was done, and they continued their career. They were supplied with new lances, that were stout and good; but, from the fault of their horses, they missed their strokes. At the fourth lance, they hit; and William Basquenay was unhelmed a second time, and then returned to his companions, not tilting more that day.

A squire from England, whose name was John Scot, sent to have the war-shield of the lord de Saimpi touched. He immediately appeared, and at their onset they gave such blows on their targets as stopped their horses; but, their lances being strong, they neither broke nor fell out of their hands. The second course was well performed: the lord de Saimpi hit his adversary; but Scot had more success in unhelming him, for which he was much applauded by his countrymen. The lord de Saimpi was soon re-helmed; and, grasping his spear, they spurred against each other with great violence. They placed their blows on their targets, but with a force that drove John Scot out of his saddle to the ground, and thus did the lord de Saimpi revenge himself. The squire was raised, and carried off by his companions.

Bernard Stapleton, an English squire, sent to strike the lord de Saimpi's shield, who was not dismounted from his last tilt. They met, and hit each other on the helmets so forcibly as to make the sparks fly from them; but they passed on without hurt and returned to their posts. Still grasping their spears, they couched them, and at this second course struck very severe blows on their targets, but kept their seats well, without falling or staggering, to the end of their career. The third lance struck the helmets, and both were unhelmed. The English squire returned from the lists, as his friends told him he had acquitted himself with honour.

The next that presented himself was a young gay knight from England, who shone in tournaments, in dancing, and in singing, called sir John Arundel. He sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight replied, that he wished for nothing more agreeable than to tilt with him. Having received their spears, they galloped off at the same moment, and gave and received hard blows on their shields; but they kept their seats handsomely, and continued their career. Their lances having fallen from their hands, were restored to them by those appointed for that purpose; and they began their second course with blows on the helmets that made the fire fly, but they passed on without further hurt. At the third onset, the horses swerved; and the knights, in their attempt to strike, lost their lances, and with difficulty recovered themselves. At the fourth they struck the helmets, but without harm or unhelming. At the fifth course, they hit each other on the targets, and broke their lances, without any other damage. Sir John Arundel completed his career, and returned to his friends.

After this, Nicholas Stone, an English squire, sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight seizing his lance, they spurred against each other and hit on the helmets; but the spears slipped off, and they passed unhurt. Holding still their lances in the rests, they set off again, and hit so hard on the targets, that the horses staggered with the shock, and the knights dropped their spears. When they had received their lances, they again galloped off full speed, and their blows on the helmets were effectual: at least the English squire lost his helmet and retired, for his friends said he had done enough.

Another squire from England, called John Marshal, advanced to the lists, completely

armed, and sent to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who replied, he was ready, and waiting to be called upon. At their first course they hit each other on the targets, but the lances fell to the ground, and they returned to their stations without other damage. On their being restored, they continued their tilt, and struck hard blows on the helmets without anything more, and pursued their career, bearing their lances handsomely before them. When they had rested a little, they considered how they could best annoy each other, and, having aimed well, spurred on their horses. John Marshal gave such a thrust on Boucicaut's shield that his lance was broken to the stump, and Boucicaut's blow unhelmed his opponent, and drove him on the crupper of his horse. The squire, notwithstanding, completed his course without falling, and then went to his companions, who said he ought now to be satisfied, for that he had well performed.

When the squire had withdrawn, a young and frisky English knight advanced, who was eager to gain renown. His name was sir John Cliseton*, and he bore for arms a field argent, fretted azure, with a mullet argent in chief. He sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye, who was much pleased at the summons. Having taken their stations and received their lances, they spurred their horses and hit each other full on the helmets, but passed and completed their career. They kept their lances in the rests, and were not long before they commenced the second course, in which they gave heavy thrusts on their shields, but without any loss, except of their spears, which fell to the ground. Having received their lances, they hit each other, on the third course, such blows on the tops of the helmets as made the fire fly. At the fourth course their horses swerved, to their great disappointment. The fifth was well performed, for each broke his lance. The two knights grew warm, and plainly showed they were desirous of trying each other's valour to the utmost. When at their stations they had fresh lances given them, that were stiff enough; and, after a short delay, they again spurred their horses, and laid in such blows on the helmets that both were unhelmed. This course was greatly praised by all present, and when they had completed their career, they returned to their countrymen; for the English knight tilted no more that day.

When this was finished, a squire from England, called Roger Lamb, whose arms were a cross gules, on a field argent and sable quartered, came forward, handsomely equipped, and gaily sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. The knight instantly obeyed the call, and by his alacrity showed he preferred tilting to remaining idle. On the first onset, they checked their horses, by the force of their blows on their shields; but the lances, being strong, did not break, and they continued their course. On the second tilt, they hit the helmets hard enough; but, as the points of their lances grazed off, no harm was done. Roger Lamb was unhelmed at the third course, and returned to his countrymen without doing more that day.

After this a gallant knight from that part of Hainault called Ostrevant, a good man at arms and able tilter, offered himself. He had been educated in England at the court of king Edward, and his name was sir John d'Ambreticourt, and brother to that excellent knight, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt. He bore for his arms ermine two bars humetty gules, each charged with three escallop shells argent. The knight was well equipped for the tournament, and sent one of his squires to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. Having taken their stations, they eyed each other well, and spurring their horses, gave such blows on the shields as made sparks of fire fly from them, and the horses to bend under them. The tilt was handsome, for no harm was done, and they continued the career. They were not long before they ran their second course, and again hit on the shields. It was wonderful that this was not attended with mischief, for they were both strong and courageous tilters, fearless of death or danger. The shock of this attack was so great that their horses were forced on their haunches, and the two knights staggered. Nevertheless they continued their career, but with the loss of their lances. Having received their lances, they ran their third course, and sir John d'Ambreticourt unhelmed sir Reginald de Roye so as to injure him very considerably, and to terminate his career. Sir Reginald went to his party, and plainly showed he would not tilt more that day. When sir John d'Ambreticourt perceived this, as he had a

* "Sir John Cliseton" Q. Clifton.

great delight in tilting, he sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who instantly advanced to the lists. Having had his target buckled on, and placed his spear in the rest, they spurred against each other, and gave such blows on the shield that it was surprising they were not pierced through; but this might be owing to the swerving of the horses. When returned to their stations, they did not remain long before they commenced their second course with vigour, and hit each other hard on the helmets; but the spears slipped off, and they continued their career. The knights having lost their spears, they were brought to them by their squires, and they renewed the tilt. This time they were both very severely unhelmed, and gallantly finished their course.

The English now collected together, as evening was approaching, and returned to Calais, where they passed the night in talking over the different feats of arms that had been that day performed. The French amused themselves in like manner at Saint Inglevere. On Thursday morning, the fourth day of the tournament, the English found that there were yet many knights and squires who had not entered the lists, and who had purposely come from England; they therefore said, that all who had any intentions to tilt should do so, otherwise they would not be handsomely treated. The lords of England had agreed to return to Saint Inglevere on the Thursday, for those who pleased to perform their justs: in consequence, they left Calais after mass, and, on arriving at the lists, found the three French knights ready in their pavilions to answer all who might call on them, attended by those that were to serve them and such as came to witness the deeds of arms.

An English knight, called sir Godfrey d'Estas*, was the first who entered the lists: he bore for arms a lion sable on a field or, with three bars gules, and charged with a mullet or, on the dexter paw of a lion, and was completely and gaily armed. He sent a squire to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who instantly advanced from his pavilion prepared to obey the summons. Having received their spears and bucklers and eyed each other for a short time, they spurred on their horses, and both struck violent blows on the helmets; but, as the points of their lances slipped off, they continued their course to their stations. Keeping the lances in the rests, they recommenced the tilt, and met with such force on their bucklers, that had not their spears broken, much mischief might have ensued. When they had rested a while and had new lances, they ran a third course with great violence, and hit the vizors so fairly and well, that both were unhelmed; they continued their career, and then retired to their own people. The English knight did nothing more this day, for he was told that he had performed well, and must give way to others.

Alain Bourch†, an able and expert English squire, sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who came from his pavilion in obedience to the call. They gave blows on their helmets, at the first onset, that made the fire sparkle, but no other harm was done. At the second tilt, their lances met on their bucklers with such force as shivered them in pieces, but they continued their career unhurt. They were quickly supplied with new lances; and, spurring on the third time, they placed their thrusts so well and strong that they were both unhelmed, and completed their course: the Englishman retired to his countrymen, to allow others to show their skill and valour.

An English squire, called John Storp‡, sent to touch the target of sir Boucicaut, who issued forth out of his pavilion, and his horse being ready, mounted him, and entered the lists. They failed in their first course, from the fault of their horses. When they returned to their stations, they were not long before they ran the second; and, although they gave each other severe blows on the helmet, no mischief ensued. At the third course, John Scrope was forcibly struck to the ground; whence he was raised by his friends, and did no more that day.

A Bohemian knight now advanced, who was of the household of the queen of England, called sir Herchauce. He was esteemed a strong and expert tilter, and bore for his arms three griffins' feet sable on a shield argent onglé with azure. When he entered the lists, he was asked which of the three knights he wished to tilt with: he replied, "With Boucicaut."

* "Sir Godfrey d'Estas." Q. Eustace.
† "Alain Bourch." Q. Birch. Lord Berners calls him Aleyne Borrowe.
‡ "John Storp." Lord Berners—Scrope.

On this, an English squire was sent, according to the regulations, to touch sir Boucicaut's war-target. The knight, having kept himself prepared for any summons, left his pavilion, and, having fastened his buckler and grasped his lance, entered the lists. His opponent was then ready to meet him; and spurring their horses, they thought to give full strokes; but it was not so, from the ill conduct of the Bohemian knight, for which he was greatly blamed. He had, out of the line of tilting, hit sir Boucicaut on the helmet, and continued his career: for this impropriety, of which the English saw him guilty, he had forfeited his arms and horse, should the French insist upon them. The French and English held a long conversation on this ill-placed stroke; but at last the French knights pardoned it, the better to please the English. Herchauce begged as a favour that he might be permitted to run only one course more. On being asked "With which of the three knights?" he sent to touch the target of sir Reginald de Roye. That knight was waiting in his pavilion, not having tilted that day, and declared his willingness to accommodate sir Herchauce, since his request had been granted. Sir Reginald mounted his horse, and having had his buckler fastened, and his lance given him, he eyed his opponent, that he might well point his stroke. Both spurred their horses at the same moment, and hit on the shields; but sir Reginald (who was one of the firmest and best tilters in France) thrust with such force as made the Bohemian fly out of his saddle, and fall so severely on the ground that the spectators imagined he was killed. Sir Reginald continued his course to his own station. Sir Herchauce was raised with much difficulty by his attendants, and carried to the English, who were well pleased at what had happened to him, for the uncourteous manner in which he had run his first course. He had not any desire to tilt more that day.

The next who came forward was Robin Seorneborne*, an able and gay squire from England. He sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was ready mounted and prepared to answer him. At their first course they hit their helmets, and continued their career. At the next, they struck their bucklers, but unsuccessfully, as before, excepting the loss of their lances. Having received them again, they, on the third onset, placed their thrusts so ably and forcibly on the vizors, that both were unhelmed, and finished their course. The English squire returned to his companions, and was idle during the rest of the day.

Another English squire, called John Merlan, now advanced. He bore for arms a bend sable on a field argent, charged with three lion-heads sable, and sent to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight answered, he was at his service. Having entered the lists, they at the first onset gave violent blows on the helmets, but without any effect, and, by firmly holding their lances, returned to their stations without loss of any kind. The second course, their spears met on their bucklers, and the horses were checked; having thrown down their lances, they continued their career, each to his station, and made ready to tilt well the third lance. When their spears had been given them, they set off full gallop, and sir Reginald hit John Merlan a blow on his buckler, which forced him out of the saddle to the ground. He continued his course to his station, and the Englishman was raised and carried to his countrymen.

John Mouton, another squire from England, next offered himself. He bore for arms a chevron sable on a field gules, three pierced mullets or, with an indented bordure sable, and sent to strike the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who replied, he was always ready to tilt. Their first strokes met on their bucklers, but without damage. It was not their fault, for the blows were well placed, and they gallantly passed, bearing their lances before them, to their stations. They were not long before they commenced their second tilt, and hit very severely on the helmets, but without loss, excepting their lances, and returned to their posts. Those who were appointed to gather the lances that fell, instantly presented them to the knights, who renewed the tilt; but at this third course sir Boucicaut unhelmed John Mouton, who retired to his companions.

A very handsome knight from England now came forth: he was well armed at all points, and kept an excellent position on his horse, and was called sir Jaquemin Strop†. He sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who, being mounted and armed before his pavilion, advanced to the lists. At their first course, they missed their stroke, from their

* "Robin Seorneborne." Q. Sherburn, or Shirburn. † "Sir Jaquemin Strop." Q. Sir James Scrope.

horses running out of the line, which vexed them much. They were not long before they again set off, full gallop, and, when they met, gave such blows on the helmets as made them strike fire: they passed on without loss but of their spears. As soon as they were returned to their stations, their lances were brought them, and after a short delay, they began their third course. They both hit with great force on the bucklers: but sir James Scrope's lance broke, while sir Reginald unhorsed his opponent and continued his career. Sir James was raised from the ground by his attendants, and did no more that day.

Another English knight, called sir William Masquelee, was ready to enter the lists, and to engage with whoever pleased; for he had crossed the sea with the earl of Huntingdon in this view. He sent to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who had his buckler fastened, and instantly advanced to meet his adversary. They both at the same moment spurred their horses, which were fresh and eager to begin the course; for the very instant they felt the points, they bounded forward. The two knights took good aim, and mutually gave such strokes on their helmets that fire sparkled from them; and, though the points of the lances slipped off, the tilt was much praised by all present. They continued their career to their different stations, but did not make any long stay before they again spurred their horses and couched their spears, for they did not drop them, and met with such violence, that their lances must have pierced the bucklers, if the horses had not swerved. They finished their course, throwing down their lances, and completed their career like good tilters, in excellent array to their posts. Having received their spears, they set off as fast as their horses could carry them, and, on their meeting, hit the vizors of the helmets severely. The tilt was loudly applauded, for they were both unhelmed, and bare-headed all but the scull-caps: they finished their career, and then returned to their friends, for they had excellently performed.

An English squire called Nicholas Lamb, well and elegantly armed, advanced, having a great desire to try his skill in arms. He sent to strike the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was already mounted and armed, in front of his pavilion, with his buckler on his breast, blazoned with his arms. He grasped his spear, and flew to the lists with the eagerness of a hawk to seize his prey. The English squire did the same, and, setting off at full speed, they gave such blows on their bucklers, that their lances were shivered: it was fortunate they broke, or the knights must have been greatly hurt, or unhorsed, but they kept their seats firmly. When returned to their stations, they were supplied with new lances, and with them, at the second course, made the fire fly from their helmets: no other damage was done, for the spears had crossed, and they continued their career to their posts. After a short rest, they commenced their third tilt, and had well examined where they could best place their thrusts. This was gallantly performed; for they hit, justly, the upper parts of the helmets, and the points of the lances entered: both were so neatly unhelmed, that the lacings burst, and the helmets flew over the cruppers of their horses on the field. The knights kept their seats and completed their course in handsome array, and then returned to their countrymen.

The tournament was now at an end, for no more tilters appeared on the part of the English. The earl of Huntingdon, the earl-marshal, the lord Clifford, the lord Beaumont*, sir John Clifton, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Peter Sherburne, and all those knights who had tilted the preceding days, then waited in a body on the French knights, and thanked them warmly for the amusements they had given them. They said,—"All the knights who have accompanied us having now tilted, we take our leave of you, and return to Calais on our way to England. We know well that whoever may wish to try their skill in arms will find you here for thirty days, according to your proclamation. On our return to England, we shall loudly speak of your gallantry, and tell all those who may inquire of these deeds of arms to come and witness them in person." "Many thanks," replied the three knights: "they shall be made welcome, and delivered by deeds of arms as you have been; and we desire you will accept our best acknowledgments for the courtesy you have shown us."

In such friendly manner did the English and French knights separate, in the plain of St. Inglevere: the first took the road to Calais, but made no long stay; for on the Saturday morning they embarked on board passage-boats, and landed at Dover about mid-day, when each retired to his inn. They staid the whole of Saturday, and Sunday until after mass, at

* "Lord Beaumont." Dugdale says his name was John, instead of Henry, as Froissart calls him.

Dover; where having refreshed themselves and their horses, they continued their journey to Rochester, and there lay that night: on the morrow they arrived at London, when they separated, and each returned to his home. The three French knights before named kept their engagements valiantly at St. Inglevere. When the English knights were gone, the king of France and the lord de Garencieres, who had witnessed the tournament in disguise, returned to their inn at Marquise; and on the morrow, at break of day, they set out for Paris, and never ceased riding until they came to Creil * on the river Oise, where at that time the queen of France resided. Scarcely any one knew that the king was present at these tilts, but his confidential valets-de-chambre.

From the time the English left Calais, I never heard that any others came from England to St. Inglevere to try their skill in arms. The three knights, however, remained there until the thirty days were fully accomplished, and then leisurely returned each to his home. When they waited on the king of France, the duke of Touraine and other lords at Paris, they were most handsomely received. Indeed, they were entitled to such reception, for they had gallantly behaved themselves, and well supported the honour of the king and of the realm of France.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS APPOINTED CHIEF OF AN EXPEDITION TO AFRICA, THAT IS UNDERTAKEN BY SEVERAL KNIGHTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND AT THE SOLICITATION OF THE GENOESE.

I HAVE delayed for a long time speaking of a grand and noble enterprise that was undertaken by some knights of France, England and other countries, against the kingdom of Barbary. I wish not to forget nor to defer it; but, as I had begun on the tilts at St. Inglevere, I was desirous to complete that account. Since that is done, I will return to other subjects, and refresh my memory accordingly; for such events as I have to relate are greatly amusing, and, if I had not taken pleasure in inditing them, I should never have succeeded. The text of the subject I mean to proceed on says, that about this time the Genoese were reported throughout France and other countries to be desirous of raising a large army to invade Barbary; and that all knights, squires or men at arms, who would engage in this expedition, should be supplied from Genoa with such purveyances as biscuit, fresh water, vinegar, and vessels and galleys to transport them thither.

The cause of their forming this armament was, that the Africans had attacked the country of Genoa, plundering the islands belonging to them, and carrying off such from the coasts of Genoa as were not on their guard, by which they were kept under continual alarms. They possessed also a town, situated on the sea-shore of Barbary, which is beyond measure strong, and called Africa†, surrounded with high walls, gates and deep ditches. Like as the strong town of Calais is the key of France and Flanders, and whoever is master of it may at all times enter those countries, and from thence may be sent a powerful force by sea, to do mischief to their neighbours; just so is the town of Africa the stronghold of the inhabitants of Barbary, Bugia and Tunis, and other infidel countries. The Genoese, who are rich merchants, bore great hatred to this town; for its corsairs frequently watched them at sea, and when strongest, fell on and plundered their ships, carrying their spoils to this town of Africa, which was, and is now, their place of deposit, and may be called their warren.

The Genoese, to put an end to such conduct, and to satisfy the complaints of their subjects, that were daily made to them from the island of Albe‡, Isja§, Guerse‖, Buscan¶, Gorgennen**, and from the coast as far as the gulf of Lyons to the islands of Sardonne††, Finessee‡‡, and even from the island of Majorca§§, determined to make their situation known to the court of

* "Creil,"—diocese of Senlis, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† "Africa," a sea-port town of Barbary, seventy miles distant from Tunis. It was razed to the ground by Andrew Doria, by the command of the emperor Charles V. and has never been rebuilt.

‡ "Albe." Q. Elba.

§ "Isja." Q. Ischia.

‖ "Guerse." Q. Corsica.

¶ "Buscan." Q.

** "Gorgennen." Q. Gorgona.

†† "Sardonne." Q. Sardinia.

‡‡ "Finessee." Q.

§§ "Majorca," &c. belonged to the king of Arragon.

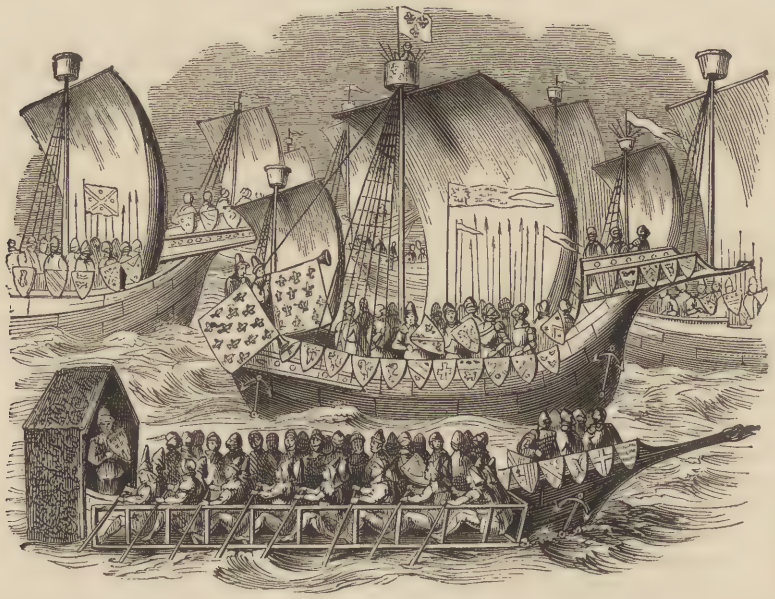
France, and to offer to such knights as would undertake an expedition against these infidels, vessels and provision, with a passage thither and back free of all costs, provided that one of the king s uncles, or his brother the duke of Touraine (who, being young, ought to labour to gain renown) would take the chief command. They likewise offered the aid of pilgrims, from foreign parts to assist them, twelve thousand select Genoese cross-bows, and eight thousand infantry armed with spears and shields, all at their expense. They imagined, that as now there was a truce between France, England and their allies, their knights would, from having nothing to do, be glad to join in this warfare, and that they should have numbers of them from those kingdoms.

When this intelligence was first brought to the French knights and squires, they were much rejoiced, in hope of gaining honour; and the ambassadors from Genoa were told they should not return without their business being attended to, and succour afforded them, for their anxiety to extend the Christian faith was very praiseworthy. They waited at Paris, while it was under deliberation of the council who should be appointed commander-in-chief. The duke of Touraine offered his services to the king and council; but they, as well as the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, remonstrated, that this command was not fit for him. They considered, that as the Genoese insisted on the king's brother, or one of his uncles, taking the command, the duke of Bourbon would be the most proper person, and that he should have for his second the lord de Coucy. The Genoese ambassadors, having received a favourable answer from the king, and certain assurances of being assisted with knights and men at arms from France, under the command of the duke of Bourbon, in the course of the year, were greatly contented. They took leave of the king, and returned to their own country, to relate the good news, and make preparations accordingly.

Reports of an invasion of Barbary were soon spread throughout France: to some knights and squires it was agreeable, to others the contrary; all who were desirous of going thither could not, as it would have been at their own charges, for no lord paid for any but those of his own household. It was also ordered, that no one from France should make part of this expedition but such as had the king's leave: for the council wished not the realm to be void of defence, and the Genoese were expressly bound not to suffer any servants to embark, but solely such as were gentlemen, and men who could be depended upon. It was, besides, meant as a compliment to the knights and squires of other nations who might wish to join in the enterprise. This regulation gave pleasure to all foreign knights who heard of it. The duke of Bourbon, having accepted the command, sent his servants to Genoa, where they were to embark, to make the necessary preparations for him and his household. The gallant count d'Auvergne, who was likewise of the expedition, did the same. The lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir John de Vienne, and all the great barons and knights of France who had obtained leave to make part of this army, were not behindhand in sending thither purveyances suitable to their state. The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, sir Philip de Bar, the lord de Harcourt, sir Henry d'Antoing, did so likewise. From Brittany and Normandy many great lords made preparations for this expedition to Barbary, as well as from Hainault among the last were the lord de Ligne and the lord de Havreth. Several knights came from Flanders; and the duke of Lancaster had a bastard son, called Henry de Beaufort, whom, through devotion, he sent thither. He had him well accompanied by many knights and squires of rank in England.

The count de Foix was unwilling his bastard son, Evan of Foix, should remain behind, and had him properly attended by knights and squires, as he wished him to keep his state grandly. Every one had taken care to send beforehand all he should want; and those at the greatest distance from Genoa, left their countries the middle of May, but it was about a month before all were assembled. The Genoese were well pleased on their arrival, and made handsome and rich presents to the chiefs, the better to secure their affections. As the knights arrived, they were posted adjoining each other, and, on being mustered by the marshals, amounted to fourteen hundred knights and squires. They were embarked on board of ships and galleys, that had been properly equipped for the voyage, on Saint John Baptist's day, in the year of grace 1390.

It was a beautiful sight to view this fleet, with the emblazoned banners of the different lords glittering in the sun and fluttering in the wind; and to hear the minstrels and other musicians sounding their pipes, clarions and trumpets, whose sounds were re-echoed back by the sea. When all were embarked, they cast anchor, and remained that night at the mouth of the harbour; but the servants and horses were left behind on shore. A horse worth fifty francs was on their embarkation sold for ten, as many of the knights and squires were uncertain when, or if ever, they should return, and the keep of five horses at Genoa was upwards of a franc a day: they therefore, on departing, made of them what money they could, but it was little enough.



English and French Knights under the Duke of Bourbon on their voyage to Africa. From a MS. Froissart of the fifteenth century.

There were about three hundred galleys to transport the men at arms and archers, and upwards of one hundred vessels for the purveyances and other necessaries. On the morrow, at day-break, they weighed anchor, and rowed coastwise that and the succeeding night. The third day, they made Porto-fino, where they lay that night: at sun-rise, they rowed to Porto-Venere, and again cast anchor. The ensuing morning they weighed and took to the deep, putting themselves under the protection of God and St. George. When they had passed the island of Elba, they encountered a violent tempest, which drove them back by Gorgona, Sardinia and Corsica, into the gulf of Lyons, a position always dangerous; but they could not avoid it, for the tempest was so violent, that the ablest mariner could not do anything to prevent their running the utmost risk of destruction: they waited therefore the will of God. This storm lasted a day and night, and dispersed the fleet. When the weather became calm and the sea tranquil, the pilots who were acquainted with those seas steered as directly as they could for the island of Commeres*, which is but thirty miles from the town of Africa, whither they bent their course. The masters of the vessels had held a council before they entered the gulf of Lyons, and determined, that should they part company, they would rendezvous at the island of Commeres, and wait there until they were all

* "Commeres." This island is called Conimbres and Cominieres, in the printed and MS. editions. I suppose it must mean Comino or Cumin, Cuminum, and formerly Hephestia, a small island in the Mediterranean, between Gozo and Malta, belonging to the knights of Malta.—Baudran.

assembled. This plan was adopted; and it was upwards of nine days before all were collected, so much had they been scattered.

The island of Commeres, though not large, is very pleasant. The lords there refreshed themselves, and praised God for having all met again without essential loss or damage. When on the eve of departure, the French lords, who took the lead, held a council on their future proceedings, as they were now so near the port of Africa. We will for a while leave this expedition, and speak of events that happened in France, more particularly in Auvergne.

CHAPTER XV.—AYMERIGOT MARCEL, CAPTAIN OF THE PILLAGING COMPANIES, HAVING FORTIFIED LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS ON THE BORDERS OF LIMOUSIN AND AUVERGNE, IS BESIEGED BY THE VISCOUNT DE MEAUX, BY COMMAND OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

During the time of the assembly of this body of men-at-arms in France, for the expedition to extend the Christian faith, and gain renown, there were another sort of men-at-arms wholly given up to plunder, in Limousin, Auvergne, and Rouergue, who, in spite of the truce, were continually doing mischief to these countries, which thought themselves in security. The king of France had caused the truce to be publicly notified to the captains of the freebooters, particularly to Perrot le Béarnois, governor of Chaluçet, Aymerigot Marcel, Olim Barbe, captain of Donzac in Auvergne, who were personally named in the act, and were assured, that if the truce were in the smallest degree infringed, those guilty of it should be corporally punished, without hope of mercy. This was done, that there might not be any excuses made from ignorance of the treaty. Some of the captains, fearful of a disgraceful death, or of incurring the king's indignation, kept the peace very well. Others did not, for which they paid severely, as you will hear in the continuation of this history.

You have before found it related in the course of these chronicles, indited and arranged by me, sir John Froissart, treasurer and canon of Chimay, how peace had been agreed on with many of the captains of castles in Auvergne, Limousin, Rouergue, and Cahorsin, by the mediation of John count d'Armagnac, and Berald dauphin of Auvergne, to whom they had surrendered their castles for different sums of money. The captains were also, by these treaties, bound to renounce, during the truce, the continuance of the warfare in France, and to accompany the count d'Armagnac to Lombardy, or whither else he might lead them. He was desirous to employ them in a war he was meditating against the lord Galeas de Visconti, count de Vertus, for having disinherited his cousins german, the sons of his late uncle the lord Barnabo, as has been before mentioned.

The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne had laboured hard to gain over these captains, that the country might be at peace; and for this end a large sum had been raised in Auvergne, Gevaudan, Rouergue, Cahorsin and Limousin, to the amount of two hundred thousand francs. This tax pressed so hard on rich and poor, that many were forced to sell their inheritance to obtain peace. They imagined, that having paid such sums, they should remain unmolested by these robbers; but it was not so in many places, more especially in those parts where Aymerigot Marcel had his garrison. Notwithstanding the fact that he had surrendered, by capitulation, his castle of Aloise, which is situated in the heart of Auvergne, to the count d'Armagnac, he continued to do much mischief to the inhabitants. Aymerigot was so rich as to be able to pay down, if necessary, for his ransom, one hundred thousand francs, which he had gained by plunder during ten years that he had carried on this trade. The count d'Armagnac was anxious to have Aymerigot among his followers to Lombardy, for two reasons: one was, to have his advice, as in everything relative to war he was subtle and enterprising, and very able respecting the escalade of forts, and the mode of war to be carried on: he therefore caused him to be told how desirous he was of his company, and that he would be a great gainer if he would join him. The other reason of his wish was, that if Aymerigot should remain behind, although he had sold Aloise, he might still do great harm to that country.

Aymerigot dissembled in his negotiations with the count, and said to those sent to him,—

"When I shall witness the departure of the count d'Armagnac to Lombardy, and see for certain that he is in earnest, I do not think, from the inclination I feel towards him, that I shall remain behind." This was the only answer that could be obtained from him. The count d'Armagnac resided in Comminges and in the Toulousain, making his preparations, and collecting men at arms. He would have hastened his expedition, if that to Africa had not interfered; but that delayed it for some little time, for many knights and squires who were gone thither had promised him their assistance, as soon as he should begin his march. The suddenness of the invasion of Barbary deranged his plans, and likewise induced the more speedy capitulations with the captains of the free companies.

Aymerigot Marcel was much vexed that he had sold his castle of Aloise, near St. Flour*, for his importance was lost, and he was less feared. During the time he held it against the whole force of the country, he was dreaded and respected by his companions in arms. He kept it always in good repair and well provisioned; for his compositions with the country round amounted to twenty thousand florins yearly. He was quite melancholy, when he thought of his reduced state, and would not diminish his treasure, which he had gained by his robberies, now the means of increasing it were closed. He said to himself, that he heartily repented what he had done, because in his opinion the pillaging life he had led, taking all things into consideration, was not to be despised. At times, he conversed on this subject with his former companions, and said,—"There is no pleasure nor glory in this world like what men at arms, such as ourselves, enjoyed. How happy were we, when riding out in search of adventures, we met a rich abbot, a merchant, or a string of mules, well laden with draperies, furs, or spices, from Montpellier, Beziers, or other places. All was our own, or at least ransomed according to our will. Every day we gained money. The peasants of Auvergne and Limousin loved us, and provided our castle with corn, meal, baked bread, litter for our horses, oats, hay, good wine, fat beeves, sheep, and all sorts of poultry: we lived like kings; and when we went abroad, the country trembled: every thing was ours, both in going and returning. How did I and the bourg Copane take Carlat? and how did I and Perrot le Béarnois win Chaluçet? How did we, you and I, without other assistance, scale the strong castle of Marquel, that belongs to the count-dauphin? I only kept it five days, and was paid down on a table five thousand francs for it, of which I gave back one thousand, from love to the count's children. By my troth, this was a profitable and pleasant life, and I feel myself much reduced by selling Aloise, which was strong enough to resist any force that could be brought against it; and was beside, at the time of my surrendering, so plentifully stored with provision and other necessaries, that it would not have needed anything for seven years to come. I consider myself, therefore, as deceived by this count d'Armagnac: indeed, Olim Barbe and Perrot le Béarnois forewarned me that I should repent when too late, and I now find their words very true, for I most certainly do repent having parted with this castle."

When his companions, who were now poor, thus heard Aymerigot complain, and perceived he was in earnest, they replied,—"Aymerigot, we are ready to obey your commands. Let us renew the war, and consider what strong place we may seize on in Auvergne or Limousin, and fortify it. We shall soon recover our losses, and have full scope for pillaging, as the count-dauphin and his brother Hugh are now out of the country, with many other knights and squires, on the expedition to Barbary; and in particular the lord de Coucy, who is lieutenant for the king over all these parts, is now likewise absent on this same expedition. We need not therefore fear him, nor the duke of Berry, who is at Paris, and has been so some time amusing himself." "I know not well how to act," said Aymerigot; "for though I am well inclined to follow what you advise, yet as I am personally named in the treaties, I am particularly pointed at." "Ah," answered his companions, "that need not make any difference, if you be willing. You are no vassal to the king of France, and therefore owe him neither homage nor obedience. You are the king of England's man; and your inheritance, which is now destroyed, was in Limousin. We make war to obtain a livelihood, for we must live, and the English will never be displeased with us for so doing. All who wish for gain will join us; and I think we may show a sufficient cause for making war, by

* "Saint Flour,"—a town in Auvergne, 22 leagues from Clermont-ferrand, 25 from Riom.

declaring we have not been paid the compositions that are due to us from Auvergne. Let us send, therefore, to the peasants of different villages (taking care, however, to be strong enough to enforce our orders), and tell them, that unless they compound with us, we will make war on them." "Well, be it so," replied Aymerigot; "but where can we at this moment fix our place of residence?" Some of them said,—"We know of a fort that is dismantled, belonging to the lord de la Tour, which no one guards. Let us go thither, and repair and strengthen it; and, when this is done, we will garrison it, and overrun at our pleasure Limousin and Auvergne." "And where is this fort situated?" asked Aymerigot. "One league from la Tour," answered those who were acquainted with it, and had well examined its situation: "it is called la Roche de Vendais." "On my faith, you say well: it is the very place for us," replied Aymerigot; "and, although the lands are now separated from its dependance, it is a mesne fief on Limoges. We will go and look at it, and, if worth while, take possession and fortify it."

Having determined on this, they all went to la Roche de Vendais, examined its strength minutely, and were more pleased with it than before: they instantly took possession, and by degrees fortified the place before they made any excursions or did harm to the country. When they had made it sufficiently strong to withstand an attack or siege, and the companions were all mounted, they began to overrun the more immediate neighbourhood, to make prisoners and ransom them. They laid in stores of flesh, meal, wax, wine, salt, iron, steel, and other necessaries; for nothing came amiss to them that was not too hot or too heavy.

The inhabitants of the country were much astonished at this, for they thought themselves in perfect security on account of the truce between the two kings; but these robbers seized whatever they pleased in their houses, or in the fields, calling themselves the Adventurers. The lord de la Tour had his town and castle well guarded, for he was not well pleased to have such neighbours a league from his residence. The dauphiness of Auvergne, a valiant lady and of great prudence, who lived with her children in the strong castle of the good town of Sardes, situated on the river Evoque, did not think herself in safety when she heard that Aymerigot and his band had fortified themselves within la Roche de Vendais. She instantly ordered the garrisons of her castles of Marquel, Ondable, Chillac, and Blere, to be reinforced with men at arms, to avoid their being surprised; for she much dreaded Aymerigot, ever since he had received from her, in one payment, five thousand florins.

The countries of Auvergne and Limousin now took alarm; and the knights and squires, with the townsmen of Clermont, Montferrant, and Riom, and the towns on the Allier, resolved to send notice of their situation to the king of France. In this they were joined by the dauphiness; but, during this time, those in la Roche de Vendais fortified themselves very strongly, and while about it they erected huts covered with boughs for their horses. When it was known to those who had been disbanded, and were now out of pay, that Aymerigot Marcel was continuing the war, they were much rejoiced: many came to offer him their services, and he had very soon more than he wished. None of them asked for pay, but solely to be retained by him, for they knew well that those under him would gain a sufficiency from the overplus of the plunder which he gave up to his men. Sometimes he made excursions in the upper parts of the district, and sometimes on the contrary side, for no one ventured as yet to oppose him, so that his fame was spread far and near. Nothing was talked of in Auvergne and Limousin but the robbers of la Roche de Vendais, and greatly was the country frightened by them.

The garrison of Chaluçet, under the command of Perrot le Béarnois, adhered steadily to the truce; and when he learnt that Aymerigot was thus harassing the countries where the inhabitants imagined themselves to be at peace with every one, he was much angered, and said he behaved very ill. He also sent to tell him not to expect any assistance, nor to be admitted into Chaluçet nor into any other place under his command. Aymerigot was indifferent as to this, for he had plenty of places to retire to, in case of need, beside Chaluçet, and men enough. There were besides numbers that had nothing to do, and wished for mischief, who daily offered to increase his forces. Perrot le Béarnois forbade his men, under pain of death, to make any sallies injurious to the country people, for he declared he

would most strictly and honourably abide by the letter of the truce. Olim Barbe, however, captain of Donzac, dissembled in this business, saying publicly he would adhere to the terms of the truce; but I was told that his men sometimes made excursions privately, and, when they had collected any considerable booty, he insisted on having the advantage of it.

The deputies from Clermont, Montferrant, and Riom, arrived at Paris, where they found the king, the duke of Berry, the duke of Touraine, and sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France. They immediately waited on the duke of Berry and his council, to state the cause of their coming, and to inform them that Aymerigot Marcel was pillaging Auvergne, and that evil-minded persons were daily increasing. They entreated them for God's sake to provide a remedy, for, if it were suffered to continue much longer, the whole of Auvergne and Limousin would be completely destroyed. The king and the duke of Berry were much astonished on hearing this intelligence, for they thought the whole country was at peace, in conformity to the truce. The deputies were asked if the garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac remained quiet; they replied,—"they had no complaints to make against any one but Aymerigot Marcel and his companions, who had fortified la Roche de Vendais." "Well," replied the king and the duke of Berry, "now, good people, return home, and look to us; for we will speedily provide a remedy that shall be sufficient: make what haste you can back, and tell this as our answer, to those who have sent you." The deputies were well pleased with this speech, and, having reposed themselves for two days at Paris, they set out on their return, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Berry.

The king and his council did not delay attending to this business, for the duke of Berry had large possessions in Auvergne, and urged them on. They considered whom they should send thither, for the lord de Coucy, the lieutenant of all the country, from la Rochelle to Bourdeaux, was now abroad in Barbary. He had, indeed, at his departure, appointed his cousin, sir Robert de Buthune viscount de Meaux, his deputy during his absence. The council did not forget this, and thought he was best entitled to the command. Inquiries were made where he was to be found, and they learnt that he was at his residence at Condé sur Marne. Letters were written to him, in the king's name, for him to come to Paris, and the messenger hastening with them, found him and his lady at Condé. Having delivered his letters, the viscount read their contents, and said he would instantly obey the king's orders, as was but right. Having made his preparations as speedily as he could, he left Condé and rode on to Paris, where he waited on the king and council. On entering the council-chamber he was told,—"Viscount, make haste and assemble all your retainers of men-at-arms, for you must immediately set off for Auvergne. There are bands of pillagers, of whom Aymerigot Marcel, as we are informed, is the chief, who rob and imprison the country people. Let them be driven thence; and if you can any way entrap Aymerigot, and deliver him up to us, we shall have great joy. Orders have been given for you to receive the pay of your men-at-arms at Clermont in Auvergne; and, with regard to your expenses thither, speak to our treasurer of the army. He has been charged to pay your smaller expenses, and to hurry you away, for the business requires it."

The viscount replied he was quite ready, and, leaving the council, returned to his inn, where he employed persons to write to such knights and squires of the isle of France and in Picardy, who were his acquaintance and dependants, desiring them instantly to set out for Chartres, where they would find him prepared to muster them. All to whom he had sent complied with his request; for they loved him, and looked to him as to an able captain. They were all at Chartres on the appointed day, and amounted to two hundred lances, good men and to be depended on. After they had been mustered, they left Chartres, and took the road towards Auvergne, through the Bourbonnois. The news of this assistance coming thither was soon spread abroad, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Auvergne. It was fortunate so much haste had been made in forwarding this force; for, had it been delayed six days later, Aymerigot and his troops had planned to ravage the country, between Clermont and Montferrant, and down the river Allier, and also the surrounding country of Riom, as far as Gannat*. Had they done so, they would have plundered it of one hundred thousand francs at least; for the parts I have mentioned are the very richest in Auvergne. None

* "Gannat"—a town in the Bourbonnois, five leagues from Riom.

could have opposed them, for the whole country was void of men at arms; and the reports were, that Aymerigot's troops were more numerous than ever.

Aymerigot and his men were prepared for this excursion; but they learnt, I know not how, whether from pilgrims or spies, that a large body of men at arms was marching against them, under the command of the viscount de Meaux, to besiege and to drive them out of their fortress of la Roche de Vendais. This intelligence made them defer their intended excursion, and shut themselves within their fort, for they foresaw they would be besieged. Aymerigot now began to repent what he had done, for should he be taken, no ransom would be accepted for his life. He thus opened himself to some of his companions: "I am completely disgraced, by having followed bad advice, and avarice will be my ruin; for I shall be destroyed without hope of ransom." They replied,—"Why are you now so doubtful of yourself? We know you are the most powerful man at arms in these countries, and you have a good garrison, well provided with all things. We are men of determined resolution, as eager to defend our lives, as you can be to defend your own. You cannot be ruined without our suffering with you: if, unfortunately, you be made prisoner, you are so wealthy, you can easily tempt them with your ransom; but our poverty must prevent us from so doing, and our heads pay the forfeit. We will therefore sell them as dearly as we can, and guard them to the utmost of our abilities. Be not, therefore, alarmed at anything you may see or hear: we need not care for the siege, if we manage our defence with prudence." Thus did the companions of Aymerigot Marcel comfort him.

The viscount de Meaux, with his men at arms, continued their march through Moulins, in the Bourbonnois; but the duchess of Bourbon, daughter to the count dauphin, received there the viscount and the knights very grandly, and entertained them at dinner. That evening they lay at Saint Pourçain. Thence they marched to Gannat, Aigue-perses*, and Riom, where they halted. They then marched to Clermont, and were gladly received by the bishop and the inhabitants. The men at arms received pay at Clermont, for a tax had been levied to this effect, and it was there delivered to them. They continued their march to Notre-Dame d'Orcinal†, four leagues from la Roche de Vendais. The viscount de Meaux there fixed his quarters, as the knights and squires from Auvergne and Limousin had named this place for the point of assembly. When they were all collected, they amounted to more than four hundred lances, and one hundred Genoese cross-bows. There were with the viscount, the lord de Montagu from the Vermandois, and his brother, the lord de Dommart, sir Bernard de la Riviere, sir William le Bouteiller, the lord de Domme, the lord de la Roche, the Lord de la Tour, sir Lewis d'Abiere‡, the lord de Saint-Ampisse, sir Robert Dauphin, with many more. The captains of the Genoese were two valiant squires, called Albert d'Espinolle and Callinace. Sir Lewis l'Esglivesle, a gallant squire, was at this time the viscount's master of the household. The Genoese, as well as the whole army, were completely equipped with arms and other necessaries, or they would not have passed the muster made by the viscount de Meaux.

The garrison under the command of Aymerigot Marcel and his uncle Guyot du Sel, in la Roche de Vendais, hearing that so large a force was now advanced to Notre Dame de Roquemadour, with the intention of besieging them, called a general council, to consider how they could the most effectually resist it. They first resolved, they had not any occasion for horses, since they would be prevented from using them by the siege. Tolerably near to la Roche de Vendais was another fort, called Saint Soupery, under the government of Aymerigot, where his wife resided, and whither he had sent the greater part of his wealth. He gave orders for the servants and horses to be received in this fort, until better times. La Roche de Vendais was naturally strong, and the present garrison had fortified it by every means in their power. The lord de la Tour was greatly blamed by the country for his neglect of it, as they said it was from this circumstance that they were now so harassed; and, if he had thought the expence of keeping a guard too great, why had he not given it up to the inhabitants of the country, who would have dismantled it, so that no one would have ever thought

* "Aigue-perses,"—a village in Limousin, diocese of Limoges.

† "Notre-Dame d'Orcinal,"—is not in the Gazetteer, but Notre-Dame de Roquemadour, which is the name in the MSS., is a celebrated pilgrimage in Quercy, near Figeac.

‡ In the MS. it is sir *Louis d'Antibiere.*

of repairing it? whereas now the walls had been left entire, and the mansion tolerably good: such was the state in which Aymerigot had found it.

La Roche de Vendais is separated from the high mountains that surround it, and is seated on an insulated rock; one side of which they had so strongly fortified that it could only be approached in front, and attacked by skirmishes. The force, under the command of the viscount de Meaux, left Notre-Dame de Roquemadour, and advanced to la Roche de Vendais, which they laid siege to, and by degrees improved their quarters. The countess-dauphine, on hearing that la Roche de Vendais was besieged, with a sufficient force under the viscount de Meaux, was greatly rejoiced; and as she imagined, from the haste in which he had left Paris, he might not have brought tents or pavilions with him, she instantly ordered two handsome tents belonging to her lord to be made ready and sent to him as a loan, for his better accommodation during the siege. The viscount received very thankfully these tents, which came so opportunely, and returned his best compliments to the countess for her attentions. The lord de la Tour was at home, being but one league from his castle, so that he had every thing he could wish for. The other knights and squires accommodated themselves as well as they could. They had provision in abundance and cheap, for it was sent thither from all quarters. As it was the middle of August, the weather was warm and pleasant, and the knights were comfortably lodged under huts made of green boughs.

Intelligence was brought to the army that made them suspicious lest the neighbouring garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac would unite together, and one morning or evening when they were off their guard come and attack them, to force them to raise their siege. The viscount de Meaux and his knights held a council on this intelligence, and resolved to send a herald to Perrot le Béarnois, governor of Chaluçet, and to Olim Barbe at Donzac, to know whether they were at war or peace with these garrisons, and according to their answer to prepare themselves. The herald, being instructed as to what he was to say and how he was to act, departed, and, on his arrival at Chaluçet, accidentally found Perrot le Béarnois at the barriers amusing himself with his companions in throwing the bar. He dismounted, and asked for the governor. On his being pointed out, he advanced towards him, and punctually delivered the message he had been charged with. Perrot replied,—"Herald, you will tell your masters who have sent you hither, that we mean as loyally and truly to keep the truce which has been concluded between France and England, as we expect it will be kept with us. Should any of our people infringe the smallest article of it, and we be made acquainted therewith, we will lay hands on them, if it should be in our power, and inflict such punishment as they deserve and as we have promised to execute on them. I wish you would also tell your masters, that what Aymerigot Marcel has done was without any advice from us, to whom he never spoke on the subject. We have forbidden him or his people to seek refuge within our domain, and should they think of so doing it will ill befal them."

The herald was conducted within the fort, and entertained at dinner; after which he took his leave, and Perrot, out of love to the lords of France, presented him with ten francs. The herald received them thankfully, and departed for Donzac, where he saw the governor Olim Barbe a Gascon. He addressed him as he had done Perrot, and received for answer, that he would not on any account infringe the truce, for by so doing he should be disgraced. The herald dined at the castle of Donzac, and, on taking leave, had ten francs given to him. He returned to la Roche de Vendais, where he was surrounded by knights and squires anxious to hear the answers he had brought. The herald minutely related every thing that had passed; and the viscount de Meaux and his companions were more easy respecting Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe than before: without fear from that quarter, they continued their siege with greater vigour.

CHAPTER XVI.—AYMERIGOT MARCEL ENDEAVOURS, BUT IN VAIN, TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS BY LETTERS AND MESSAGES TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, THE VISCOUNT DE MEAUX, AND EVEN TO THE DUKE OF BERRY.

During the siege of la Roche de Vendais, which lasted for nine weeks, there were constant skirmishes between the two parties, in which many were wounded by the cross-bows, for the Genoese are expert marksmen. The garrison had much the advantage of the besiegers, and I will tell you how. They could sally forth whenever they pleased, for it would require six thousand men at least to have completely surrounded the castle. When the siege first took place, Aymerigot felt that he was acting wrong; but to turn the matter as much to his advantage as he could, and if possible preserve la Roche de Vendais, he determined to send one of his men, who was well spoken, to England, with credential letters to the king and the duke of Lancaster. Aymerigot opened the matter to his uncle, Guyot du Sel, who, though about sixty years of age, was well acquainted with arms and with mankind. Guyot approved of the manner in which his nephew intended acting, and said, that to send a person well spoken, and well informed, to England, would not be lost pains. They selected a varlet who had been educated by them, and instructed him as follows: "We will conduct thee in safety out of this fort, in spite of our enemies, and give thee money sufficient for the journey thou art to perform, as well as for thy other wants. Thou wilt carry to England these three letters; one to the king, one to the duke of Lancaster, and the other to the king's council; which thou wilt punctually deliver. Thou wilt recommend me handsomely to them; and, as these are credential letters, they will ask, 'What is the object of thy coming?' thou wilt say that Aymerigot Marcel, their little soldier and subject, who is firm in his obedience to their will, is besieged in a small fort belonging to the king of England, as one of the mesne fiefs of Limousin; that those who are before it exert themselves to their utmost to gain the place, and make him and his companions prisoners; that the besiegers are sent thither by the king of France, under the command of a cousin to the lord de Coucy, called sir Robert viscount de Meaux; that the object of this mission is to request the king of England, his council, and the duke of Lancaster, as lieutenant for the king in the Bordelois, to write to the viscount de Meaux to depart instantly from before la Roche de Vendais with all his men. Be sure to have inserted in the letters for the viscount, that he be careful not to infringe the truce signed at Leulinghen, or to dread the consequences, because I know not what effect these letters may have on the viscount, nor what answer he will make, for he is a strange sort of a man. Obtain, likewise, letters from the king, the council, and the duke of Lancaster, to the duke of Berry; for, if he please, the siege will be instantly raised. Manage to bring back with thee, for thy greater credit, one of the knights of honour to the king or the duke of Lancaster, or Derby the Herald. Salute him from me, and say, if he will accompany thee, (for he is an able negociator, and well acquainted with the duke of Berry and the lords of France,) I will give him one hundred francs. Keep well in thy memory all I have said, and tell every one to whom thou shalt speak, that this little fort, which I have garrisoned, will be very convenient to the English on the renewal of the war; for it is situated on the borders of Auvergne and Limousin, and those countries may be made to contribute upwards of two hundred thousand francs in one season."

Aymerigot Marcel having, in the presence of his uncle, well tutored his messenger, and given him his credential letters, and one hundred francs for his expenses, he was escorted from the fort at midnight, on foot, to another fort belonging to Aymerigot, called Saint Soupery. He there chose the best horse, as they were all at his disposal, for he had a long journey to make, and passed through France as a native of the province of Auvergne. On his arrival at Calais, he made acquaintance with sir John Beauchamp, the governor, to whom he told a part of his business that he might be the sooner forwarded on his journey. This succeeded; for sir John ordered him an immediate passage to Dover, whence, on having his horse put on shore, he continued his road to London, and there arrived in a day and a half. He was fortunate to find the king, his two uncles of Lancaster and York, with the council, at the palace of Westminster, considering the affairs of Northumberland, and what force they should

send thither, for the Scots no way observed the truce. The messenger from Aymerigot having intrusted the subject of his coming to the master of the inn where he put up, he conducted him to Westminster, and procured him admission to the duke of Lancaster, who had arrived before the other counsellors, and was in the presence-chamber. He presented the duke with the letter addressed to him, who, having opened and read it, took the messenger aside to learn the cause of his arrival. The varlet related to him every particular wherewith Aymerigot had charged him. The duke, having heard him, asked if he had more letters. He replied, "One for the king, and another for the council." "It is well," answered the duke: "I will obtain for you an audience," and gave orders to one of his attendants to take care of him.

The duke entered the council-chamber, and when he saw a favourable opportunity, mentioned the arrival of Aymerigot's messenger: by his motion, the varlet was introduced, and presented his letters to the king and to the council. When they were read, he was desired to explain the object of his mission. Being well tutored, and not afraid of speaking, he was not abashed, otherwise he need not have made the journey, and he explained so eloquently the reasons of his coming, and the wishes of Aymerigot, that he was attentively listened to. When he had told all he was charged with, he was informed that they would consider the matter, and that he should have an answer to his demands. He then quitted the council-chamber, and waited for the answer to the letters. He was told that the king would write to the viscount de Meaux, and to the duke of Berry, in the manner Aymerigot had desired. The duke of Lancaster promised to do the same, and that these letters should be delivered by an English squire attached to the duke; and that Derby the herald should cross the sea and accompany them when they gave their letters, to aid their success; for he was well known to many lords in Auvergne, particularly to the duke of Berry.

Aymerigot's messenger was very happy to hear this, and followed so closely the duke of Lancaster that in a few days the letters were written, and the gentleman, whose name I believe was Cherbury, who was to carry them, received orders of departure. The herald Derby most willingly went with him, for Aymerigot's varlet had told him from his master, that if he would cross the sea, he should receive one hundred francs on his arrival at la Roche de Vendais. The letters being sealed, these three took their leave of the duke of Lancaster, and hastened to Dover: they crossed to Calais in a passage-boat, where they lay that night, and at low water disembarked their horses, and on the morrow rode to Boulogne. They passed through Picardy to Paris, but, making no stay there, continued their journey to Auvergne.

When arrived at Limoges and the environs of la Roche de Vendais, they cautiously advanced to enter the castle privately; but, on consideration, the squire and herald did not think it prudent to enter la Roche de Vendais, but sent the messenger forward, saying they could now find the way themselves, and that it would not have a good appearance should they be seen with him, for it would look as if he had been sent to bring them from England; and that what they had to say to the viscount de Meaux would come with more weight as from the king of England himself than if any others had interfered in it. The varlet agreed to their reasons, and, at night-fall, returned to their fort, by a road he was acquainted with, without any hindrance from the besiegers. He there found Aymerigot Marcel, his uncle Guyot du Sel, and the other companions, who made him good cheer, and were astonished that he could have returned from England in so few days. He related every thing that had passed, and that a squire from the duke of Lancaster and Derby the herald had accompanied him with letters from the king and the duke to the viscount de Meaux and to the duke of Berry, should there be occasion. "And why did they not come with you hither?" asked Aymerigot. "Through prudence, as they told me," replied the varlet, "for they will undertake the commission and delivery of their letters themselves, and think it better than that any appearance of collusion should be seen between you and them." "They act wisely," said Guyot du Sel, "and show by this, that the king of England and the duke of Lancaster send them of their own accord, and that they are interested in the matter." "Such are their intentions," answered the messenger.

Aymerigot was delighted on hearing this, and told his varlet that he had done justice to his commission, and he in a few days would handsomely reward him for it. The English squire and

Derby rode on for la Roche de Vendais, to the place where the besiegers lay, and inquired for the quarters of the viscount de Meaux. On being conducted thither, they found the viscount amusing himself with seeing the bar thrown. On their approach, they bowed, which civility he returned, and asked, "whence they came." They replied, "from England, and that they were sent by the king and the duke of Lancaster." "You are welcome," said the viscount; "but what business can have brought you to this wild country?" "My lord," answered Derby, "this is a squire attached to the duke of Lancaster, who brings you letters from the king of England and from his lord, which, if you please, you will read. I have accompanied him, because I am so well acquainted with this country, to serve him as a guide."

The squire presented his letters, which the viscount, after examining the seals, knew to be authentic, and to come from England. He called one of his men aside who could read, and had their contents repeated over two or three times, until he was fully master of them. He was a while pensive, for the king of England had written, to complain that he was day and night occupying a part of his territories with a large army, and doing acts to infringe the truce, which he ought not to do, being directly contrary to the articles that had been sworn and sealed between him and his adversary of France; and that as soon as he should have perused these letters, he must raise the siege, march away his army, and leave Aymerigot Marcel in peaceable possession of a castle which had cost him such large sums to fortify. Such and many other expressions in favour of Aymerigot, did these letters contain. The letter from the duke of Lancaster was nearly similar to those from the king and council; for he was sovereign lord and duke of Aquitaine.

The viscount de Meaux, having consulted some of his friends, said to the squire and the herald,—"My fair sirs, the intelligence you have brought demands full consideration: I will advise upon it, and you shall soon have my answer." They were then conducted to the viscount's tent, to partake of his wine. During this, a council was summoned of the lord de la Tour, sir William le Bouteiller, sir Robert Dauphin, sir Louis d'Abiere, the lord de Montagu, and sir Berald de la Riviere, for this last was of the household of the viscount. When they were assembled, the viscount explained to them the cause, and laid before them the letters he had received. The knights were much surprised how intelligence of their siege could have been carried to England for such letters to be sent from thence, as their siege had not lasted one month. "I will tell you what I imagine," said the viscount: "this Aymerigot is a cunning fellow; and the moment he perceived we intended besieging him, he sent a person to England to request such letters might be written as are now before you, and which I shall obey or not as I please. I inform you that I shall instantly answer them: but, in regard to the orders of the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, I shall not pay any attention to them, for I am no way bound to obey them, but solely the king of France, my lord, who has intrusted me with this command, and sent me hither. Let the herald and squire be introduced, and I will give them my answer." They were sought for, and conducted to the assembly of the viscount and his knights: when in their presence, they bowed their heads, and the viscount thus spoke: "You Derby, and you Thomas Cherbury, for such I think are the names you are designed by in the letters which you have brought from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster. They have been informed, it seems, (but I know not how, whether by a messenger from Aymerigot Marcel or some friend of his, who has been in his name to England,) that I am quartered with a large army on the lands of the king of England, and order me instantly to raise the siege, march away my men. and leave Aymerigot in peaceable possession of the small fort that has cost him so large a sum to repair and strengthen. They tell me likewise that I am risking my own dishonour, by thus infringing a truce, which has been agreed to for three years, between the kings of France and England, and their allies. I declare to you, my fair sirs, that I will not, by any means, violate the smallest article of the truce, nor shall it be infringed by any act of mine, during my residence here. I am the king of France's subject, my liege lord, who has ordered me hither as his marshal, for the present, from the complaints that have been made him, by the nobles and other inhabitants of the countries of Auvergne and Limousin, of the great damages they have suffered from Aymerigot Marcel, who has seized a fort on the confines of these two provinces that had been abandoned, and was never again intended to be inha-

bited, which he has repaired and strengthened, not as a mansion, or house for recreation, but as a castle and rendezvous for robbers and marauders. I am therefore ordered hither to defend and guard the country against such pillagers as may be collected within this fort, called la Roche de Vendais, to prevent their increase in numbers and in wickedness, and to arrest all of them I may be able to lay hold of, that they may suffer the punishment due to their crimes. In consequence, my fair sirs, I shall strictly obey the commands I have received, and loyally acquit myself of my duty. Of course, therefore, I shall not move from hence for any orders I may receive, until I shall have possession of this fort and the garrison that now holds out against me and my companions.

"Should Aymerigot Marcel set up a plea, that I have any way broken the truce, which is equivalent to a perfect peace for the time, let him come forth, and I will have him fought with by as good if not a better man than himself, and prove that it is he alone who has, and continues to violate the articles of the truce. Now, my fair sirs, having maturely weighed everything, I have given you my answer, and you may return when you please; but I beg that, on your return, you will neither add to nor diminish any part of what I have said to you; for reporters, by not relating the exact words in which any conversation has taken place, do not truly inform their lords of the matter." "My lord," replied the squire, "Derby and myself are come hither solely to hear what answer you shall be pleased to make us, and carry it back, and since you have done so, we need not longer remain."

They took leave of the viscount, who ordered ten francs to be given to the herald, out of affection to the king of England, who had sent him, and regard for the duke of Lancaster, to whom he was attached. When they were on the road to Clermont, for they said they had come that way and would return by the same, and when they had advanced about half a league, the following conversation passed between them: "We have had ill success: we must wait on the duke of Berry, who lives in Auvergne." "He is lord of this whole country," said Derby, "and himself duke of Berry and Auvergne." If he will order the viscount de Meaux to decamp, he must do so, for he dare not disobey him. As we have letters to him from the king and the duke of Lancaster, it is but right he should see them, and that we should know his intention on their subject." Thus did they converse until they arrived at Clermont. They were made welcome, for the herald was well acquainted in these parts, having been there before; and when any questions were asked, who and what they were, they declared themselves messengers from the king of England. Having inquired where the duke resided, they were told at a handsome castle called la Nonnette. The herald knew it well, and, leaving Clermont, they rode to Issoire, and thence to La Nonnette, but the mountain is very steep on which is situated the castle. On their arrival they found numbers of the duke's servants playing in the square before the castle-grate. The herald was known to many of them, and conducted to the duke of Berry, who, in consideration of his regard to the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, ordered him and his companion to be well taken care of.

The squire, being the bearer of the letters from the king, presented them to the duke, who, having read them twice slowly through, paused a little, and then gave such courteous answers as both were satisfied with; for he said, "from his affection to his cousins, he would do all in his power to comply with their requests." The herald and squire concluded from this, that they should completely succeed in their mission, and were in high spirits; but, as you shall hear, they were disappointed. The duke of Berry was not neglectful of the business, and exerted himself to have the siege of La Roche de Vendais raised, from his regard to the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, who entreated it; and engaged, that if Aymerigot Marcel were left in the quiet possession of his fort, he should not, hereafter, molest the country, and that he should make any reparation to the king of France for having offended him. The duke of Berry, anxious to oblige the English who were in his castle, wrote letters to this purport to the viscount de Meaux; and, before they were sealed, had them read to his guests, who were exceedingly pleased with their contents.

The letters were dispatched by an able squire of the duke to the viscount de Meaux, who, having learnt their contents, summoned his principal knights, and had them again read in their presence, during the time the squire who had brought them was made welcome; for,

out of love to the duke of Berry, they gave him good cheer. "Gentlemen," said the viscount to his companions, "we shall never have peace since the duke of Berry supports Aymerigot, who is the greatest enemy Auvergne and its poor inhabitants have ever had, and for these last twelve years has so sore oppressed them. I thought the duke hated him; but it seems I was mistaken, for he commands me to break up the siege. I will not at this moment obey his orders, but excuse myself from so doing, by the commission I have received from the king our lord, who strictly enjoined me, on leaving Paris, not to quit this place for any orders I might receive, except they came from himself, until I had conquered the fort of La Roche de Vendais, and taken Aymerigot by fair or foul means. The duke now commands me to raise the siege, the instant I have read his letters; but, by my faith, I will do no such thing." "Sir," replied the knights and squires of Auvergne, "you say loyally and well: we will keep steady to you. We suppose that my lord of Berry is induced to write thus in favour of his enemies, by similar letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster to those you have received, which the herald and English squire have carried to him." "I dare say you have guessed right," said the viscount: "I will, if I can, find out the truth of it."

The squire was called in to receive his answer, and when in the presence of the assembled knights, the viscount thus addressed him, calling him by his name, for he knew him well,— "Peter, I wish you to understand that I owe, and am desirous of paying, all obedience to my lord of Berry, for he is so noble, and so nearly related to the king, that I should be sorry to do otherwise, but myself and companions, whom you see, have been for these five weeks before this fort, to take it and the thieves who garrison it, by positive orders from the king and his council. We wonder, therefore, and not without reason, how my lord of Berry can entreat us in favour of his enemies, and desire us to raise the siege and march away. We all agree in declaring that, if it were done, we should give the greatest encouragement to all thieves who in future may overrun the kingdom, and induce them to commit the greatest outrages. Peter, you will tell the duke of Berry from us all, and from me in particular, that we are ready and willing to obey his commands, but that I have been so positively ordered to continue this siege, with as much vigour and patience as possible, until I be master of the place and garrison, that I dare not act contrary; and say, that I shall not obey any other commands but those of the king, whose subject I am, and who has sent me hither. I beg of you, Peter, to tell me one thing, if it is not an improper question for you to answer, how comes it that my lord of Berry sues in favour of Aymerigot Marcel, who has done such mischief to Auvergne and Limousin, now that he is in a fair way of being caught and punished for his wickedness and breach of faith in the articles of the truce?"

The squire replied,—"Two Englishmen, a herald and another, have come to the duke, with very pressing letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster in favour of Aymerigot." "I readily believe you," said the viscount: "it is Derby the herald, and a squire called Cherbury, who likewise brought me the other day letters similar, I suppose, to those you mention. Say also from me, in addition to what I have before spoken, that I beg my lord of Berry to consider well this matter; that letters thus obtained from lords on the other side of the water deserve no attention from lords on this side, who love the honour or advantage of the kingdom of France." "My lord," answered the squire, "be assured that I will repeat every word you have said to the duke of Berry, for Aymerigot is not so much in my favour but I would rather see his punishment than his deliverance." On this, the squire took leave of the viscount and knights present, mounted his horse, and rode to La Nonnette, where he related to the duke of Berry, that the viscount de Meaux would not, for any other commands but those directly from the king, break up his siege. This answer was not very agreeable to the duke, who imagined he was of that importance, his letters ought to have attention paid them in France, or at least in Auvergne. When Derby and his companion learnt the purport of the answer, they were much cast down, for they saw they had laboured in vain. They asked the duke, what they were now to do. "Shall we leave you with unsatisfactory answers to our king and the duke of Lancaster? who had the fullest hope you would have had the siege of La Roche de Vendais raised, for it is within

your territories." "A little patience," replied the duke: "Aymerigot is in a very strong place, and, unless some unfortunate accident happen, cannot for a long time be taken. I must shortly go to Paris; and, when there, I will press the matter warmly with the king and his council, since my good cousins of England are so earnest in the matter. You both shall accompany me, and witness the exertions I make." This speech contented the squire and the herald.

Within four days afterward, the duke set out from La Nonnette, leaving there the duchess and the greater part of his household, and went to Riom in Auvergne. He waited there eight days for the count de Sancerre and the lord de Renel*, whom he had sent to Avignon on his private affairs. On their arrival, they set out together through the Bourbonnois, and, by a short day's journey, came to Bourges, where they tarried two days. On the third, the duke departed, and came to Mehun-sur-Yevre†, where he had one of the handsomest castles in the world; for the duke had expended upwards of three hundred thousand francs in building and ornamenting it. He remained there a fortnight, to the great uneasiness of the two Englishmen who were suitors for Aymerigot: but, as they could not help it, they dissembled their thoughts. Indeed, the duke no longer intended interfering about him, and I will explain why. The count de Sancerre, the lord de Renel, and sir Peter Mespin, were his principal advisers: they heavily charged Aymerigot with several crimes, gently blaming the duke, and saying it was unbecoming him to interfere in the affairs of so notorious a pillager, whose whole life had been infamous; that he had committed such disgraceful acts in Auvergne and Limousin, it would be improper to speak in his favour, and that he ought to be left for the king's justice to punish. This, and speeches similar to it, had so cooled the duke as to prevent him from thinking longer on the subject; but the two Englishmen did not neglect their duty in reminding the duke of it, who, dissembling his real opinion, courteously answered,—"Have patience: we shall soon be at Paris." Notwithstanding this, he still remained at Mehun-sur-Yevre more than three weeks, planning new improvements with his master of the works, Andrew Beau-neveu, in sculpture and painting; for in such arts he took great delight, and was well skilled in them. There was not a more able man in this respect than master Andrew Beau-neveu, in any country, as may be judged from the many fine works he executed in France, Hainault, (his native country,) and England, where they now remain.

CHAPTER XVII.—AYMERIGOT MARCEL HAVING LEFT LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS, TO SEEK SUCCOUR FROM OTHER PILLAGERS, HIS LIEUTENANT, GUYOT DU SEL, IS SURPRISED BY AN AMBUSCADE, AND THE FORT SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

I WILL now relate what happened to Aymerigot Marcel, and to his fort of La Roche de Vendais. He had a quick imagination, and concluded, from the continuance of the siege, that the letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster had failed in the effect he looked to from them. He therefore thought of another expedient, which was to leave his castle and ride night and day unto the garrisons in Perigord and other places, to call upon Guyonnet de Sainte Foix, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, Ernauton de Rostem, John de Morsen, Peter d'Anchin, Remonnet de Copane, with other Gascon and Béarnois men at arms of the English party, and entice them by fair speeches to enter Auvergne for the sake of plunder, and then to advance to La Roche de Vendais, some morning or evening, and capture the knights and squires before it, which would bring them more than one hundred thousand francs for their ransoms, without counting smaller articles of pillage. He explained his whole plan to his uncle, Guyot du Sel, and asked his opinion. He replied, that he very much approved of it, for that he saw no other means of being delivered from the French. "Well, uncle," said Aymerigot,—"since you approve, I will undertake it; but I must beg one thing of you before I set out." "What is that?" replied Guyot. "It is, that during

* "The lord de Renel." The MSS. have Revel.

† "Mehun-sur-Yevre." Charles VII. built a large castle, or probably repaired this of the duke of Berry, wherein he died 1461, having starved himself for fear of being poisoned by his son, Louis XI.

my absence you never sally out of the castle, nor open the barriers, whatever skirmishes the French may make, for you may lose more than you can gain." "I will take care not to do it," answered Guyot: "we will remain shut up here, until your return or until we hear some news of you." "Indeed, my good uncle, I beg it of you, for we cannot vex them more than by keeping within our walls: as for their attacks and skirmishes, we do not value them." Within three days after, Aymerigot left the castle attended only by a page, and began his journey without fear of the French. His intention was to bring back with him some bold companions, and raise the siege.

Although Aymerigot had quitted La Roche de Vendais, it was unknown to the besiegers; for the garrison could go in and out without danger from them. There were daily skirmishes before the castle and at the barriers; and, about five or six days after the departure of Aymerigot, there was a grand assault made by the French, who were divided into three parties, all of which were engaged. Guyot du Sel was a good man at arms, and had long used them; but through arrogance, and neglecting to observe the orders of his nephew not to open the barriers nor to sally forth on any account, he suffered as you will hear.

Three squires, two from Auvergne and one from Brittany, displayed great courage, and were pre-eminent at this attack at the part of the old walls very near the castle. The squires from Auvergne were called Richard de la Violette and Lubinot de Rochefort; the Breton was le Monadic, who, when made prisoner, at the taking of Ventadour, had attached himself to sir William le Bouteiller. This assault lasted until night, and, though these squires gained renown, the besiegers, in spite of their labour and pain, made no other profit. The viscount de Meaux determined, that at the next skirmish he would place an ambuscade of twelve men at arms in an old grotto withoutside the fort; and he told his men,—"Advance to skirmish at the barriers; and if you shall perceive the garrison inclined to make a sally, as is likely enough for such covetous persons to do, retire gently on this side the ambush, when you will wheel round to renew the attack, and they, being thus surrounded, will be made prisoners or slain."

The viscount's plan was executed. Those named for the ambuscade were Lewis de la Glisvelle, Robert de Bethencourt, Vandelle, William de la Saulsoye, Peter de Saint Vidal, Gionnet de Villeracque, Peter de Col, Andrew de la Roche, John Salmage, with three others to make up the dozen of good men at arms, who posted themselves within the old grotto. Another party went to skirmish, under the command of the three before-named squires: they were richly armed at all points, the more to tempt the avarice of the garrison, and were only twelve in number. When arived at the barriers, they purposely began the attack most awkwardly, so that Guyot du Sel held them cheap, and said to his companions,—"By Saint Marcel, we will make a sally; for there are at the barriers a set of youngsters who, from their manner, do not seem much accustomed to the use of arms. We will teach them their use; and they cannot avoid being our prisoners. At these words, he had the barriers flung open, and sallied forth, forgetful of his promise to Aymerigot. The great desire he had to perform some deed of arms, and to gain a prize, induced him to act thus. The French were much rejoiced to see the garrison without the fort, and that Guyot du Sel was among the first: they retreated by little and little until they had passed the ambush, eagerly pursued by Guyot's party. When those in ambush saw it was time, they quitted the grotto, and posted themselves on the road to the fort, shouting out—"Coucy for the viscount!" and thus enclosed their front and rear.

Guyot du Sel, observing this, knew he had been in fault, and that it would be difficult for him to save himself, or to return to the fort. He began to retire towards the barriers, but was strongly opposed. Why should I lengthen my story? They were all made prisoners, as it were in a trap, and led in triumph to the quarters of the viscount and the other knights. When the viscount de Meaux saw Guyot du Sel, he asked him "where was Aymerigot Marcel?" for he thought he was in the castle. Guyot replied, "he was ignorant where he was, for he had left the fort twelve days ago." The knights, hearing this, concluded he was gone to seek for aid. Guyot du Sel and his fellow-prisoners were then ordered away; and the viscount asked the knights of Auvergne, "what should be done to these prisoners?" for he wished to act from their decision. Sir William le Bouteiller answered,—"Sir, I certainly

believe that Aymerigot Marcel is gone to persuade the garrisons of other forts to come to his assistance: he will easily find, in spite of the truce, adventurers, who will join him in his wickedness, and they may fall on us some morning or evening when we are unprepared to resist them, and do us much damage: Aymerigot is very cunning, and of great wealth. Let us therefore tell Guyot du Sel to surrender la Roche de Vendais, and if he refuse his consent, that his own head, and those of all his companions, shall instantly be sacrificed."

"This is good advice," replied the viscount; "for, in truth, to obtain this fort are we come into the country. If we have not now Aymerigot Marcel, another time we may be more successful." Upon this, the viscount, the lord de la Tour, sir Robert Dauphin, sir William le Bouteiller and their companions, advanced as near to the fort as they could, carrying with them Guyot du Sel and the other prisoners. The viscount, addressing himself to Guyot as the captain, said,—"Guyot, you, as well as your friends, who are now our prisoners, must know that, unless you will surrender to us the fort of la Roche de Vendais, we shall instantly order your heads to be cut off; but, if you will yield it up, we will allow you freely to depart whither you please. Now, consider which you prefer, death or liberty." Guyot du Sel replied, "My lord, I will do all I can to accommodate you," and with this he advanced to the barriers to speak with those within the fort. You must know, that the remaining garrison looked on themselves as conquered; for they knew not how to act, nor whom to choose for their leader, since they had now lost their two captains, the most able among them. Guyot du Sel had not sooner explained his situation than they agreed to surrender on the terms, that they should carry away with them all they were able, and be allowed one month to retire whither they pleased. This was instantly agreed to, and written and signed. The French, by the fortunate issue of the skirmish, became masters of la Roche de Vendais: so true is it, that good or ill fortune in arms is the lot of perseverance.

The whole country was much rejoiced on hearing of this surrender. The articles of the treaty with Guyot du Sel were punctually observed, and when the garrison had packed up all they could carry, they had permission to depart, and passports given them, to continue for one month. The viscount de Meaux and his knights abandoned la Roche de Vendais to the country people, who instantly set about demolishing it, and never left it until there did not remain one stone on another. The men at arms from Auvergne, who had joined the viscount, now took leave of him, and returned to their homes. The viscount permitted many of his own men to depart for Picardy: he himself went for la Rochelle, but stopped at Saint Jean d'Angely, to defend that part of Saintonge against pillagers, who, whenever they found a good opportunity, overran it, for his orders were to oppose them.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE MESSENGERS FROM ENGLAND, HEARING OF THE SURRENDER OF LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS, TAKE LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY.—AYMERIGOT RETIRES TO THE HOUSE OF A RELATION, CALLED TOURNEMINE, WHO BETRAYS HIM TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—HE IS CARRIED TO PARIS, AND THERE BEHEADED AND HIS BODY QUARTERED.

You have heard how la Roche de Vendais was won, to the contentment of the surrounding country, for, had it been otherwise, it would have suffered much from the garrison. News of this was carried to the duke of Berry at Cantelon, a manor of his situated between Chartres and Montlehery, nine leagues from Paris; but he was indifferent about the matter, for he was become quite cool in regard to soliciting the king in favour of Aymerigot Marcel.

When Derby the herald heard of the surrender from the duke's knights, he said to Cherbury,—"I have lost one hundred francs, which Aymerigot had promised me." "For what? and how have you lost them?" asked the squire. "In God's name," said Derby, "la Roche de Vendais has surrendered: the French have conquered it. Let us take leave of the duke of Berry and return to England, for we have nothing further to do here." "Since it is so," answered the squire, "I agree to it." They demanded leave of the duke to depart, who granted it, and gave them letters to the king of England and the duke of

Lancaster, in answer to those they had brought. On their departure, he presented the herald with forty francs, and gave to the squire a handsome hackney. On quitting the duke, they took the shortest road to Calais, and, I believe, went straight to England.

News of the loss of this fort was carried to Aymerigot Marcel, as he was raising troops to break up the siege. When he first heard it, he would have all the particulars told him. On learning that it had been occasioned by an imprudent sally Guyot du Sel had made on the French, he exclaimed,—"Ah, the old traitor! by Saint Marcel, if I had him here, I would slay him. He has disgraced me and all my companions. On my departure, I had most positively ordered him not to quit the fort, whatever attempts the French might make, and he has done just the contrary. This loss can never be recovered; nor do I know whither to make my retreat. The garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac are determined to abide by the truce, and my companions are scattered abroad like discomfited persons; but, if they were with me, I know not whither I could lead them. Considering all things, I am in a distressing situation: I have too greatly angered the king of France, the duke of Berry, and the barons and commonalty of Auvergne, to expect any favour; for I have made war on them during the truce, thinking to gain, but I am now more likely to lose everything: I know not how to act; I wish at this moment that my wife, myself and fortune, were in England; we there should be safe; but how the devil are we to get thither? for I shall be robbed of my wealth twenty times before I can arrive at the sea-shore. All the roads through Poitou, Normandy, and Picardy, that lead to the sea, are well guarded: I have forfeited my life; that is clear; and, if I am taken and sent to Paris, shall be punished accordingly, and lose my all. My safest plan will be to make for Bordeaux, and to have my wealth sent thither by little and little, and then to remain there as long as the truce holds; for I am in hopes that, after these truces, a curse on them! the war will be renewed with more vigour than ever between France and England. The free companions will, by that time, have spent their former gains, and be eager to replenish their purses." Thus did Aymerigot Marcel converse with himself: he was cast down and sorrowful, and knew not from whom to ask advice, nor whether to return to Auvergne, or go to Bordeaux and send for his wife, and have his fortune brought thither by little at a time. If he had followed this plan, he would have done well; but he acted otherwise, and, as the event will show, suffered for it. It is thus Fortune treats her favourites: when she has raised them to the highest point of her wheel, she suddenly plunges them in the dirt: witness Aymerigot Marcel. The foolish fellow was worth, as was believed in Auvergne, more than one hundred thousand francs in money, which he lost in one day, together with his life. I therefore say, that dame Fortune played him one of her tricks, which she had played to several before, and she will do the same to many after him.

Aymerigot, in his tribulations, bethought himself of a cousin-german he had in Auvergne, a squire called Tournemine, to whom he resolved to apply, and ask his advice. This he did, and, only attended by a page, entered the castle of his cousin. He thought to be well received there, on account of his relationship, but was disappointed; for this squire was not in the good graces of the duke of Berry, who indeed hated him, as the squire knew well. He was afraid of the consequences, and resolved, on seeing his cousin Aymerigot enter his castle, to arrest him and inform the duke of Berry what he had done, and offer, if he would forgive him and be on good terms for the future, to deliver up Aymerigot Marcel, for him to do with him as he should please. All this he executed; for, when Aymerigot entered the castle, he was shown into a chamber, when, having pulled off his sword and cleaned himself, he asked the servants, "Where is my cousin Tournemine?" "He is in his chamber," replied the servants, who already knew their master's design: "come and see him." "With all my heart," said Aymerigot. Having put on a new dress, and laid aside his coat of mail, which he usually wore, he said to the servants, "Come, let us go to my cousin Tournemine, for it is a long time since I have seen him." They conducted him straight to his chamber, and, on entering it, Aymerigot saluted him, suspecting no evil: but Tournemine said,—"How is this, Aymerigot? Who has sent for you? and what has brought you hither? You wish to dishonour me. I therefore arrest you as my prisoner; for I should not otherwise loyally acquit myself to the crown of France, nor to my lord of Berry: you are a wicked traitor, who have broken the truce, and shall suffer for it: it is on your account the duke of

Berry hates me mortally, but, through your means, I will make my peace; for, dead or alive, you shall be given up to him, and never, on any other account, shall you leave this castle." This speech astonished Aymerigot, who replied,—"Why, Tournemine, I am your cousin. Are you in earnest in what you say? or do you do it to try me? I came hither, in full confidence, to see you and ask your advice, and I meet with this cruel and harsh reception." "I know not what you proposed for yourself," answered Tournemine, "but I shall certainly execute what I have intimated to you," and then laid hands on him: his servants, who knew what they were to do, advanced and seized him. Thus was Aymerigot taken without a possibility of making any defence; for, as I have said, he had disarmed himself; nor could any entreaties prevent Tournemine from ordering him heavy fetters on his legs, and causing him to be confined in a strong tower under safeguards.



Execution of Aymerigot Marcel at Paris. From MS. Froissart of the fifteenth century.

When this was done, he had the gates of the castle locked, taking himself the keys, ordering his servants, under pain of death, not to go near the gates unless sent by him. He then wrote letters to the duke of Berry, to say he had made Aymerigot Marcel his prisoner; and if he would forgive him and make a solid peace, he would give him up to his pleasure. When the letters were finished and sealed, he called to him his most confidential servant, and said,—"Set out instantly for Paris, and deliver these letters to the duke of Berry: recommend me to him, and be sure not to return without answers." The varlet took the letters, mounted an active horse, and rode to Paris, where the duke of Berry was. On being admitted, he presented the letters from his master, Tournemine. The duke, having opened and read them, said smiling to his knights,—"Would you like to hear news? Aymerigot Marcel is caught: his cousin-german Tournemine, as he writes me word, holds him in prison." The knights replied,—"My lord, this is excellent news for Auvergne and Limousin; for they have had, for a long time, a bad neighbour in Aymerigot.

He has done so much mischief that, if you please, he shall make his end on a gibbet, for he deserves no favour nor pardon." "I know not," said the duke, "what the king or his council may wish to do with him: I shall talk with them on the subject." Not long after this conversation, the duke took boat and crossed the Seine to the Louvre, where the king and his council were. He related the intelligence he had received, and gave them the letters of Tournemine to read, which afforded satisfaction to all. The lords said, that such pillagers always came to a disgraceful death, and that sooner or later it awaited them. It was determined, that the duke of Berry should undertake the management of this business, and order the séneschal of Auvergne to fetch Aymerigot, and bring him to Paris, where he should be confined in the Bastille, at the gate of St. Anthony, and delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet, who would take good care of him. It was also resolved, that on account of the agreeable service Tournemine had now done to the crown of France, all his former misdeeds should be forgiven, and a pardon granted by letters patent, which Tournemine's servant brought back with him, and by it pleased his master greatly, for in them he confided.

It was not long before the séneschal of Auvergne, by an order from the duke of Berry, came to the castle of Tournemine, and had Aymerigot Marcel delivered up to him: who was thunderstruck at thus finding himself in the hands of his enemies. Why should I make a long story of it? The séneschal had him escorted by a body of men at arms through the country, and crossed the Seine and Marne at Charenton. Thence he conducted him to the castle of the Bastille, and delivered him to the charge of the viscount d'Achy, who was at that time governor of it. He was not long detained there, but given up to the provost of the Châtelet, who carried him thither. True it is, that he offered sixty thousand francs for his pardon, but no one would have anything to do with him: they told him the king was rich enough, and wanted not his money. From the time he was delivered to the provost, there was no delay in his trial, when he was condemned to a shameful death, as a traitor to the crown of France.

He was first carried in a cart to the pillory in the market-place, and turned round within it several times. His different crimes were then read aloud, for which he was to receive death. Sir William le Trun* was by his side a long time, and talked much with him, on the affairs of Auvergne as it was supposed, and to learn the truth respecting several captains of forts, whether they had been associates in his wickedness. This was certainly known to the lords, but I never could gain information respecting it. His head was cut off, and his four quarters affixed over four different gates of Paris. Such was the end of Aymerigot Marcel; but I know not what became of his wife, or of his wealth.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE CHRISTIAN LORDS WEIGH ANCHOR, AND LEAVE THE ISLAND OF COMINO, IN ORDER TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF AFRICA.—THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY CONDUCT THEMSELVES.

I HAVE dwelt very long on the subject of Aymerigot Marcel, in detailing his actions, that I might illustrate his life and death; for in such a history as this, both good and bad must be spoken of, that they may serve as an excitement or warning in times to come. Had Aymerigot turned his mind to virtue, he would have done much good, for he was an able man at arms and of great courage; but, having acted in a different manner, he came to a disgraceful death.

We will return to the noble enterprise the knights of France and other countries had undertaken against Africa, and continue our narrative from the place where we left off. It was, I believe, at the island of Comino that the knights had assembled, after the great storm in the gulf of Lyons, to wait for those who had separated from the fleet, as that island was but thirty miles from Africa, whither they were bound. They remained there nine days, and, when recovered from their fatigues, they addressed the masters of the navys as follows: "Gentlemen, we are now on the nearest land to the strong town

* In the MSS. it is sir William le Bouteiller, which I should think more probable.

of Africa, whither, if it please God, we will go, and besiege it. We must therefore consult with you how we may enter the harbour and disembark. We propose to send in advance our smaller vessels, called brigandines, to amuse the enemy, while we remain at the mouth of the harbour: on the following day we will, at our leisure, land, through God's grace, and encamp ourselves as near the town as possible, out of the reach of their bricolles *: the Genoese cross-bows shall be drawn up, and ready for defence or attack. We suppose that, on our debarkation, a multitude of your young squires will demand to be knighted, for increase of honour and advancement. Instruct them gently how they ought to act, for you are very capable of doing it; and know, gentlemen, that we are well inclined to acquit ourselves handsomely towards you; and, to show our eagerness to annoy the enemy, we shall take every possible pains that this town of Africa may be won. It has done you too great damage to be longer endured, and is, beside, the key of the empire of Barbary and the surrounding kingdoms of Africa, Morocco and Bugia. Should God, of his goodness, permit us to conquer it, all the Saracens will tremble, as far as Nubia and Syria, and we shall be everywhere talked of. With the assistance of the princes of Christendom, who are the nearest to us, we may reinforce it with men, and victual it again; so that, if once we gain possession, it will become a place for all knights and squires to adventure themselves in arms against the enemies of God, and conquer their lands." "My lords," replied the masters of the vessels, "we shall never pretend to teach you how to act, but give our opinions with all modesty and humility; for you are too noble, wise and valiant, for us to pretend to lay down rules for your conduct." The lord de Coucy said,—"We should, however, wish to have your opinions, for we have observed nothing but what is praise-worthy in you; and, as it is you who have brought us hither, to accomplish deeds of arms, we shall never act without having your advice." Such were the conversations held in the island of Comino, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, and some of the great barons of France, with the captains of the Genoese vessels, before they sailed for the coast of Africa.

When all was ready, and the men at arms had re-embarked on board their galleys, with a good will to meet their enemies the Saracens, the admiral gave orders for the trumpets to sound, and the fleet to get under weigh. The sea was now calm, and the weather fine: it was a pleasure to see the rowers force their vessels through its smooth surface, which seemed to delight in bearing these Christians to the shores of the infidels. Their fleet was numerous and well ordered; and it was a fine sight to view their various banners and pennons, emblazoned with their arms, fluttering with the gentle gales, and glittering in the sun. Late in the evening, the Christians saw the towers of Africa, as pointed out to them by the sailors, which, as they advanced, opened more to their view. Every one was rejoiced at this sight, and not without cause, as they had in part accomplished the object of their voyage. If the Christians, on thus seeing Africa, conversed much concerning the war they were about to commence, the Saracens, who had as plainly observed them from their town, and were on the watch, did the same. They were astonished at the great number of vessels, of all descriptions, and concluded they had a very large army on board, to besiege the town. They were not cast down with this, for they knew the place was strong, well fortified with towers, and plentifully stored with artillery and provisions.

On their first noticing the fleet, they sounded, according to custom, a number of bells on the towers, to alarm and inform the country that an enemy was on the coast. There were encamped near the town a large body of barbarians and infidels, whom the kings of Tunis and Bugia had sent thither to defend the coast, and prevent the Christians from making any progress into the interior of the country. The noise of the trumpets and drums announced to them the arrival of the Christians; and, in consequence, they formed their army according to their manner, and sent some of the ablest captains to the shore to observe the motions of the enemy, and the manner of their debarkation. They also posted their most expert men at arms on the towers and battlements of the town, that they might not be taken by surprise; for it was strong enough to resist everything but a long siege, if they were on their guard.

As I, John Froissart, the author of these chronicles, was never in Africa, I sought all the information I could from those knights and squires who had been on this expedition, and

* "Bricolles,"—machines to throw stones: a sort of sling.—Du Cange.



The expedition of the French and English to the siege of Africa, at the invasion of the Genoese

made several journeys to Calais to learn the truth of all that had passed*. [Having inquired as to the size and form of the town of Africa, some who had been there figured it out to me, and said it was in the form of a bow, like to Calais, extending its arms towards the sea. This town of Africa, at the time the lords of France and other nations were before it with an anxious desire to win it, was wonderfully strong, surrounded with high walls at proper distances: the entrance of the harbour was defended by a tower larger than the rest, on which was placed a bricolle to cast large stones and quarrels, with which it was well provided.

When the Christians approached the harbour, the walls of the town seemed to be hung with cloths or tapestry, somewhat similar in appearance to coverlids of beds. They cast anchor about one league distant from the port, where they remained until the morrow. The night was clear and serene, for it was the month of July, about Magdalen-tide; and they made themselves comfortable, rejoicing that, through God's pleasure, they had so far succeeded as to have the town of Africa now before them.

The Saracens, who were on the opposite shore observing the Christian fleet, held this night a council on their future mode of proceeding, for they knew the town would be besieged. They thus conversed among themselves: "Our enemies are now arrived: they will, if they can, land and lay siege to Africa, which is the key to the adjoining kingdoms. We must, therefore, consider well our plans for opposing them; otherwise we shall be greatly blamed, and especially if we should not at first dispute their landing." It was proposed by a valiant Saracen, called Mandifer, to resist their landing, as being the most honourable, and to oppose them instantly with their whole force, or they would probably have fault found with them. This was strongly supported by many, as it seemed the most courageous plan; when an ancient Saracen began to speak, who had great influence among them, as he showed. This lord came from a town in Africa called Maldages, and his name was Bellius. He gave his opinion quite contrary to that of Mandifer, and supported it with the following reasons:— "Gentlemen, we are sent hither to guard the coast and defend this country; but we have had no orders from the kings of Tunis or of Bugia to attack our enemies without having maturely considered the consequences. What I have to propose, I will maintain by such reasons as these: First, you must suppose that this army of Christians has been long in preparation, and is provided with all things necessary. Their captains, you may also believe, are perfect men at arms, as able in council as in the field, with the greatest ardour to perform deeds of arms. If we meet them on the shore, they will advance their Genoese cross-bows, for you may be assured they have brought numbers of them. It will be against them who have such excellent cross-bows that we must support the first attack; and we are not armed nor have we shields to guard us against their arrows: our men, finding themselves wounded, will draw back and refuse the combat, so that these Genoese will make good their landing in spite of us. Their men at arms, desirous of displaying their courage, will leap from their boats, and, observing our disorder, will attack us with lances, and gain a victory: should this happen, the town of Africa is irrecoverably lost for anything we can do to prevent it. Those within will be so much discouraged by our defeat, that before our men can be rallied, the place will be taken by storm or capitulation, and be so well guarded that we shall have the greatest difficulty to regain it. The French, and those with them, are very expert and subtle in arms. I therefore maintain, that it will be more to our advantage that the enemy should be ignorant of our force at the onset; for at this moment we have not a sufficiency to offer them battle, though our strength is daily increasing. I advise, that we suffer them to disembark at their ease; for, as they have no horses to advance into the country, they will remain where they land, suspicious of our intentions.] The town of Africa is not afraid of them, nor of their attacks, for it is tolerably strong, and well provided with everything. The air is now warm, and will be hotter. They will be exposed to the heat of the sun, while we shall be in the shade. Their provisions will be destroyed, without hopes of having a supply, if they make any long stay, and we shall have abundance from our own country: we will frequently beat up their quarters; and should they be unfortunate

* All within these marks [ ] is additional matter, omitted by Sauvage and Verrard, from MS. No. 4379, Bib. Harl. in the Museum, and from a MS. in the Hafod Library, which is precisely the same.

in these skirmishes, they will be worn down. We must avoid all general engagements, otherwise we cannot conquer them; but we shall do it by this plan, and trusting to the climate, which is so contrary to the nature of their constitutions. [They will not have any reinforcements, and we shall have many. The extreme heat of the sun, and the fatigue they will undergo from being always armed in fear of us, will very soon bring on disorders which will carry numbers to the grave, and thus shall we be revenged without striking a blow.] Such is the plan I propose; and, if I knew of any better, I would lay it before you."

All those in the council who had been used to arms adopted the advice the old Saracen lord had given. It was in consequence forbidden, under pain of death, for the army to attack or skirmish with the Christians on the sea-shore, but they were ordered to remain quietly in their quarters, and suffer them to land and encamp themselves without any opposition. None dared infringe these orders. They sent a body of their archers into the town of Africa, to assist in its defence, and never made any movement until the morrow, so that the country seemed uninhabited.

The Christians having lain this night, as I have said, at anchor at the mouth of the harbour, made themselves ready the next day, which was a clear bright morning, for approaching the town, being very desirous to land. Trumpets and clarions began to sound and make a loud noise on board the different galleys and ships. When it was about nine o'clock, and the Christians had drunk a cup, and partaken of soup made of Grecian or Malmsey wines, with which they had abundantly provided themselves, to cheer their hearts and raise their spirits, they began to execute the plan they had laid down while at the island of Comino. They sent, as it seems to me, some light vessels called brigandines, armed with bricolles and cannons, first towards the harbour. When they were properly drawn up in array, they entered the haven, and saluted the town with arrows and stones; but the walls were hung with wet carpeting to deaden their blows. These brigandines entered the port without damage, and were followed by the galleys and other vessels in such handsome order as to make a pleasant show. In turning into the harbour, there was a large castle with towers, and on one larger than the rest was placed a bricolle, for the defence of the place, which was not idle, but threw quarrels among the fleet. On each of the towers on the walls was a bricolle which shot well; and, to say the truth, the Saracens had laid in stores for a long time, from the expectation of a siege.

When the Christians entered the port of Africa, to disembark, the weather was so beautiful, and their order so well preserved, that it was delightful to see it. Their trumpets and clarions made the air resound, and were echoed back by the waves. Many knights both from France and from other countries now displayed their banners, and several knights were created. The first of whom was John lord de Ligny, in Hainault: he was knighted by his cousin, sir Henry d'Antoing; and the lord de Ligny there first displayed his banner, which was emblazoned with his arms on a field or, having a bend gules. He was accompanied by his cousin-german, the lord d'Havreth in Hainault. All the knights and squires disembarked in view of the Saracens, on a Wednesday, the vigil of Magdalen-day*, in the year of grace 1390, and as they landed, encamped according to orders from the marshals. Thus they took possession of the land of their enemies, who, noticing their camp, could not avoid highly praising the good order of it. Those in the larger galleys, that could not lie near the shore, were put into boats and conveyed to land, under the banner of our Lady. The Saracens, both within and without the town, allowed them to land peaceably, for they were not in numbers sufficient to oppose them: and the French advanced with displayed banners, on which were emblazoned their arms, to the places marked out for their lodgings by the marshals.

The duke of Bourbon, as commander in chief, was lodged in the centre of his army, with all honour, and powerfully guarded. The device on his banner, powdered over with flowers-de-luce, was a figure of the Virgin Mary in white, seated in the centre, and an escutcheon of Bourbon at her feet. I will name those lords of rank who were quartered on the right of the duke, looking towards the town: first, sir William de la Tremouille and his brother with a pennon; the lord de Bordenay, with a banner; sir Helion de Lignac, with a pennon; the

* "Magdalen-day,"—the 22d July.

lord de Tours, the same. Then were placed the Hainaulters, whose standard bore the device of the lord William of Hainault, at that time count d'Ostrevant, eldest son of duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Holland, Hainault, and Zealand, which device was a harrow or, on a field gules. There were the lord d'Havreth, with his banner; the lord de Ligny, with his; and then the lord Philip, count d'Artois, with his banner; the lord de Mathefelon, with his banner; the lord de Calan, with a pennon: the séneschal d'Eu, with the same; the lord de Linieres, with a banner; the lord de Thim, with the same; the lord d'Ameval, with the same; sir Walter de Chastillon, with a pennon; sir John de Châteaumorant, with a banner; the brother to the marshal de Sancerre, with a pennon; the lord de Coucy, with his banner, and better supported than any, except the duke of Bourbon; the lord de Licques, with a pennon; sir Stephen de Sancerre, with the same; and then the pennon of the king of France, blazoned with his device: beside it, was sir John le Barrois, with his pennon ornamented with his arms; sir William Morles, with his banner; the lord de Longueval, with a pennon; sir John de Roye, with a banner; the lord de Bours, with a pennon; the viscount d'Ausnay, a banner; and sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, with his banner.

Those on the left hand of the duke of Bourbon, were the lord d'Ausemont, with a banner; sir John Beaufort, bastard to the duke of Lancaster, a banner; sir John le Bouteiller, an Englishman, a pennon; sir John de Crama, a banner; the souldich de l'Estrade, a pennon; sir John de Harcourt, a banner; the lord Berald, count de Clermont, and dauphin of Auvergne, a banner, and with good array; sir Hugh Dauphin, his brother, a pennon; the lord de Berthencourt, a pennon; the lord de Pierre Buffiere, a banner; the lord de Saint Semere, a banner; the lord de Louvart, marshal of the army, a pennon; the begue de Beausse, a pennon; the lord de Louvy, a banner; sir Gerard de Louvy, his brother, a pennon; the lord de Saint-Germain, a banner; and then the pennon on a standard, with the device of the duke of Bourbon; the lord Philip de Bar, a banner; sir Lewis de Poitiers, a pennon; sir Robert de Calobre, the same; the viscount de Les, a banner; the lord de Nogent, the same; the lord de Villeneuve, a pennon; sir William de Moulin, the same; the lord de Longwy, a pennon; sir Angorget d'Amboise, the same; sir Alain de la Champaigne, a pennon.

All these banners and pennons that I have named were placed in front of the camp, facing the town of Africa; but there were many knights and squires, of great courage and ability, who were quartered in the fields, whom I cannot name, and, if I could, it would take up too much place, for they were, in the whole, fourteen thousand, all gentlemen. This was a handsome army, able to perform many gallant deeds, and support a hard warfare, if the Saracens had ventured an attack, which they did not, contenting themselves this day with throwing large bolts, not meaning to act contrary to their plan. When the Christians were encamped, it was necessary for them to be careful of the provision they had brought, for they could not now venture to forage in this country, nor collect wood nor boughs for huts, as they would have run many risks, by foolishly venturing themselves for such objects.

The knights were lodged under tents and pavilions of cloth, which they had procured at Genoa. The Genoese cross-bows formed two wings, inclosing within them the principal lords, and, from their numbers, they occupied a great deal of ground, turning towards the sea-shore. All their provision was on board the vessels, and there were boats continually employed in bringing different articles from them, as they were wanted. When the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, such as Sicily and others, as well as those in the kingdom of Naples, la Puglia, and Calabria, heard the Christians were laying siege to Africa, they exerted themselves to supply them with every sort of provision: some from a desire of gain, others from affection to the Genoese. From Candia were brought good sweet wine and grenaches*, to comfort and refresh them, without which they could not long have supported their fatigues. They were a very large body of men, who daily consumed much in eating and drinking. However, these purveyances did not come regularly; for at times the supply was most abundant, at others, they were in great distress from want.

* "Grenaches,"—"One of our ancient poets of the fourteenth century mentions, under the year 1315, Greek wine and wine de Grenache. This last, which, since Roussillon has formed part of France, is become a national wine, was then esteemed a foreign wine. It is probably that which Froissart calls Galvache, Garnache, or Galrigache."—*Vie Priveé des François*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XX.—THE CONDUCT OF THE SARACENS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN OF AFRICA.—THEY SEND TO DEMAND FROM THE FRENCH THE CAUSE OF THEIR MAKING WAR AGAINST THEM.

I WILL say something of the Saracens, for it is but just they should be equally spoken of as the Christians, that the truth may be more apparent. You must know that these infidels had, for a long time, been menaced by the Genoese, and were expecting the town of Africa to be besieged, in which they were not disappointed. They had made preparations for resistance, when they heard of the arrival of the Christian fleet, an event that had been long looked for by the neighbouring nations; for they are not prudent nor well advised, who fear not their enemies, however small they may be. The Saracens, however, do not hold the Christians cheap: on the contrary, they consider them as men of courage and enterprise, and much fear them. The better to resist their enemies, they assembled the most experienced warriors from the kingdoms of Bugia, Morocco, and Tunis, in which last the town of Africa is situated, and encamped on the downs near the sea shore. They took advantage of a large and thick wood in their rear, to avoid any danger from ambuscades or skirmishes on that side. The Saracens showed much ability in thus posting themselves. They amounted, according to the estimate of able men at arms, to thirty thousand archers and ten thousand horse. Others thought they were more; but their exact numbers were unknown, for the Christians supposed many were lodged in the wood. They were very numerous, for they were in their own country, and could come and go from their army at their pleasure without danger. They received continual supplies of fresh provision, which was brought on the backs of camels.

The second day after the Christians had landed, the Saracens, about dawn, came to attack the camp, sir Henry d'Antoing having the command of the guard of two hundred men at arms and one thousand Genoese cross-bows. The skirmish lasted more than two hours, and many gallant deeds were done in shooting and thrusting the lance, for there was not any engagement with the sword hand to hand. The Saracens did not fool-hardily risk themselves, but fought with valour and more prudence than the Christians. When they had skirmished some time, the Saracens retreated; for the army began to be in motion, and some of the French barons had come to witness the action, and observe the manner of their enemies' fighting, that they might be prepared to meet them another time. The Saracens retired to their camp, as did the Christians to theirs; but, during the whole time of this siege of Africa, the Christians were never left quiet, for their camp was every night or morning attacked by the enemy.

Among the Saracens was a young knight, called Agadinquor Oliferne, excellently mounted on a beautiful courser, which he managed as he willed, and which, when he galloped, seemed to fly with him. From his gallantry, he showed he was a good man at arms; and, when he rode abroad, he had with him three javelins, well feathered and pointed, which he dexterously flung, according to the custom of his country. He was completely armed in black, and had a kind of white napkin wrapped round his head. His seat on horseback was graceful; and, from the vigour and gallantry of his actions, the Christians judged he was excited thereto by his affection to a young lady of the country. True it is, he most sincerely loved the daughter of the king of Tunis, who, according to the report of some Genoese merchants who had seen her, was very handsome, and the heiress of his kingdom. This knight, called Agadinquor, was the son of duke Oliferne; but I know not if he ever married this lady. I heard that, during the siege, he performed many handsome feats of arms, to testify his love, which the French knights saw with pleasure, and would willingly have surrounded him; but he rode so good a horse, and had him so well in hand, that all their efforts were vain. The Christian lords were very anxious to make some Saracens prisoners, to learn from them the real state of their army; but they were so cautious, that they could not succeed, and, having noticed their intent, the Saracen chiefs gave orders accordingly. The Saracens were much afraid of the Genoese cross-bows: they shielded themselves as well as they could against their bolts, but they are not armed so strongly as the Christians; for they know not

the art to forge armour like theirs, nor have they workmen who could make such. Iron and steel are not common among them; and they wear light targets hanging on their necks, covered with boiled leather from Cappadocia, that no spear can penetrate, if the leather has not been overboiled. Their manner of fighting, according to what I heard, was to advance on the Christians, and shoot a volley of arrows at the Genoese the moment they made their appearance, and then to fall down under shelter of their shields, by which they avoided the bolts from the cross-bows, that went over them: they then rose, and either shot more arrows, or lanced their javelins with much dexterity.

Thus for the space of nine weeks that the siege lasted, were continual skirmishes made; and on both sides many were killed and wounded, more especially such as ventured too rashly. The Christians imitated the Saracens by avoiding a close combat; and the lords from France and other countries took delight in their manner of fighting, for, to say the truth, novelty is always pleasing. The young lords of these infidels were greatly struck with the glittering armour and emblazoned banners and pennons of their enemies, and, when returned to their camp, they conversed much about them. They were, however, astonished at one thing, which I will now relate. The Saracens within the town of Africa were anxious to know on what pretence the Christians had come with so large an army to make war on them; and, to learn the reasons, they resolved, as I was told, in council, to send a person that could speak Genoese, and gave him the following orders,—"Go and take the road to the camp of the Christians, [and manage, before thou returnest, to speak with some lords in their army,] and demand, in our name, why they have brought so powerful a force against us, and taken possession of the lands of the king of Africa, who has not done any thing to offend them. True it is that, in former times, we were at war with the Genoese, but that should no way concern them; for they come from very distant countries, and the Genoese are our neighbours. Our custom has been, excepting in times of truce, to seize mutually all we can from each other."

Having received these instructions, the messenger departed and rode on to the camp. The first person he met was a Genoese, to whom he said that he was sent by the Saracens to speak with some baron from France. The Genoese, to whom he had addressed himself, was called Antonio Marchi, a centurion of cross-bows, who took him under his care, to his great joy, and conducted him instantly to the duke of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy. They both listened very attentively, and what they did not understand the centurion interpreted in very good French. When he had finished all he had been ordered to say, he asked for an answer. The French lords told him he should have one as soon as they had considered the purport of his message. Twelve of the greatest barons of the army assembled in the duke of Bourbon's tent, and the messenger and interpreter being called in, the last was ordered to tell him from the lords present, "that in consequence of their ancestors having crucified and put to death the son of God, called Jesus Christ, a true prophet, without any cause or just reason, they were come to retaliate on them for this infamous and unjust judgment. Secondly, they were unbaptised, and infidels in the faith to the holy Virgin, mother of Jesus Christ, and had no creed of their own. For these and other causes, they held the Saracens and their whole sect as enemies, and were come to revenge the injuries they had done to their God and faith, and would to this effect daily exert themselves to the utmost of their power." When the messenger had received this answer, he departed from the army unmolested, and returned to report to his masters what you have just read. The Saracens laughed heartily at hearing it, and said, they made assertions without proofs, for it was the Jews who had crucified Jesus Christ, and not they. Things remained on the former footing. the siege was continued, and each army on its guard.

CHAPTER XXI.—SOME MIRACLES ARE SHOWN TO THE SARACENS, AS THEY ATTEMPT TO ATTACK THE CAMP OF THE CHRISTIANS.—SEVERAL SKIRMISHES DURING THE SIEGE.—THE CLIMATE BECOMES UNWHOLESOME, AND OTHER ACCIDENTS BEFAL THE BESIEGERS.

Shortly after this message, the Saracens determined in council to remain quiet for seven or eight days, and, during that time, neither to skirmish nor any way to annoy the Christians, but, when they should think themselves in perfect security, to fall on their camp like a deluge. This was adopted; and the ninth evening, a little before midnight, they secretly armed their men with their accustomed arms, and marched silently in a compact body towards the Christian camp. They had proposed making a severe attack on the opposite quarter to the main-guard, and would have succeeded in their mischievous attempt, if God had not watched over and preserved them by miracles as I will now relate. As the Saracens approached, they saw before them a company of ladies dressed in white; one of whom, their leader, was incomparably more beautiful than the rest, and bore in front a white flag, having a vermilion cross in the centre. The Saracens were so greatly terrified at this vision, that they lost all their strength and inclination to proceed, and stood still, these ladies keeping steadily before them. The Genoese cross-bows had brought with them a dog, as I heard, from beyond sea, but whence no one could tell, nor did he belong to any particular person. This dog had been very useful to them; for the Saracens never came to skirmish, but by his noise he awakened the army, and as every one now knew that whenever the dog barked the Saracens were come, or on their road, they prepared themselves instantly: in consequence of this, the Genoese called him the dog of our Lady. This night, the dog was not idle, but made a louder noise than usual, and ran first to the main-guard, which was under the command of the lord de Torcy, a Norman, and sir Henry d'Antoing. As during the night all sounds are more easily heard, the whole army was in motion, and properly prepared to receive the Saracens, who they knew were approaching.

This was the fact; but the Virgin Mary and her company, having the Christians under their care, watched over them; and this night they received no harm, for the Saracens were afraid to advance, and returned the way they had come. The Christians were more attentive to their future guards. The Saracen knights and squires, within the town, were much cast down at the sight they had seen, more especially those who were advanced near this company of ladies. While, on the other hand, the Christians were greatly exerting themselves to win the place, which was courageously defended. At this period, the weather was exceedingly hot; for it was the month of August, when the sun is in its greatest force, and that country was warmer than France, from being nearer the sun, and from the heat of the sands. The wines the besiegers were supplied with from La Puglia and Calabria were fiery, and hurtful to the constitutions of the French, many of whom suffered severely by fevers, from the heating quality of their liquors. I know not how the Christians were enabled to bear the fatigues in such a climate, where sweet water was difficult to be had. They, however, had much resource in the wells they dug; for there were upwards of two hundred sunk, through the sands, along the shore; but, at times, even this water was muddy and heated. They were frequently distressed for provision, for the supply was irregular, from Sicily and the other islands: at times they had abundance, at other times they were in want. The healthy comforted the sick, and those who had provision shared it with such as had none; for in this campaign they were all as brothers. The lord de Coucy, in particular, was beloved by every gentleman: he was kind to all, and behaved himself by far more graciously, in all respects, than the duke of Bourbon, who was proud and haughty, and never conversed with the knights and squires from foreign countries in the same agreeable manner the lord de Coucy did.

The duke was accustomed to sit cross-legged the greater part of the day before his pavilion; and those who had anything to say to him were obliged to make many reverences, and address him through the means of a third person. He was indifferent whether the poorer knights and squires were well or ill at their ease: this the lord de Coucy always inquired into, and by it gained great popularity. It was told me, by some foreign knights



The attack on the Town of Africa.

who had been there, that had the lord de Coucy been commander-in-chief, instead of the duke of Bourbon, the success would have been very different; for many attacks on the town of Africa were frustrated by the pride and fault of the duke of Bourbon: several thought it would have been taken, if it had not been for him.



Siege of the Town of Africa. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

This siege lasted, by an exact account, sixty-one days; during which, many were the skirmishes before the town and at the barriers: they were well defended, for the flower of the infidel chivalry was in the town. The Christians said among themselves,—"If we could gain this place by storm or otherwise, and strongly reinforce and victual it during the winter, a large body of our countrymen might then come hither in the spring and gain a footing in the kingdoms of Barbary and Tunis, which would encourage the Christians to cross the sea annually and extend their conquests." "Would to God it were so," others replied; "for the knights now here would then be comfortably lodged, and every day, if they pleased, they might have deeds of arms." The besieged were alarmed at the obstinacy of their attacks, and redoubled their guards. The great heat, however, did more for them than all the rest, added to the constant uncertainty of being attacked; for the policy of the Saracens was to keep them in continual alarms. They were almost burnt up when in armour; and it was wonderful that any escaped death; for, during the month of August the air was suffocating. An extraordinary accident happened, which if it had lasted any time, must have destroyed them all. During one week, from the heat and corruption of the air, there were such wonderful swarms of flies, the army was covered with them. The men knew not how to rid themselves of these troublesome guests, which multiplied daily, to their great astonishment; but, through the grace of God and the Virgin Mary, to whom they were devoted, a remedy was found, in a thunder and hail storm, that fell with great violence, and destroyed all the flies. The air, by this storm, was much cooled, and the army got to be in better health than it had been for some time.

Knights who are on such expeditions must cheerfully put up with what weather may happen, for they cannot have it according to their wishes; and, when any one falls sick, he must be nursed to his recovery or to his death. Although the knights from France had undertaken this voyage with an eagerness and resolution that bore them up under the pains

they suffered, they had not many luxuries to gratify them; for nothing was sent them from France, nor had any in that kingdom more intelligence from them than if they were buried under ground. Once, indeed, there came a galley from Barcelona, laden more with oranges and small grains than with anything else. The oranges were of the greatest service, by the refreshment they afforded; but, whatever vessel came to them, none returned, for fear of meeting the Saracens at sea, and because they wished to wait the event of the siege, and see whether the Christians would conquer the town.

The young king Lewis of Sicily exerted himself, in order that his subjects should carry a constant supply of provision to them, for he was their nearest neighbour. It was fortunate the Saracens were not strong enough at sea to prevent the vessels coming from the ports of Sicily and Naples, or they would have conquered them without striking a blow. They therefore contented themselves with keeping the Christians under perpetual alarms on land. The Saracens have not a large navy like the Genoese and Venetians; and what they get at sea is by thievery; and they never dare wait the attack of the Christians unless they be in very superior numbers, for a well-armed galley with Christians will defeat four of such enemies. In truth, the Turks are better men at arms by sea and land than any other nation of unbelievers of our faith; but they were at too great a distance from Africa, and the town could not receive any aid from them. The Turks had heard that the town of Africa was besieged by the Christians, and had often, but in vain, wished to have been there.

CHAPTER XXII.—A CHALLENGE IS SENT BY THE SARACENS TO OFFER COMBAT OF TEN AGAINST TEN CHRISTIANS.—THE SARACENS FAIL IN THEIR ENGAGEMENT.—THE TOWN OF AFRICA IS STORMED, BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY, AND WITH THE LOSS OF MANY WORTHY MEN.

The besiegers and their enemies studied day and night how they could most effectually annoy each other. Agadinquor Oliferne, Madifer de Tunis, Belins Maldages, and Brahadin de Bugia, and some other Saracens, consulted together, and said: "Here are our enemies the Christians encamped before us, and we cannot defeat them. They are so few in number when compared to us, that they must be well advised by their able captains; for, in all our skirmishes, we have never been able to make one knight prisoner. If we could capture one or two of their leaders, we should acquire fame, and learn from them the state of their army and what are their intentions. Let us now consider how we may accomplish this." Agadinquor replied,—"Though I am the youngest, I wish to speak first." "We agree to it," said the others. "By my faith," continued he, "I am very desirous of engaging them; and I think, if I were matched in equal combat with one of my size, I should conquer him. If you will therefore select ten valiant men, I will challenge the Christians to send the same number to fight with us. We have justice on our side in this war, for they have quarrelled with us without reason; and this right and the courage I feel, induce me to believe that we shall have the victory." Madifer de Tunis, who was a very valiant man, said,—"Agadinquor, what you have proposed is much to your honour. To-morrow, if you please, you shall ride as our chief towards the camp of the Christians, taking an interpreter with you, and make a signal that you have something to say. If you be well received by them, propose your combat of ten against ten. We shall then hear what answer they give; and, though I believe the offer will be accepted, we must take good counsel how we proceed against these Christians, whom we consider as more valiant than ourselves."

This being determined on, they retired to rest. On the morrow, as usual, they advanced to skirmish; but Agadinquor rode on at some distance in front with his interpreter. The day was bright and clear, and a little after sunrise the Saracens were ready for battle. Sir Guy and sir William de la Tremouille had commanded the guard of the night, and were on the point of retiring when the Saracens appeared in sight about three bow-shots distant. Agadinquor and his interpreter advanced towards one of the wings, and made signs to give notice that he wanted to parley with some one by accident, he came near the pennon of a good squire at arms called Affrenal, who, noticing his signs, rode forward a pace, and told

his men to remain as they were, "for that he would go and see what the Saracen wanted: he has an interpreter with him, and is probably come to make some proposition." His men remained steady, and he rode towards the Saracen.

When they were near each other, the interpreter said,—"Christian, are you a gentleman, of name in arms, and ready to answer what shall be asked of you?" "Yes," replied Affrenal, "I am: speak what you please, it shall be answered." "Well," said the interpreter, "here is a noble man of our country who demands to combat with you bodily; and, if you would like to increase the number to ten, he will bring as many of his friends to meet you. The cause for the challenge is this: They maintain, that their faith is more perfect than yours; for it has continued since the beginning of the world, when it was written down; and that your faith has been introduced by a mortal, whom the Jews hung and crucified." "Ho," interrupted Affrenal, "be silent on these matters, for it does not become such as thee to dispute concerning them, but tell the Saracen, who has ordered thee to speak, to swear on his faith that such a combat shall take place, and he shall be gratified within four hours. Let him bring ten gentlemen, and of name in arms, on his side, and I will bring as many to meet him." The interpreter related to the Saracen the words that had passed, who seemed much rejoiced thereat, and pledged himself for the combat.

This being done, each returned to his friends; but the news had already been carried to sir Guy and to sir William de la Tremouille, who, meeting Affrenal, demanded how he had settled matters with the Saracen. Affrenal related what you have heard, and that he had accepted the challenge. The two knights were well pleased, and said,—"Affrenal, go and speak to others, for we will be of your number ten." He replied,—"God assist us! I fancy I shall find plenty ready to fight the Saracens." Shortly after, Affrenal met the lord de Thim, to whom he told what had passed, and asked if he would make one. The lord de Thim willingly accepted the offer; and of all those to whom Affrenal related it, he might, if he pleased, have had a hundred instead of ten. Sir Boucicaut, the younger, accepted it with great courage, as did sir Helion de Lignac, sir John Russel, an Englishman, sir John Harpedone, Alain Boudet and Bouchet. When the number of ten was completed, they retired to their lodgings, to prepare and arm themselves. When the news of this combat was spread through the army, and the names of the ten were told, the knights and squires said,—"They are lucky fellows, thus to have such a gallant feat of arms fall to their lot." "Would to Heaven," added many, "that we were of the ten." All the knights and squires seemed to rejoice at this event, except the lord de Coucy. I believe the lord de Thim was a dependant on, or of the company of, the lord de Coucy: for, when he repaired to his tent to arm, he found him there, and acknowledged him for his lord. He related to him the challenge of the Saracen, and that he had accepted being one of the ten. All present were loud in praise of it, except the lord de Coucy, who said,—"Hold your tongues, you youngsters, who as yet know nothing of the world, and who never consider consequences, but always applaud folly in preference to good. I see no advantage in this combat, for many reasons: one is, that ten noble and distinguished gentlemen are about to fight with ten Saracens. How do we know if their opponents are gentlemen? They may, if they choose, bring to the combat ten varlets, or knaves, and, if they are defeated, what is the gain? We shall not the sooner win the town of Africa, but by it risk very valuable lives. Perhaps they may form an ambuscade, and, while our friends are on the plain waiting for their opponents, surround them and carry them off, by which we shall be greatly weakened. I therefore say, that Affrenal has not wisely managed this matter; and, when he first met the Saracen, he should have otherwise answered, and said,—'I am not the commander-in-chief of our army, but one of the least in it; and you Saracen, who address yourself to me and blame our faith, are not qualified to discuss such matters, nor have you well addressed yourself. I will conduct you to my lords, and assure you, on my life, that no harm befal you in going or in returning, for my lords will cheerfully listen to you.' He should then have led him to the duke of Bourbon and the council of war, when his proposal would have been heard and discussed at leisure, his intentions been known, and answers made according as they should think the matter deserved. Such a combat should never be undertaken but after great deliberation, especially with enemies like to those we are engaged with. And when

it had been agreed on, that the names and qualities of each combatant should be declared, we would then have selected proper persons to meet them, and proper securities would have been required from the Saracens for the uninterrupted performance of the combat, and a due observance of the articles. If matters had been thus managed, lord of Thim, I think it would have been better. It would be well if it could be put on this footing; and I will speak to the duke of Bourbon and the principal barons in the army, and hear what they shall say on the subject."—The lord de Coucy then departed for the tent of the duke of Bourbon, where the barons were assembled, as they had heard of this challenge, to consider what might be the probable event of it. Although the lord de Coucy had intended his speech to the lord de Thim as advice for his benefit, he did not the less arm himself: when fully equipped, he went with his companions, who were completely armed, and in good array, with sir Guy de la Tremouille at their head, to meet the Saracens.

During this, there was conversation on the subject between the lords in the tent of the duke of Bourbon: many thought the accepting such a challenge improper, and supported the opinion of the lord de Coucy, who said it ought to have been ordered otherwise. But some, and in particular the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, and the lord Philip de Bar, said,—"Since the challenge has been accepted by our knights, they would be disgraced were the combat now broken off: and in the name of God and our Lady, let them accomplish it the best manner they can." This was adopted; for it was now too far advanced to be stopped. It was therefore ordered to draw out the whole army properly arrayed, that if the Saracens had formed any bad designs, they might be prepared to meet them. Every one, therefore, made himself ready: the whole were drawn up, as if for instant combat; the Genoese cross-bows on one side, and the knights and squires on the other; each lord under his own banner or pennon emblazoned with his arms. It was a fine sight to view the army thus displayed, and they showed great eagerness to attack the Saracens.

The ten knights and squires were advanced on the plain waiting for their opponents, but they came not, nor showed any appearance of so doing; for, when they saw the Christian army so handsomely drawn out in battle-array, they were afraid to advance though they were thrice their numbers. At times they sent horsemen, well mounted, to ride near their army, observe its disposition, and then gallop back, which was solely done through malice, to annoy the Christians.

This was the hottest day they felt, and it was so extremely oppressive that the most active among them were almost stifled in their armour: they had never suffered so much before, and yet they remained expecting the ten Saracens, but in vain, for they never heard a word from them. The army was ordered to attack the town of Africa, since they were prepared, and thus pass the day; and the ten champions, in regard to their honour, were to remain on their ground to the evening.

The knights and squires advanced with great alacrity to the attack of the town, but they were sorely oppressed with the heat; and had the Saracens known their situation, they might have done them much damage, probably they might even have raised the siege and obtained a complete victory, for the Christians were exceedingly weakened and worn down. True it is, they gained by storm the wall of the first enclosure: but no one inhabited that part, and the enemy retired within their second line of defence, skirmishing as they retreated, and without any great loss. The Christians paid dear for an inconsiderable advantage: the heat of the sun and its reflection on the sands, added to the fatigue of fighting, which lasted until evening, caused the deaths of several valiant knights and squires: the more the pity.

I will mention the names of those who this day fell victims to the heat and unhealthiness of the climate. First, sir William de Gacille, sir Guiscard de la Garde, sir Lyon Scalet, sir Guy de la Salveste, sir William d'Estapelle, sir William de Guiret, sir Raffroy de la Chapelle, the lord de Pierre Buffiere, the lord de Bonnet, sir Robert de Hanges, sir Stephen de Sancerre, sir Aubert de la Motte, sir Alain de la Champaigne, sir Geoffry Sressiers, sir Raoul d'Econflan, the lord de Bourg from Artois, sir John de Crie, bastard de la Mouleraye, sir Tristan his brother, sir Arné de Consay, sir Arné de Donnay, sir John de Compaignie, sir Fouke d'Escauffours, sir John de Dignant, sir John de Cathenais. I will now add the names

of squires who fell: Fouchans de Liege, John des Isles, Blondelet d'Arenton, John de la Motte, Blomberis, Floridas de Rocque, the lord de Bellefreres, William Fondrigay, Walter de Canfours, John Morillon, Peter de Maulves, Guillot Villain, John de la Lande, John Purier, John le Moine, John de Launay and William du Parc.

Now consider how great was this loss; and, had the advice of the gallant lord de Coucy been followed, it would not have happened, for the army would have remained quietly in its camp, as it had hitherto done. The whole army were dismayed at it, and each bewailed the loss of his friend. They retired late to their camp, and kept a stronger guard than usual, during the night, for fear of the Saracens. It passed however without further accident, and more prudent arrangements were made. The Saracens were ignorant of what their enemies had suffered; had they known it, they would have had a great advantage over them, but they were in dread of the Christians, and never ventured to attack them but in skirmishes, retreating after one or two charges. The person among them who had shown the most courage was Agadinquor d'Oliferne. He was enamoured with the daughter of the king of Tunis, and in compliment to her, was eager to perform brilliant actions.

Thus was the siege of Africa continued; but the relations and friends of the knights and squires who had gone thither, from France and other countries, received no intelligence, nor knew more of them than if they were dead. They were so much alarmed at not having any news of them that many processions were made in England, France and Hainault, to the churches to pray God that he would bring them back, in safety, to their several homes. The intention of the Christians was to remain before the town of Africa, until they should have conquered it by storm, treaty or famine. The king of Sicily, as well as the inhabitants of the adjacent islands, were anxious it should be so, for the Africans had done them frequent damage; but the Genoese were particularly kind, in supplying the knights and squires with everything they wanted, to prevent them from being tired with the length of the campaign.

To say the truth, this was a very great enterprise, and the knights and squires showed much courage and perseverance in continuing the siege in so unhealthy a climate, after the great losses they had suffered, without assistance from any one; and even when the Genoese, who had first proposed the expedition, were dissembling with them, and as it was said, were in treaty with the Saracens, to leave the Christian army unsupported and neglected as I shall relate in due time, according to the reports that were made to me.

We will now leave the affairs of Africa, and speak of the handsome feasts that were at this time given at London.

CHAPTER XXIII.—A GRAND TOURNAMENT IS HOLDEN AT LONDON.—THE KING OF ENGLAND GIVES SPLENDID ENTERTAINMENTS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN OF AFRICA BY THE CHRISTIANS.—THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT RECEIVES THE ORDER OF THE GARTER, WHICH DISPLEASES THE KING OF FRANCE.

News of the splendid feasts and entertainments made for Queen Isabella's public entry into Paris was carried to many countries, and very justly, for they were most honourably conducted. The king of England and his three uncles had received the fullest information of them: for some of his knights had been present, who had reported all that had passed with the utmost fidelity. In imitation of this, the king of England ordered grand tournaments and feasts to be holden in the city of London, where sixty knights should be accompanied by sixty noble ladies, richly ornamented and dressed. The sixty knights were to tilt for two days; that is to say, on the Sunday after Michaelmas-day, and the Monday following in the year of grace 1390. The sixty knights were to set out at two o'clock in the afternoon from the Tower of London, with their ladies, and parade through the streets, down Cheapside, to a large square called Smithfield. There the knights were to wait on the Sunday the arrival of any foreign knights who might be desirous of tilting; and this feast of the Sunday was called the challengers. The same ceremonies were to take place on the Monday, and the sixty knights to be prepared for tilting courteously with blunted lances against all

comers. The prize for the best knight of the opponents was to be a rich crown of gold, that for the tenants of the lists a very rich golden clasp: they were to be given to the most gallant tilter, according to the judgment of the ladies, who would be present with the queen of England and the great barons, as spectators.

On the Tuesday, the tournaments were to be continued by squires, against others of the same rank who wished to oppose them. The prize for the opponents was a courser saddled and bridled, and for the tenants of the lists a falcon. The manner of holding this feast being settled, heralds were sent to proclaim it throughout England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders, and France. It was ordered by the council to what parts each herald was to go; and, having time beforehand, they published it in most countries.

Many knights and squires from foreign lands made preparations to attend it: some to see the manners of the English, others to take part in the tournaments. On the feast being made known in Hainault, sir William de Hainault count d'Ostrevant, who was at that time young and gallant, and fond of tilting, determined, in his own mind, to be present and to honour and make acquaintance with his cousin, king Richard, and his uncles whom he had never seen. He therefore engaged many knights and squires to accompany him; in particular the lord de Gomegines, because he was well known in England, having lived there some time. Sir William resolved, while his preparations were making, to visit his father, the count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, to speak with him on the subject, and to take leave of him before he went to England. He therefore set out from Quesnoy, in Hainault, and continued his journey to the Hague, a good town in Holland, where his father then resided. During the visit, he told his father his intentions to partake of the great feast in England, to see his cousins and other English lords whom he was desirous of knowing. "William," replied the count, "my good son, you have nothing to do in England: you are now connected by marriage with the blood royal of France, and your sister is the wife of the eldest son of our cousin the duke of Burgundy: you have no occasion, therefore, to seek other connections." "My lord," answered sir William, "I do not wish to go to England to form any alliance, but merely to tilt and enjoy this feast, which has been publicly proclaimed everywhere, and visit my cousins, whom I have never seen. Should I not go thither, after the particular invitation I have had, for a purpose messenger brought it me, my refusal will be considered as the effect of pride and presumption. I feel myself bound therefore in honour to go, and I beg, father, that you will not refuse me your consent." "William," replied the count, "you are your own master; act as you please; but I should think, for the sake of peace, it were better you did not go."

The count d'Ostrevant, perceiving this subject was disagreeable to his father, turned the conversation to other matters; but his resolution was fixed, and his purveyances were continued to be made and forwarded to Calais. His herald, Gomegines, was sent to England to inform the king and his uncles, that he would come honourably attended to his feast. They were much pleased at this intelligence, and presented the herald with great gifts, which were very acceptable, for he became blind towards the end of his days. I know not if he had angered God, that he was afflicted with such a punishment; but this herald, when in power, had behaved with so much insolence, that he was little pitied in his distress. The count d'Ostrevant took leave of his father, and, on his departure from the Hague, returned to his lady at Quesnoy. Many noble knights were busy in preparations for this feast that had been so pompously proclaimed.

The count Waleran de Saint Pol, who had married the half-sister to king Richard, assembled a handsome body of knights and squires, and with them made for Calais, where passage-vessels were waiting to convey to Dover the lords and knights going to this tournament. From Dover they continued their journey to London, where their servants had previously secured their lodgings.

The count d'Ostrevant set out from Hainault with a numerous attendance of knights and squires, and travelled through Artois to Calais, where he met the count de St. Pol. When the wind was favourable, and their attendants embarked, they crossed the channel; but it was told me, and I believe it, that the count de St. Pol arrived first at London, where he found the king and his brother-in-law, sir John Holland, who with many other nobles, made

him a hearty welcome, and enquired the news in France. The count d'Ostrevant having crossed the sea, stopped at Canterbury, and on the Friday morning, without breaking his fast, paid his devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, making at the same time a very rich offering at that altar. He remained that whole day at Canterbury, and on the following went to Rochester. On account of his numerous train, he travelled but a short day's journey, to spare his horses that carried the baggage. After mass he left Rochester and dined at Dartford, whence he continued his journey to London, for it was on this Sunday the tournaments were to begin.

This Sunday, according to proclamation, being the next to Michaelmas day, was the beginning of the tiltings, and called the feast of the challengers. About three o'clock, there paraded out from the Tower of London, which is situated in the square of St. Catherine, on the banks of the Thames, sixty barded coursers ornamented for the tournament, on each was mounted a squire of honour that advanced only at a foot's pace; then came sixty ladies of rank, mounted on palfreys most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain completely armed for tilting; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets, to Smithfield. The queen of England and her ladies and damsels were already arrived and placed in chambers handsomely decorated. The king was with the queen. When the ladies who led the knights arrived in the square, their servants were ready to assist them to dismount from their palfreys, and to conduct them to the apartments prepared for them. The knights remained until their squires of honour had dismounted and brought them their coursers, which having mounted, they had their helmets laced on, and prepared themselves in all points for the tilt.

The count de Saint Pol with his companions now advanced, handsomely armed for the occasion, and the tournament began. Every foreign knight who pleased tilted, or had time for so doing, before the evening set in. The tiltings were well and long continued until night forced them to break off. The lords and ladies then retired where they had made appointments. The queen was lodged in the bishop of London's palace near St. Paul's church, where the banquet was held.

Towards evening, the count d'Ostrevant arrived, and was kindly received by king Richard and his lords. The prize for the opponents was adjudged to the count de St. Pol, as the best knight at this tournament, and that for the tenants to the earl of Huntingdon. The dancings were at the queen's residence, in the presence of the king, his uncles and the barons of England. The ladies and damsels continued their amusements, before and after supper, until it was time to retire, when all went to their lodgings, except such as were attached to the king or queen, who, during the tournament, lived at the palace of the bishop of London.

You would have seen on the ensuing morning, Monday, squires and varlets busily employed, in different parts of London, furbishing and making ready armour and horses for their masters who were to engage in the justs. In the afternoon, king Richard entered Smithfield magnificently accompanied by dukes, lords, and knights, for he was chief of the tenants of the lists. The queen took her station as on the preceding day, with her ladies, in the apartments that had been prepared for her. The count d'Ostrevant came next, with a large company of knights and squires fully armed for tilting; then the count de Saint Pol and the knights from France.

The tournament now began, and every one exerted himself to the utmost to excel: many were unhorsed, and more lost their helmets. The justing continued with great courage and perseverance until night put an end to it. The company now retired to their lodgings or their homes; and, when the hour for supper was near, the lords and ladies attended it, which was splendid and well served. The prize for the opponents at the tournament was adjudged, by the ladies, lords, and heralds, to the count d'Ostrevant, who far eclipsed all who had tilted that day; that for the tenants was given to a gallant knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser.

On the morrow, Tuesday, the tournament was renewed by the squires, who tilted in the presence of the king, queen, and all the nobles, until night, when all retired as on the preceding day. The supper was as magnificent as before at the palace of the bishop, where the

king and queen lodged; and the dancing lasted until day-break, when the company broke up. The tournament was continued on the Wednesday by all knights and squires indiscriminately, who were inclined to just; it lasted until night, and the supper and dances were as the preceding day.

On Thursday, the king entertained at supper all the foreign knights and squires, and the queen their ladies and damsels. The duke of Lancaster gave a grand dinner to them on the Friday. On Saturday, the king and his court left London for Windsor, whither the count d'Ostrevant, the count de St. Pol, and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts, were invited. All accepted the invitation, as was right, and went to Windsor, which has a handsome castle, well built and richly ornamented, situated on the Thames twenty miles from London. The entertainments were very magnificent in the dinners and suppers king Richard made, for he thought he could not pay honour enough to his cousin the count d'Ostrevant. He was solicited by the king and his uncles to be one of the companions of the order of the blue Garter, as the chapel of St. George, the patron, was at Windsor. In answer to their request, he said he would consider of it, and instantly consulted the lord de Gomegines and the bastard Fierabras de Vertain, who were far from discouraging him from accepting the order. He returned to the king, and was admitted a knight companion of the Garter, to the great surprise of the French knights then present. They murmured together, and said,—"This count d'Ostrevant plainly shows that his heart is more inclined to England than France, when he thus accepts the order of the Garter, which is the device of the kings of England. He is purchasing the ill will of the court of France and of my lord of Burgundy, whose daughter he has married, and a time may come for him to repent of it. However, to say the truth, he must know what concerns him best: but he was well beloved by the king of France, his brother the duke of Touraine, and all the royal family; so that when he came to them at Paris or elsewhere, they showed him more kindness than to any other of their cousins."

Thus was the count d'Ostrevant blamed by the French, without the smallest cause; for what he had done was no way to injure the crown of France, nor his cousins and friends of that country. Nothing was farther from his mind than any hostility to the king of France; but he had accepted the Garter to oblige his cousins in England, and on occasion to be a mediator between the two countries. When he took the oaths usual on the admission of knights to the order, it ought to be known publicly that nothing was said or done prejudicial to France, nor any treaties entered into with that intent. I mention this, since it is impossible to prevent the envious from spreading abroad their tales. When the entertainments at Windsor had lasted a sufficient time, and the king had made handsome presents to the knights and squires of France, particularly to the young count d'Ostrevant, the company took leave of the king, the queen, and the court, and departed for their different homes.

Rumour, which magnifies everything, carried to the king of France, his brother, and uncles, every particular that had passed at this feast in England. Those who had been there confirmed it, nothing was forgotten, but rather additions made with the intent of doing mischief in preference to good. They related, that William of Hainault, who called himself count d'Ostrevant, had taken great pains to honour this feast; that he had had the prize given him at the tournament in preference to many other foreign knights, and that he was loud in the praise of the English, and was become the liege-man to the king of England by taking the oaths and accepting the order of the blue Garter, in the chapel of Saint George at Windsor, which order had been established by king Edward and his son the prince of Wales; that no one could be admitted a knight companion of that order, without making oath never to bear arms against the crown of England, and this oath the count d'Ostrevant had taken without the smallest reservation.

The king of France and his uncles, on hearing this, were much troubled and vexed with the count d'Ostrevant. The king said,—"Only think, it is not a year ago since the count begged of me that his brother might be bishop of Cambray; but after what we have heard, that would now be much to our prejudice. It will be better that our cousin of St. Pol have Cambray than John of Hainault.—The Hainaulters were never our sincere friends, nor ever will be, for they are too proud and presumptuous, and have always been more attached to

England than France, but a time may come when they shall dearly pay for it. We will," added the king, "that the count d'Ostrevant be summoned to appear before us, and do homage for the county of Ostrevant, or we will dispossess him and attach it to our crown." Such of the council as were present, replied,—"Sire, you say well, and what you order ought to be done." The duke of Burgundy, whose daughter the count had married, was highly displeased at these reports; for he had always pushed his son-in-law as much as he could into the good graces of the king and the royal family. This business was not neglected; for the king of France wrote very sharp letters to the count d'Ostrevant, which he sent to him at Quesnoy, commanding him to come to Paris, and, in the presence of the peers of France, do homage for the county of Ostrevant, or he would make war upon him, and dispossess him of it.

The count d'Ostrevant, on perusing these letters, found that the king and his council were much angered, and instantly assembled his most confidential counsellors to consider of the answer. He called to his aid the lord de Fontaines, the lord de Gomegines, sir William de Heremies, the lord de Trassegnies, the bailiff of Hainault, the lord de Sancelles, sir Race de Montigny, the abbot de Crespin, John Semart, and James Barrier of Valenciennes. These counsellors having some time debated, and turned the matter over various ways, thought it most advisable to write to the king of France, and answer generally to what he had urged, and demand an opportunity for so doing more particularly, by persons that were properly qualified and not by letters. In the mean time, they recommended sending a well informed messenger, to duke Albert in Holland, to acquaint him with what was passing, and have his advice. This was done: they wrote such humble and discreet letters to the king of France and his council as greatly pacified them; and sent the lord de Trassegnies, the lord de Sancelles, John Semart, and James Barrier to Holland. On being admitted to the count of Holland they laid before him the situation of Hainault, and the letters that had been received from the king of France.

If the count of Holland was not surprized at what had happened, it is not to be wondered at; for he replied,—"I was just thinking that what you tell me would come to pass: my son William had no business to go to England. I have given up to him the government of Hainault: let him advise with the wisest and most prudent in that country. Make interest with our fair cousin, the duke of Burgundy; for he has the power to set to rights all this business. I cannot give you better advice, nor recommend a more fit person to address yourselves to." On this, the envoys returned to Hainault, and related all that had passed, which gave satisfaction. The lord de Trassegnies, sir William de Heremies, sir Race de Montigny, John Semart and James Barrier, were ordered to wait on the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. The detail of all that passed would be too long for such a history as this, that embraces so many objects. The conclusion was, that notwithstanding the support of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Ostrevant was forced to go to Paris to perform his duty, and acknowledge his holding the county of Ostrevant from the crown of France, otherwise he would have had war instantly carried into Hainault. The lord de Coucy and sir Oliver de Clisson took much pains that a war should ensue; but the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier counteracted them to the utmost of their power. As we have dwelt too long on these matters, we will return to the barons and knights of France, who were besieging the strong town of Africa against the Saracens.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE SIEGE OF AFRICA IS RAISED.—THE CAUSE OF IT.—THE KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

You have before heard, what pains the Christians took to conquer the town of Africa; for they thought, if they succeeded, they should gain great renown, and be able to withstand, during the winter, all the forces the infidels could bring against them, until they should be reinforced from Europe, especially by the king of France, who was young and fond of arms, and there were still two years to run of the truce with England: the Christians had therefore laid siege to Africa, as being the most convenient entrance into Barbary. The infidels,

suspicious of such being their intentions, well victualled the place, and reinforced it with a new garrison, the better to guard it.

The siege still continued, although, after the before-mentioned loss on the part of the Christians, little advantage was gained, and the men at arms were greatly discouraged; for they could not obtain any opportunity of changing the tiresomeness of their situation, and of revenging themselves on the enemy. Many, in consequence, began to murmur and say,—"We remain here in vain; for if we do nothing more effectual than skirmishing, we shall never gain the town: if, by accident, we kill one infidel by our arrows, they supply his place with ten more, as they are in their own country, and have provision and stores in abundance, while ours are brought with much difficulty and uncertainty. What will become of us, if we stay longer? The cold nights of winter will freeze and benumb us to death. We shall be in a most disagreeable state for many reasons: first, at that time of the year the sea will be so tempestuous no one will venture on it. We have now but eight days provision, and should the stormy weather set in, and prevent any vessels arriving, we must inevitably perish. Secondly, suppose we have provision and stores in plenty, how can the army support, for so long a time, the fatigue of a regular guard? The danger will be too great; for the enemy is on his own ground, and well acquainted with the country, and may attack us in the night-season, as we have already seen, and do us infinite damage. Thirdly, should we be infected with any disorder, from want of better air and fresh provision, it may be contagious, and we shall drop off one after another, for we have not any remedies to guard against such a misfortune. Besides, should the Genoese, who are a treacherous race, wish to return without us, they might embark in the night-time, and, when once on board their vessels, we could not prevent them, and they would leave us here to pay the reckoning. It will be right that we remonstrate with our lords, who are enjoying their ease, on these our suspicions; for the Genoese do not conceal their opinions of us. Some of their talkers have said to our men,—'You Frenchmen are odd men at arms: when we sailed from Genoa, we thought you would have conquered this town of Africa within a week or fortnight after your landing; but we have been here nearly two months, and nothing has been done: by the assaults and skirmishes you make, the town need not fear you these two years; and at the rate you go on, you will never conquer the kingdoms of Tunis or Africa.'"

The Genoese had so frequently held this language to the varlets and others of the army, that it reached the ears of their lords, and was repeated to the lord de Coucy, who was wise and prudent, and to whom the whole army looked up. He considered a while, and then said to himself,—"The conversations of these Genoese are but too well founded in truth: to put a stop to them, a full assembly of the principal knights must be held, to consider how we are to proceed, for winter is fast approaching." At this council, which was held in the duke of Bourbon's tent, various plans were proposed; but the conclusion was, that they would, for this season, break up the siege, and every person should return home the way he had come. The chief lords secretly made preparations accordingly, and, calling to them the masters of the galleys and other vessels, acquainted them with their intentions. The captains were much surprised, and said,—"My lords, do not harbour any suspicions of us, for we are pledged to you by our honour and oaths, and we will most loyally and honestly acquit ourselves. Had we pleased, we might have accepted the favourable offers that were made us by the Africans, but we refused to enter into any treaty with them, from our attachments and engagements to you."

"We have no doubts of you, gentlemen," replied the lord de Coucy, "for we look on you as loyal and valiant men: but we have considered our situation; winter is at hand, and we have a scarcity of provision. Should it be God's good pleasure that we return to France, we will inform the king, who is young and fond of war, of the state of this country. At this moment, he knows not where to employ his force, for he and the king of England are at peace. He is unhappy when idle, and we shall advise him to undertake an expedition hither, as well to have the pleasure of meeting the king of Sicily as to conquer this country from the Saracens. Prepare and make ready your galleys, for we shall leave this coast in a very few days." The Genoese were not well pleased with the French lords for thus breaking



The raising of the Siege of the strong Town of Ptolemais and the return of the European Knights

up the siege of the town of Africa; but, as they could not amend it, they were forced to bear with it as well as they could.

There was a rumour current in the Christian camp, that the Genoese were treating with the Saracens to betray and deliver up to them the remainder of the army. It was firmly believed by many, and they said: "Our principal commanders, the duke of Bourbon, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir Philip de Bar and sir John de Vienne, are well acquainted with this plot; and for this reason they have determined suddenly to break up the siege." When it was proclaimed that every one was to embark on board the galleys or other vessels, in an orderly manner, you would have seen the varlets in the greatest bustle packing up the purveyances of their different lords, and conveying them on board the ships which lay at anchor off the shore. When all things were embarked, the knights entered the galleys that had brought them thither: many had bargained with the captains to carry them to Naples, others to Sicily, Cyprus or Rhodes, thence to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

After having remained sixty-one days before the town of Africa, they broke up the siege, and set sail from that country in sight of the Saracens from the walls. This gave them such joy that they sounded horns and beat drums, and made so great a noise by their shoutings, as to be heard in the army of the Saracens. Several young knights mounted their horses, and galloped to the place where the camp had been, to see if they could find anything left behind. Agadinquor d'Oliferne and Brahadin de Tunis were the first to arrive; but the Christians had so completely cleared the camp, that there was nothing for them to carry away. The Saracens left their station to examine the camp, and remained more than two hours noticing the manner and form of it. They praised much their subtlety in sinking wells for fresh water, and, having for some time viewed the galleys under sail, they returned to visit their friends in the town of Africa. Others went to their quarters, and rejoiced greatly that the Christians had not dared to remain longer. They held their power very cheap, and said, they should no longer fear, as they had done, the French or Genoese. They spoke truly, as I shall explain. When this siege was raised, the Saracens grew proud on the occasion, for they saw the Genoese had exerted themselves to their utmost power to annoy them: this expedition could not have been undertaken without an enormous expense, and they had not gained anything. But they did not know the great losses the Christians had suffered until that day, and I will tell you by what accident it happened. In the camp of the Christians was found, lying on the ground, a Genoese varlet, who was too ill with a fever to be removed when the sailors sought for their men to embark on board the barges. The Saracens were delighted on finding this man, and ordered no harm to be done him. They carried him to the principal commanders of their army, and told them where they had found him. An interpreter was sent for to examine him; but at first he would not make any answers, considering himself as a dead man, and desiring they would put him out of his pain. The chiefs of the army, such as Agadinquor d'Oliferne and Brahadin de Tunis, thought they should gain nothing by his death; and to induce him to answer truly, without any equivocation, what questions should be put to him, they promised to spare his life, and send him safe and well to his own country on board of the first galley that should come thither from Genoa or Marseilles, with a present of one hundred golden besants. The varlet hearing this, was freed from his fears of death and made easy; for he knew that these Saracens never break their words; and, as every one dies as late as he can, he said to the interpreter, "Make them all swear on their faith to keep what they have promised, and I will truly answer whatever you may ask." The interpreter repeated this to the lords, who having consented to his demand, the varlet said, "Now ask what questions you please, and I will answer them." He was first asked who he was, and his place of residence, and replied, "Portevances*; [that his name was Simon Mollevin, and son to a captain of a galley at Portevances]:" then as to the commanders of the Christian army. He named several; for, having kept company and drank with the heralds, he had often heard their names mentioned and remembered some of them. He was asked, if he knew the reasons why they had so suddenly raised the siege and departed. To this he made a very prudent reply, by saying, he

"Portevances." In the MSS. Portenaucs. Q. if not Portocross, one of the islands of Hieres, off Provence.

was ignorant of it, as he was not present at the council of war when it was determined on, and could only tell them what was the common report in the army. It was said, that the French suspected the Genoese of a design to betray them; but the Genoese declared this was false, and wrongfully imputed to them by the French. They had left the coast because they were afraid to winter in this country, and risk the loss of as many knights as they had once done. "Ask him," said the lords to the interpreter, "to explain this." He replied, "So great was the loss on the day the combat was to have taken place between ten of your knights with ten of ours, that upwards of sixty knights and squires, men of renown, died that day; and it was solely on this account," as the Genoese said, "the siege was raised." The Saracen chiefs seemed very much pleased on hearing this, and made no further inquiries, but punctually kept the promise they had made him.

On his return to Portevances and Genoa, he related all that had passed and what answers he had made, for which he was no way blamed. The Saracens said among themselves,—"We have been very negligent in not taking better measures against this union of the French and Genoese; for, though they have been this time unsuccessful against Africa, we must henceforward put our coast in a better state of defence (which we may easily do;) and we must, in particular, guard the straits of Morocco so strongly that neither the Genoese nor Venetians shall carry their merchandise to Flanders through this strait, without paying so great a toll as to make all the world wonder thereat, and even then it shall be considered as a matter of favour."

What these Africans had proposed they executed: and all the kingdoms to the south, west and east, formed an alliance, such as Africa, Tunis, Bugia, Morocco, Benmarin, Tremeçen and Granada, with a resolution of well guarding their coasts, and equipping such a fleet of galleys as should make them masters of the sea, through hatred to the French and Genoese for their late siege of Africa. They interrupted so much the navigation of the Venetians and Genoese, that merchandise from Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Venice, Naples or Genoa, was difficult to be had in Flanders for money; and, in particular, every sort of spicery was enormously dear.

CHAPTER XXV.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE PROPOSES TO MARCH TO ITALY, TO FORM AN UNION OF THE CHURCH BY FORCE, AND THENCE TO BARBARY.—AMBASSADORS FROM ENGLAND OFFER PROPOSALS FOR A PEACE BETWEEN HIM AND KING RICHARD.—THE DEATH OF JOHN KING OF CASTILLE.—HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON HENRY, WHO IS CROWNED KING, THOUGH BUT NINE YEARS OF AGE.

When the Christian fleet sailed from Africa, all crossed the sea, but did not disembark at the same port. Part met with heavy tempests, that put them in great danger: the greater part, however, returned to Genoa. Religious processions were making in France for their safety, for they knew not what was become of them, not having had any intelligence since their departure. The ladies of Coucy, of Sully, and the dauphiness of Auvergne, were in great anxiety for their lords, as long as the expedition lasted, and were much rejoiced on hearing they were returned. The duke of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy set off privately for Paris, leaving their attendants behind, and arrived there about Martinmas-day. The king, as was natural, was well pleased to see them, and asked many questions respecting Barbary, and the success of the expedition. They related all they had seen or heard, which was eagerly listened to by the king and his brother, the duke of Touraine. The king said, "If we can manage to restore union to the church, and establish a sound peace between us and England, we should very much like to lead a great army to Barbary, to exalt the Christian faith, confound the infidels, and acquit the souls of our predecessors, king Philip of happy memory, and king John our grandfather; for both of them put on the vermilion cross, to pass the sea for the holy land; and they would have done so, if violent wars had not nearly overturned their kingdom. Now, if we can restore union and peace to the church, and lengthen our truce with the English to a proper term, we are resolved to undertake this

expedition." Such were the conversations between the king of France and his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, and the lord de Coucy, and thus did things remain. By degrees, those who had been in Africa returned home. The king lived at Paris the whole season, residing sometimes at the Louvre, at others, with the queen, at the hôtel de St. Pol.

About St. Andrew's day, when the knights were almost all returned from Barbary, circumstances which served for a topic of conversation with every one, another expedition was talked of, at the court of France, but I cannot say who was the first promoter of it. The king of France, who had a great love of arms, was thus addressed; "Sire, your devotion and inclination naturally lead you to wish to carry an expedition against the infidels beyond sea, to conquer the holy land." "That is very true," answered the king: "it constitutes the occupation of my thoughts night and day." I believe the proposal was made by the lord de la Riviere or sir John le Mercier; for they were both too much attached to pope Clement, and so greatly in the king's favour, that whatever they said was done. Others, who were at the time in the king's company, said; "Sire you cannot, in conscience, undertake such an expedition, while the church is disunited: begin with the head, and your enterprise will end the better." "How would you have me begin?" asked the king. "Sire," replied they, "at this moment you have nothing on your hands. You are at peace with the English; and you may, during the truce, undertake, if you please, an expedition: we do not see a more brilliant one, than to march a large army to Rome and destroy this anti-pope, whom the Romans, through error, have elected and placed on the throne of St. Peter. This may be done, if you exert yourself: a more meritorious or honourable service cannot be performed; and the instant the anti-pope and his cardinals shall learn you are advancing against them with a large army, they will surrender themselves to your mercy.

The king listened attentively to this, and said he would consider of it. In truth, he was warmly attached to pope Clement; for the preceding year, when at Avignon, he had received the greatest honours and attentions from him, and he had given to him, his brother and uncles, more than they had asked. This he thought was deserving some return, and, on his taking leave, he had promised the pope, that he would attend to his affairs in such wise that the effect of his interference would soon be known. He considered himself bound, therefore, to do something in his behalf.

At this time, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at Paris; and it was generally reported, that soon after March the king would set out from Paris, for Savoy and Lombardy, and that the duke of Savoy was to send his cousin-german with him. The king was to have under his command the duke of Touraine and four thousand spears; the duke of Burgundy two thousand; the duke of Berry the same number; the constable of France two thousand Bretons and Saintongers, from the flat countries; the duke of Bourbon one thousand spears; the count de St. Pol, and the lord de Coucy, one thousand spears; and all these men at arms were to be engaged and paid for three months, and thus from time to time. The pope and cardinals at Avignon were as much rejoiced, when intelligence of this was carried to them, as if the expedition were already commenced. It was proposed in the council that the king should invite the duke of Brittany to form part of it, as they did not think it prudent to leave him behind. The king in consequence wrote him a handsome letter, to explain the plan and intention of the expedition, and to invite him to make part of it, which he sent by an honourable man, one of his ushers at arms.

When the duke of Brittany had read the letter, he burst out into laughter, and calling to him the lord de Montboucher, said,—"See what my lord of France writes me. He has undertaken to set out in the month of March next for Rome, and destroy, by the power of his arms, pope Boniface and his cardinals. As God is my help, he will never succeed, but shortly have other flax to spin, which will force him to give up such foolish business. He desires me to accompany him with two thousand lances. As I wish to pay him every honour that is his due, I shall write a very civil answer back to please him, and say that, if he persist in undertaking the expedition mentioned in his letter, he shall not go without me, since he is desirous of my company; but I tell you, lord de Montboucher, that I shall not trouble any of my vassals on the occasion, for I repeat, it will end in words." The duke of Brittany sent very handsome letters by the usher at arms, to the king at Paris, who was well

satisfied with the answer. No one attempted to discourage the king respecting this expedition, for it was highly agreeable to the knights and squires, as it made them of importance, and employed their time. All ranks of persons made their preparations, even the clergy, and the provinces were willing to tax themselves to send men at arms, at their expense, to serve the king.

This expedition ended, however, as the duke of Brittany had foretold; and I will relate what occasioned its being broken off. About Candlemas, intelligence was brought to the king and his council, which they had not thought of, nor foreseen. Part of the king of England's cabinet-council were sent in handsome state to wait on the king of France at Paris. At the head of this legation were, sir Thomas Percy, sir Lewis Clifford, sir Robert Bricquet, and other knights, whose names I never heard. The arrival of these knights at Paris was a great surprise though the king had been informed of their coming; for the king of England had written to him, to say he should in a few days send some of his council to Paris, if he would be there. The king of France was very anxious to learn why these ambassadors had been sent in such haste, and what they had to propose. The English knights dismounted at the sign of the Château de Festu, in the street of la Croix du Tiroir, where they had fixed their lodgings. The king of France was at the Louvre, and the duke of Touraine with him: his three uncles, and the constable of France, were likewise at their different hôtels in Paris. The English arrived at Paris in the afternoon, and staid the remainder of that day and the night at their inn: on the morrow, about nine o'clock, they mounted their horses, which were handsomely decorated, and went in state to the Louvre, where the king was waiting for them. He was attended by his brother, his uncles, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and other great barons.

The ambassadors dismounted in the square before the Louvre, and, on entering the gate, were met by the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, sir Helion de Lignac, sir Peter de Villiers, sir William de la Tremouille, and sir William Marcel, who received them as knights of the king of England's council, and conducted them most respectfully to a handsome apartment where the king of France was. On their entrance they took off their hoods, and bowed very low. Sir Thomas Percy was the bearer of their credential letters, which he presented to the king, who, on receiving them, made the knights rise. When they were risen, they retired some paces back. The king of France, having perused the letters, called to him his brother and uncles, and showed their contents. His uncles then said, "My lord, call to you the knights from England, and demand the cause of their coming hither." The king did so, and the knights were asked the purport of their credential letters. Sir Thomas, in reply, said,—"Dear sire, it is the wish of our lord the king of England, that his most confidential counsellors such as his uncles of Lancaster, York, or Gloucester, or some prelates of England of whom that country has the best opinion for sense and prudence, should meet others of like character, of your council, that they might consider on the means of forming a solid peace between you and him and your allies. This, if it could be effected, would give him such great satisfaction, that he would not complain of any trouble or pain his counsellors may endure, whom he shall send across the sea to Amiens, or any other appointed place, for the carrying on this negotiation, and we are come hither from our lord to propose this matter, and to learn your intentions upon it." The king replied,—"Sir Thomas, you and your companions are welcome, and your visit has given us very great pleasure. You will not leave Paris immediately: in the mean time, we will assemble our council, and, before your departure, you shall have such answer as shall be satisfactory to you." The English were well pleased with this reply, and the king entered on other matters of conversation. It was now dinner-time; and the English knights were detained to dine in the Louvre, and given in charge to the lord de Coucy and the lord de la Riviere, who led them into a very richly ornamented apartment, where a table was spread for them. They dined well, and at their leisure, the lord de Coucy and the constable keeping them company. When dinner was over, they went into the king's apartment, and staid until wine and spices were brought in splendid comfit boxes of gold and silver. After the knights had partaken of these, they took leave of the king and his lords, and descended into the court, where they mounted their horses and returned to their lodgings.

The proposals sir Thomas Percy had brought from England were exceedingly agreeable to the king of France, to his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and to others of his council; but not to all, especially to those who were interested concerning the pope of Avignon. They foresaw, that if negotiations were once begun between the two crowns, it would require a long time to bring them to a conclusion, and thus retard the expedition that was intended against Rome, to reduce pope Boniface and his cardinals to the obedience of pope Clement. The object of peace, however, was so welcome to all parts of Christendom, and would be of such advantage to every country that no one dared to say anything against it. Besides, the duke of Burgundy and his council and the duke of Bourbon were unanimous in their opinion with the king. The king of France showed much attention to sir Thomas Percy and his companions; but there was one knight among them called sir Robert Bricquet, whom he did not see with pleasure, for he was a Frenchman, had always been of the party of England or Navarre, and was now a knight of the king of England's chamber. The king prudently dissembled his thoughts; but, when he conversed with them, he always addressed himself to sir Thomas Percy, sir Lewis Clifford, or to sir John Clanvow. The king said,—"We shall be happy to see a solid peace established between our adversary of England and us, for the war and quarrel has lasted too long a time; and I wish you to understand that it shall be no way our fault if the negotiations be not happily concluded." "Sire," replied the knights, "our lord the king of England, who has sent us hither, has the same peaceable inclinations, and said, on our departure, that it should not be to his blame if these wars and dissentions were not put an end to, for they had lasted too lōng; and he was much surprised some prudent means had not been sooner thought of for this purpose." "Well," replied the king, "we shall see what good affection he bears us."

The English remained at Paris six days, and dined every day with one or other of the dukes. In the mean time, the matter of their coming had been debated in council, and it was settled that the king of France, his uncles, and his cabinet-council, should be at Amiens the middle of March, and wait there for the king of England, his uncles and council, if they were willing to meet them. The English knights engaged, that on their side there should not be any delay, and that some of the king's uncles, if not all, would be at Amiens on the appointed day. Thus was this business concluded; and the day before the ambassadors were to take leave of the king and quit Paris, he went to the palace, and magnificently entertained at dinner these English lords: his brother and uncles were present: he made sir Thomas Percy sit at his table, calling him cousin, from his relationship with the earl of Northumberland.

During the dinner, sir Thomas Percy and his companions were presented with rich and handsome jewels, all but sir Robert Bricquet: he was passed unnoticed. The knight, who presented them in the name of the king, (sir Peter Villiers, high steward of the household) said to him: "When you shall have done service acceptable to the king, he is rich enough to reward you for it," and then passed by. Sir Robert was melancholy on hearing this speech, and then first learnt he was disagreeable to the king of France: he was therefore forced to put up with the slight as well as he could. When dinner was over, and they had washed and the tables were removed, grace having been said, minstrels of song and others were called in, who performed, as usual, before the king and his company. After this, sir Thomas Percy advanced, and, casting himself on his knee, said: "Very dear sire, I and my companions are much surprised at one thing. You have most splendidly entertained us, and presented us with rich gifts, for which we feel very thankful; but sir Robert Bricquet, who is a knight at arms, and chamberlain to our sovereign lord the king of England, has been passed by, and we would willingly know the reason of it." The king of France replied: "Sir Thomas, the knight you have named, since you wish to know the cause of his being overlooked, ought not to have taken part against us; for, had he been made prisoner in war, his ransom would have instantly been paid by his death." On saying this, he raised up sir Thomas Percy, and conversed on other matters. Shortly after, wine and spices were brought, which having partaken of at their pleasure, the ambassadors took leave of the king, returned to their lodgings, and paid the amount of their expenses. On the morrow, they departed from Paris, and continued their journey to England, where they related to the king and his uncles everything that had passed, greatly extolling the king of France's magnificent entertainments, and the rich gifts he had made them.

We will, for a while leave speaking of England, and say what was passing in Castille. You have heard of the alliance between the king of Castille and the duke of Lancaster, who had claimed that crown in right of his duchess, the lady Constance, eldest daughter of the late don Pedro, by whom he had a beautiful daughter, that was married to don Henry, prince of Galicia, heir to the crown of Castille. This marriage confirmed the peace between them. About two years after the celebration of these nuptials, king John of Castille departed this life, and was buried in the city of Burgos*. On this event, the great barons and prelates of the realm assembled, and declared their intentions to have for their king the young prince of Galicia. This was done, and the prince was crowned in the ninth year of his age: his queen was six years older. Thus was the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, by the lady Constance, queen of Castille, and of all the possessions of don Pedro, don Henry, and don John, excepting those parts which had been assigned to the duke and duchess of Lancaster for their joint lives. They had, beside, a pension of one hundred thousand florins, for which four of the most opulent cities in Castille were pledged. The duke of Lancaster had the pleasure of seeing his two daughters queens of Castille and Portugal.

We will now speak of the expedition made by John count d'Armagnac into Lombardy, for the matter requires it.

CHAPTER XXVI.—OF THE EXPEDITION OF COUNT JOHN D'ARMAGNAC INTO LOMBARDY.—HIS DEATH, AT THE SIEGE OF ALEXANDRIA.

The intention of the count d'Armagnac to lead an army into Lombardy has been already mentioned in this history. His object was to assist his sister-german and her husband, sir Bernabo Visconti, eldest son to that sir Bernabo whom the duke of Milan had unnaturally put to death. This duke was Galeas Visconti, count de Vertus, whose daughter the duke of Touraine had married. The lady of sir Bernabo was daughter to sir John d'Armagnac, and, being in great affliction, had recourse to her brothers, to whom she related the misery of her situation, her poverty and necessity, and humbly prayed their pity, and that they would defend her against that tyrant the count de Vertus, who had disinherited her without the smallest reason. The count d'Armagnac promised his sister that he would comply with her request, and had declared, that whatever it might cost him to recover her rights, he would exert himself in the attempt to the utmost of his power. What he had engaged to do, he performed; for I have before mentioned, that in conjunction with the dauphin d'Auvergne, he had entered into treaties with many of the captains of forts in Auvergne, Limousin, Quercy, or other parts, who, under colour of fighting for the king of England, had done the greatest mischiefs to France. These garrisons of English, Gascons, and Bretons, received different sums, and a pardon from France, on surrendering their castles and quitting the kingdom. They readily, therefore, engaged to follow the count d'Armagnac into Lombardy, and retired until the proper time towards the rivers Rhône and Saone. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy permitted them to take what purveyances they pleased in their lordships, for they were very desirous to be rid of them. The lieutenant of the king of France for Dauphiny was at that time sir Enguerrand Durdin, and the king had written to him to permit all men at arms and their companions, who should say they belonged to the count d'Armagnac, to pass freely through Dauphiny, and to have whatever they might be in need of, for their money.

The count de Foix, hearing at his residence at Orthès of the large armament the count d'Armagnac was raising, began to be alarmed, for he was of a suspicious temper. He had indeed learnt, for common report flies everywhere, that it was intended for Lombardy against the duke of Milan; but as the ancestors of this count d'Armagnac, and himself and his brother sir Bernard, had been at war with him, he was doubtful if this expedition might not in the end be directed against him. Not to be unprepared, therefore, he had reinforced and re-victualled all his castles, that if they should make an attack, he might be enabled to

* King John died from the injuries received in a fall from his horse, on the 24th August, 1390, aged thirty-two. His son Henry, who succeeded him, was then *eleven* years old.—Ed.



The sudden death of Count Gaston de Foix.

meet them. But neither the count d'Armagnac nor his brother had such thoughts: they were desirous strictly to observe the truce now established between them. Many knights and squires from Gascony, England, and Brittany, who had engaged their services to the count d'Armagnac, had he declared war against the count de Foix, would have left him and joined his adversary: so much was the count de Foix beloved by men-at-arms for his liberality and courage.

When the duchess of Touraine was informed that the count d'Armagnac was preparing to lead a large body of men-at-arms into Lombardy, to make war on her father the duke of Milan, and that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy consented to it, from their desire to rid the kingdom of so many pillagers which had of late so grievously harassed it, she did not remain idle, but instantly wrote letters to the count de Vertus to give notice of it, that he might provide himself accordingly. The duke of Milan was already informed of this intention of the count d'Armagnac, and had collected men-at-arms wherever he could find them, and reinforced his towns and castles with men, stores, and provision, concluding he should have a war to support against this count d'Armagnac.

About the middle of March, the greater part of the men-at-arms were assembled in the country near Avignon: between that place and Lyons, on the banks of the Rhône, were fifteen thousand horse. They crossed that river where it was the easiest to pass, and, entering Dauphiny, took up their quarters in the villages or fields. Others continued their route, the more speedily to clear the passes of the mountains, which are dangerous for man and horse. The count d'Armagnac, his brother, with other knights, visited pope Clement and his cardinals at Avignon, and offered to serve them and the church against the tyrant of Lombardy, for which they felt themselves obliged, and returned many thanks. They staid at Avignon eight days, while their troops passed: they then took leave of the pope and cardinals, and made ready to follow them. The two brothers, sir John and sir Bernard d'Armagnac, here separated, and thus sir John addressed him: "Fair brother, you will now return to Comminges and Armagnac, to guard our lands, for all the forts are not yet free from the marauders. There is Lourde, which sir Arnaute de Béarn holds in the name of the king of England; and Bouteville is garrisoned by Foixens under the command of sir John de Greilly, son to the late captal de Buch. Notwithstanding there is a truce between the count de Foix and us for the present, he is so bold and enterprising a knight, that we are never sure what his intentions may be; and for these reasons I wish you to return instantly home. You shall hear very frequently from me during my absence, and do you write constantly." Sir Bernard readily consented to what his brother had proposed, for he thought it prudent and well advised: he had not, beside, any great inclination to cross the mountains. Just on his departure, the count said,—"Bernard, you will go hence to our cousin Raymond de Touraine, who has married my cousin the daughter of the prince of Orange, and is now engaged in war with the comté Venaissain, that belongs to the pope: entreat of him, for I have been so requested by the pope, that he make his preparations to follow me in this expedition, and he shall be my companion in all things: I will wait for him at Gap*, situated among the mountains." Sir Bernard promised to convey this message, and the brothers separated, never to see each other again.

The count d'Armagnac took the road leading to the town of Gap, and sir Bernard that to the castle of Boulogne, where sir Raymond de Touraine resided, who received him very kindly. Sir Bernard eloquently delivered the message from his brother, to induce him the more readily to comply with the request contained in it. Sir Raymond replied,—"Fair cousin, before your brother, the count d'Armagnac, shall have advanced far into Lombardy, or laid siege to any town, it is very possible that I follow him, but it is full time as yet for me and my people to begin our march. If my cousin therefore sends me intelligence about the middle of May I will set out, for by that time I hope to make an end of my war against my uncle, the pope at Avignon, and his cardinals, who not only refuse me justice, but detain from me, by force, everything that my uncle, pope Gregory, disposed of in my favour. They think to tire me out and excommunicate me, but they shall be mistaken. They engage knights and squires to make war on me, by granting them absolutions, but such have no

* "Gap,"—an ancient city in Dauphiny, capital of the Gapencois, generality of Grenoble.

talents for war; and I shall have more effective men at arms for a thousand florins, than they can obtain by their absolutions for seven years." "My good cousin," answered sir Bernard, "keep to your resolution: what you say is true; and I would not, by any means, advise you to act otherwise than you do: just as you have spoken will I write to my brother d'Armagnac."

They were one whole day together, in the castle of Boulogne. On the morrow, sir Bernard d'Armagnac departed, and, crossing the Rhône at the Pont du Saint Esprit, rode over the mountains, through Quercy, until he reached his destination, leaving his brother to manage for himself his war with the count de Vertus. Before, however, he left Pont du Saint Esprit, he wrote letters to the count d'Armagnac, to inform him of the answer he had received from sir Raymond de Touraine, and had also letters from his brother, on his road towards Gap. Having read their contents, he pursued his journey without farther attending to them.

We will continue our history of the count John d'Armagnac* until we bring it to a conclusion, without speaking of other events. It was his great love and affection for his sister and brother, who had been fraudulently disinherited by the count de Vertus, who styled himself lord of Milan, that had induced him thus gaily to march into the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy. There were likewise two very just reasons for this armament; one was, the carrying away such numbers of pillagers, who had for so long a time oppressed and robbed many of the provinces in France, for by this means the country was cleared of them: the other, to assist his sister and her husband, who had unjustly been deprived of their inheritance, so that he had, on every account, justice on his side. The companions were unanimous to serve him, and exclaimed,—"Let us cheerfully attack these Lombards: we have a just quarrel and a good captain, which will assist our cause, and we are going to the richest country in the world; for Lombardy receives the fat from other parts; and, as the Lombards are rich and cowards, we shall gain great profit. We, who are captains, shall return so enormously rich, that we need never more think of war, nor carry on any future warfare."

Such were the conversations on their march; and when they came to a rich country they halted there for some time, to refresh themselves and their horses. At the time I am now speaking of, that gallant English knight, sir John Hactonde†, was making war on the Florentines for pope Boniface, and had fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Florence. That country as well as Perugia were in rebellion against the pope. The count d'Armagnac thought if he could gain the assistance of sir John Hawkwood, who was a most enterprising and courageous knight, he should be more successful in his war. In consequence, during his residence at Grande‡, at the entrance into Piedmont, he wrote to him long letters, explanatory of his situation, and the reasons which urged him to make war on the duke of Milan. Having properly sealed these letters, he gave them to a prudent messenger, who performed his duty well, in delivering them to sir John Hawkwood: he was then near Florence, and had under his command full two thousand combatants. He read the letters, or had them read to him. On hearing their contents, he was well pleased, and replied, "that as soon as he should have put an end to the war he was then engaged in, he would not attend to any other before he had joined the count d'Armagnac." The squire of the count, who had brought these letters, was an honourable man, and replied,—"Sir, you speak well, and to the point: have the goodness to put into writing what you say, that my lord, the count d'Armagnac, may be the more assured of your intentions." "Very willingly," said sir John Hawkwood; "and it is but right, since my pleasure and will are to meet him." In the course of two or three days, the letters were written and given to the squire who had come from the count d'Armagnac. He instantly set out on his return, and found the count near to Pignerol §. There were great negotiations going forward between him and the marquis de Saluces, and the marquis was to join him in his war against Milan. The news the squire brought from sir

* John III of Armagnac. His sister had married Charles Visconti, the son of Bernabo.—Ed.

† "Sir John Hactonde."—Sir John Hawkwood.

‡ "Grande,"—in the MSS. Granido. Q. Grenoble. The count of Armagnac entered Italy in July, 1391.

§ "Pignerol,"—an episcopal town of Piedmont, at the entrance of the valley of Perouse.

John Hawkwood was highly agreeable to the count d'Armagnac. He said, "that if it pleased God, he would this season make so severe a war on the count de Vertus, that he should be glad to accept of reasonable terms, or he would perish in the attempt."

From what you have heard, you may suppose the count d'Armagnac had a great desire to aid his sister, and it was compassion for her that urged him to it. When his men at arms had passed the mountains, and had gained the rich plains of Piedmont, near to Turin, they were not long before they made excursions, and committed great destruction on the surrounding villages, which could not any way withstand them. The count d'Armagnac laid siege to Asti*, intending to wait there for sir John Hawkwood. Purveyances came from all quarters; and the companions ransomed small forts for provision, and, until their wants were supplied, they took every thing away. The country of Pignerol and the territories of the marquis of Montferrat were open to their foraging for themselves and horses. There came likewise great quantities of provision to them from Dauphiny and Savoy. Many leant to the count d'Armagnac from the justice of his quarrel with the count de Vertus, who had wickedly put to death his uncle Bernabo, to gain his inheritance; and, although several of the great lords of that country were silent on the subject, they felt much compassion for those who had been thus disinherited.

During the siege of Asti, very agreeable news was brought to the count d'Armagnac from sir John Hawkwood. He informed him, that the Florentines and Venetians had submitted to the mercy of the pope; that he was to be paid sixty thousand florins, for himself and his companions; and that, the moment these were received, he would march with five hundred men at arms and a thousand infantry† towards the frontiers of Genoa, and, whether his enemies would or not, he intended to force a passage to join him. The count d'Armagnac and his army were much pleased at the thoughts of being assisted by so able a commander as sir John Hawkwood; and he was advised to break up the siege of Asti, and transfer it to a larger town called Alexandria, situated at the entrance of Lombardy, and, after they should have conquered it, to advance to Vercelli, which is also a large and handsome city. The siege was in consequence transferred from Asti to Alexandria, which is a fine city, and seated in a rich plain on the frontiers of Piedmont and Lombardy, in the direct road to Genoa. The men at arms had crossed the Tesino and lodged themselves at their ease in this plentiful country.

Sir Galeas, lord of Milan‡, count de Vertus, resided in the city of Pavia, and daily heard of his enemies establishing themselves in his country: but his greatest surprise was, how the count d'Armagnac found money to satisfy the large body of men at arms he had brought with him. His council, with whom he conversed on this subject, replied,—"Sir, these are free companions, and part of those pillagers who have so long harassed France: they do not require pay, but to seek adventures, and run the chance of gain from plundering the country. In order to deliver France from them, after the surrender of their strong holds, the count d'Armagnac leads them hither. The duke of Berry and the dauphin of Auvergne, whose lands they had sorely oppressed, treated with them by means of the count d'Armagnac, who offered the king of France and the above-mentioned lords to engage them in his quarrel with you. By dint of money he purchased their forts; and the king of France granted them a free pardon for all their past deeds, on condition they joined the count d'Armagnac; and whatever they could conquer in these countries was to be their own. They therefore ask no pay; and there are among them men at arms that have five or six horses, who, if in their own country, would be constrained to go on foot like absolute paupers. They adventure themselves boldly, and it is hazardous to engage with them, for they are all of determined courage. The best advice we can give is, that you guard well your cities and principal towns, which are strongly garrisoned and well provided with all things; for they have no artillery, nor any machines for carrying on a siege worth thinking of. They will advance to the barriers of your towns to skirmish and do gallant deeds of arms; but they will not gain anything you may regret, if one may judge by what has passed, for they have now

* "Asti,"—an ancient town of Piedmont, five leagues N. E. from Albi, eight S. W. from Casal.

† *Mille brigands.* A thousand soldiers armed with *brigandines.*

‡ He was created duke of Milan 1395, by Winceslaus king of the Romans.—*Dict. Hist.*

been in this country more than two months, and have only conquered a small and insignificant fort. Let them therefore come and go, without offering them combat; for they will soon be tired of the war, and will be defeated without a battle. When they have destroyed all the low countries, they will be in want of provision, and famine will force them to return, if no worse accidents befal them. You must order your men at arms to keep in bodies near to each other, that, in case of need, they may succour and give advice to those of the garrisons who may want it. Reinforce with them all your towns and castles; for the rich citizens are not accustomed to war, and will not defend themselves like knights or squires who have been brought up to the profession. Send some of your chivalry into Alexandria: you will gain doubly by it, for your city will be more ably defended, and your subjects will love you with greater affection when they see you are attentive to them in their distress. You are beside bounden to do this, for they pay you taxes and other levies for your governing and taking care of them. Your enemies cannot have a sufficient force to surround Alexandria on all sides, and prevent the men at arms you shall send thither from entering the town; and, when the inhabitants shall see them arrive, their courage will be raised, their attachment to you increased, and any treaties they might have thought of entering into with your enemies will be put an end to."

The lord of Milan followed the advice that had been given him, and, without delay, sent thither a body of knights and men at arms that were in his pay. On being mustered, they amounted to five hundred lances; and an ancient knight, who had long been used to arms, called sir James de la Berme *, was appointed their commander. They rode through bye ways until they arrived at Alexandria in the evening, and entered it, when their enemies had retired fatigued to their quarters, from skirmishing at the barriers, for they could not remain idle. The citizens were rejoiced at the arrival of sir James de la Berme and his companions, and not without cause; for the count d'Armagnac, not having seen any men at arms during the three days he lay before it, concluded none were in the town, and had kept up a continual assault at the barriers; but, small as the defence was, it had done so well, that the Armagnacs had not gained any advantage. Sir James de la Berme, on entering the town, retired with his men to the lodgings which had been assigned them, and, having taken some refreshment, they were waited on by the principal inhabitants, to congratulate them on their arrival. He inquired into the state of the town, and the numbers and situation of the enemy, in order that he might act accordingly. The most intelligent replied, "that from the moment the count d'Armagnac had come, there had never been any cessation of skirmishes and attacks on the barriers." "Well," replied the knight, "to-morrow if it please God, we will see how they bear themselves, and what they may be inclined to do. They are ignorant of my arrival, and I will lay an ambush for them, and make a private sally." "Ah, my lord," said those who had before spoken to him, "you must be very cautious how you act, for they are sixteen thousand horse at least, and, should they discover you in the open plain, they will surround and overpower you by their numbers, without striking a blow." The knight answered, "We will consider more of it; for, since we are come, we must attempt some deeds of arms." The conversation now ended, and every one returned to his home; but the knight told his men, secretly, he intended making a sally and placing an ambush, that all might be prepared against the morrow.

The next day, sir James de la Berme and his troops being armed, made a sally through a private gate, on the opposite side of the town to the place where the besiegers lay. He was accompanied, at the distance of half a league, by about three hundred of the townsmen, to a narrow valley where they could not be seen. He had left two hundred without the barriers, with orders, if they were attacked to defend themselves faintly, retreating towards this valley, where they would be supported by the ambuscade. They promised punctual obedience to these orders. The day was exceedingly hot; but the count d'Armagnac was young and enterprising: having heard mass in his pavilion and drank a cup, he demanded his arms, and, having completely equipped himself, displayed only his pennon, and was attended by no more than one hundred men; for he did not expect to meet with greater opposition than usual, and advanced at a slow pace towards the barriers. True it is, that some few men at

* Known also as Jaques del Verme.

arms followed him by degrees; but others said,—"What signifies arming? and why should we give ourselves so much trouble, when we cannot meet with any one at the barriers worth fighting with?" They staid, therefore, within their camp, eating and drinking. The count d'Armagnac, on coming to the barriers, began to overthrow and beat down many of those posted there to receive him, as good men at arms know how to do; but the townsmen did not wait long, before they began to retreat slowly towards the ambuscade.

When sir James de la Berme saw it was time, he sallied forth out of the ambush, and the Armagnacs were surrounded and attacked on all sides. They valiantly defended themselves, and were reinforced by little and little with men from the camp. Many gallant deeds were done this day, which was the feast of St. James and St. Christopher. It was so very hot, that those who bore arms thought they were in an oven, for there was not any wind; and the young men at arms were overpowered by the heat, and unable to exert themselves. Add to this, that the force of the lord de Milan was three to one of the Armagnacs. The dust oppressed them so much, they could not see each other; but the Armagnacs, in this, suffered the most. This was an unfortunate day for the count, who was so overcome by the heat, and near fainting, that he withdrew from the battle, without friend or foe knowing whither he was gone. He had retreated to a small grove of alders, through which ran a little brook; and he no sooner felt his feet in the water, than he thought he was in paradise, and seated himself by the side of the stream. He, with some difficulty, took off his helmet, and remained covered only by the linen scull-cap, and then plunged his face in the water, at the same time, unfortunately, drinking large draughts; for he was thirsty from the heat, and could not quench it. He drank so much, that his blood was chilled, and a numbness of limbs seized him, with a strong inclination to faint. He could not move, and lost the use of speech. His attendants knew not what was become of him, and were the more uneasy, because many prisoners had been made: they therefore ceased fighting.

A short time after this, a squire belonging to the duke of Milan perceived the count d'Armagnac, and wondered much, when he saw him, who he could be; for it was visible he must be some knight or man of high rank: he called out, "Who are you? Surrender; for you are my prisoner." The count heard him, but could not make any answer, as he was unable to articulate, but held out his hand, and made signs that he surrendered. The squire then endeavoured to raise him, but, finding his attempts vain, seated himself beside him, while the skirmish was still continued, and many gallant actions performed.

Sir James de la Berme, being a prudent and valorous knight, perceiving the day was his own, and that many of the enemy were killed and wounded, but that his men were growing weary, and the Armagnacs increasing by fresh men from their camp, ordered a retreat to Alexandria, his men vigorously defending themselves as they retired. The squire, who had fortunately found the count d'Armagnac in the state I have mentioned, unwilling to leave him behind, for he thought him a person of distinction, called to some of his companions to assist in carrying him to the town; and declared that whatever he should receive for his ransom, he would handsomely divide with them for the trouble they would have. They complied with his request, and, with some difficulty, carried him to the squire's lodgings in the city, where the count was disarmed, undressed, and put to bed. By this time, sir James de la Berme had, with his men, re-entered the place, and barricaded the bars and gates, having many prisoners with them. They disarmed and refreshed themselves with what they found at their quarters, as did likewise the Armagnacs, who had been at this skirmish, on their return to the army.

When it was mentioned in the camp that no one knew what was become of the count d'Armagnac, they were much alarmed, and some went to search the places in the neighbourhood where the skirmish had been fought, but, to the great dismay of their companions, they returned without having discovered any traces of him. The squire, into whose hands he had fallen, desirous to know who he was, addressed himself to a Gascon squire, a man of honour that had been made prisoner, and begged of him to accompany him, with the person who had captured him, to his lodgings. They went thither, and the Lombardy squire led the Gascon to his chamber, where the count d'Armagnac lay bitterly bemoaning. He brought a candle near his face, and said to the Gascon, "My friend, do you know who this man is?"

The Gascon, leaning down to examine his features, instantly recognized him, and replied, —"Yes, I ought to know him well; for it is our commander, the count d'Armagnac." The Lombardy squire was rejoiced to hear his prisoner was of such distinction; but the count was so very ill he heard nothing they asked of him. Upon which, his master said; "Come, come, let us leave him quiet, that he may recover himself," and they all quitted the chamber. He died, however, that same night. When, on the morrow, it was known that the count d'Armagnac had died in his bed at Alexandria, sir James de la Berme would not that it should be made secret, but sent information of the event by some of the prisoners to the camp, to see how they would act on the occasion.

The whole army were in dismay on hearing their loss; for they had now no commander in chief to look up to, as they were mostly all free companions. They therefore said, "Let us hasten back to our own countries, for we have lost all opportunities of gaining anything here." It was soon known in Alexandria that the Armagnacs were in despair for the death of the count: they therefore made a sally from the town, advancing full gallop to the camp, shouting "Pavia for the lord of Milan!" Not one of the Armagnacs made any defence, but allowed themselves to be slain, like wicked people as they were: the conquest was great, for the army were so cast down, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and throwing down their arms, made for Alexandria, whither the Germans, and other soldiers in the pay of the lord of Milan, drove them like a herd of cattle. This unexpected death of the count d'Armagnac happened very unluckily for himself and his army. Had he remained quiet but five days, sir John Hawkwood would have arrived with five hundred horse and one thousand foot; and many valiant deeds would have been done by this knight and his men; but an end was now put to every thing by this loss.

You may suppose the count de Vertus was in high spirits on hearing his enemies, whom he greatly dreaded, were killed, made prisoners or put to flight, and that the count d'Armagnac was dead. He more dearly prized his knight, sir James de la Berme, through whose prudence and valour this good fortune had befallen him. He appointed him commander in chief of his chivalry, and president of his council. The lord of Milan considered how he should act towards the prisoners; and, as he was anxious to free his country of them, he behaved in the most courteous manner, giving to every gentleman a horse, and to the infantry one florin each, besides their liberty, free of ransom; but he made them all take an oath that they would never more bear arms against him.

Thus did this army return defeated from Lombardy and Piedmont, to Savoy and Dauphiny; but they were in the utmost distress, for the inclosed towns refused them admittance, and the gates of all castles were shut against them. They had soon spent their florins, and it was necessary for them to work or starve. Some showed compassion, and gave them money; but others, on the contrary, laughed at and abused them, saying "Go, go seek your count d'Armagnac, who has burst himself by drinking at a fountain near Alexandria." They were still worse off when they came to the rivers Rhône and Saone, which they thought to cross without molestation; but it was otherwise, for the king had commanded all the bridges and fords to be guarded against them. They fell now into the greatest poverty, and were never after able to unite together.

Thus was the armament of count John d'Armagnac destroyed, and his sister remained in the same distressful state as before. The lord of Milan ordered the body of the count d'Armagnac to be embalmed, put into a coffin, and escorted by a bishop of his country and such of his relations as had remained to his brother sir Bernard d'Armagnac, who was much concerned at the melancholy event, but could not any way remedy it. The count d'Armagnac was buried in the cathedral church of Rodez, where he lies.

CHAPTER XXVII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ANXIOUS TO MAKE A PEACE WITH FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER THROWS OBSTACLES IN THE WAY.—SIR PETER DE CRAON, FORMERLY THE FAVOURITE OF KING CHARLES AND HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF TOURAINE, INCURS THEIR HATRED, AND TAKES REFUGE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

Sir Thomas Percy, as you have heard, was sent by the king of England to propose a treaty of peace to the court of France, for king Richard was very desirous to accomplish it. Two of his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and York, were of his opinion; but his other uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham, and constable of England, would no way listen to it; telling his friends secretly, that he would never agree to any peace with France, whatever negotiations might be taken in hand on the subject, if it were not an honourable one; that all the towns, castles and lordships which were yielded to England, but had since been fraudulently taken back, must be restored, and the sum of 1,400,000 francs, which had remained unpaid by the French when they began the war, must also be paid down. He declared, that as long as he lived he should never change these sentiments; in which he was joined by many of the barons of England, particularly the earl of Arundel, who privately said the duke of Gloucester was in the right, though they dissembled their opinions in public from seeing how much the king of England was bent upon peace



Richard II. and his three Uncles the Dukes of Lancaster, York and Gloucester. From an illumination at the head of a most beautiful MS. Epistle, written by an old Monk of the order of the Celestins at Paris on the subject of the peace between France and England, and presented, (as shown by the drawing) by him to Richard. Royal MSS. 20. B. VI.

The poorer knights and archers were of course for war, as their sole livelihood depended upon it. When these things are considered, and the claims of the French, it will be very clear nothing like peace could be concluded. The French demanded to have Calais destroyed, and possession given them of the lordships of Guines, Hames, Merle and Oye, with the lands of Fretun and the dependencies of Guines as far as the river that runs by Gravelines. True it is, the king of France and his commissioners were willing to give up to the king of England and his heirs as many lands in Aquitaine of equal or more value as to revenue than

those they demanded; but the duke of Gloucester made too firm an opposition to this article, saying,—"The French wish to pay us back with our own lands; for we have the charter of king John, sealed by him and his children, which gives up to us the whole of Aquitaine in fee simple. Whatever they have taken from it since, has been a fraud and a robbery; and their whole attempt, night and day is to deceive us. Should Calais and the lands they require be given up to them, they will be lords of the sea and attack our coasts. Never, therefore, so long as I live, will I consent to peace with France on these terms."

At the time I am now speaking of, a knight of noble extraction, from Anjou and Brittany, was greatly in favour with the king of France, as well as with his brother the duke of Touraine. His name was sir Peter de Craon, and of such power that nothing was done but with his advice. He had been favourite of the late duke of Anjou, king of Sicily, and was immensely rich, which had given rise to many scandalous reports against him; for it was currently said in France, that he had robbed the duke of Anjou. This caused him to avoid the presence of the young king of Sicily and the queen his mother; but he had managed to acquire the affections of the king of France and the duke of Touraine. The constable sir Oliver de Clisson, was likewise in high favour with the king and his brother for the meritorious services he had done them in arms, and his brilliant actions during the reign of the late king. Sir Oliver's daughter was married as you have heard, to John of Brittany, brother to the Queen-dowager of Sicily; and this marriage had sorely displeased the duke of Brittany, who mortally hated the constable, considering both him and John of Brittany as his secret enemies. He had often repented not having put the constable to death when he had him in his castle of Ermine. Sir Peter de Craon was a favourite with the duke of Brittany, being also his cousin, and, during the reign of his power with the king of France and the duke of Touraine, would willingly, had he been able, have caused a quarrel between them and the constable. Thus envies and jealousies, which have always underhand ruled in France, continue to act until they bring their favourites to an unfortunate end.

The constable of France had been so loyal in his whole conduct towards the crown, that he was beloved by all except the duke of Burgundy; and the hatred he bore him originated in the duchess, who was a lady of a high spirit, and too nearly related to the duke of Brittany to love the constable; besides, she continued the affection of her father to all whom he loved, and hated those he had hated; such was her temper. Sir Peter de Craon, who at this time resided at the court of France with the duke of Touraine, kept up a frequent correspondence with the duke of Brittany, they writing, in the most friendly manner, to each other concerning the state of their affairs.

I am unable to describe the exact grounds of their correspondence; but I, John Froissart, author of this history, during the time of my residence at Paris, (which was when sir Peter de Craon made the daring attack, in the night-time, on the constable, who narrowly escaped death, as I shall relate,) seeing public affairs likely to be much troubled and turn out unfortunate, made many and frequent inquiries why sir Peter de Craon had so very suddenly lost the affections and favour of the king and the duke of Touraine. I had so often demanded the cause from those who ought to be acquainted with it, that at last I heard the truth of what was commonly believed to have occasioned it. He was under the displeasure of the duke of Touraine, for having revealed secrets intrusted to him by the duke to the duchess; and, if he did so he behaved shamefully. The duke was so fond of sir Peter de Craon that he made him his companion, dressed him in the same clothes as himself, and carried him wherever he went, intrusting him with all his most secret thoughts. The duke, at the time young and amorous, much amused himself with the company of ladies and damsels, and, as I heard, was particularly attached to a young frisky damsel of Paris. His intrigue was known and his secrets betrayed, to the great vexation of the duke, who could not accuse any other of having done it but sir Peter de Craon; for to him alone the duke had discovered it, and had led him with him when he visited secretly this noble young lady. The duke was much smitten with her, and had proffered her, if she would consent to his wishes, one thousand golden crowns; but she had refused them, saying, "That her love for him was not on account of his riches, but that his affection had won hers; and that she scorned to sell her honour for gold," The whole of this business was told the duchess, who sent for the young lady to her chamber.

On her entering, she called her by her name, and, with much anger, said, "How is this? do you seek to wrong me with my lord?" The lady was thunderstruck, and, with tears replied, "Oh no, madam: please God, I never will nor even think of it." "It is not so," said the duchess; "for I am well informed, my lord and you love each other mutually; and the matter is so far advanced, that at such a time and place he offered you a thousand golden crowns to possess you. You refused them, for which you behaved well, and this time I forgive you; but, I caution you, if you value your life, not to have any further conversation with my lord, but through your regard to me send him a dismissal."

The young lady, finding herself very justly accused and in some danger, replied: "Madam, I will free myself from him as soon as possible, and henceforth so act that you shall never again hear anything disagreeable of me." On this, the duchess permitted her to depart, and she returned home. The duke much in love, and ignorant of what had passed, went to the place where the lady resided; but, on seeing him, she fled, and acted contrary to her usual manner, showing dislike rather than love; for she was afraid to do otherwise, from the promises she had made to the duchess. The duke noticing such a difference in his reception, was very melancholy, and would know the cause of it. The young lady, with tears, said—"My lord, you have revealed to the duchess the offer you once made me, or, if not yourself, some one has done it for you: recollect yourself, for you are discovered. Madame de Touraine told me of it herself and frightened me exceedingly; but she has this time forgiven me, on condition that I promised, on my oath, never again to give her cause for jealousy by any further conversation with you." The duke was much vexed at hearing this speech, and said: "Fair lady, I swear on my faith, that I would rather have lost one hundred thousand francs, than have betrayed you to the duchess. Since you have given her a promise on oath, keep it; but, cost what it may, I will find out who has discovered our secrets." He then went away, and though he dissembled his agitation, he did not think the less concerning the cause. In the evening he came to the duchess's apartments and supped, showing her more affection than he had hitherto done, insomuch that, by fair speeches and attentions, the duchess discovered the author of her information concerning his intrigue to be sir Peter de Craon.

The duke took no further notice of the matter, and, having passed the night, on the morrow, at nine o'clock, mounted his horse, and went from the hôtel de St. Pol to the Louvre. The king was going to hear mass, and received his brother affectionately; but perceiving from his manner that he was angered, he said, "Fair brother, what ails you? you seem much agitated." "My lord, if I am I have good cause for it." "What is the matter?" said the king, "we wish to know it." The duke, unwilling to hide his grief, told him, word for word, everything that had passed, complaining bitterly of sir Peter de Craon, and added: "My lord, if it were not for the love I bear you, and for my own honour, I swear on the faith I owe you I would have him slain." "Do no such thing," said the king; "we will order him, by our special counsellors, to quit instantly our palace, for that we have no further need of his services; and do you the same on your part." "That I intended," replied the duke of Touraine, who was satisfied with what the king had said. This same day, sir Peter de Craon was told by the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, from the king, that he must no longer reside in the palace, and instantly seek other lodgings. At the same time, sir John de Bueil and lord d'Ervaux, séneschal of Touraine, delivered him a similar message from the duke of Touraine. Sir Peter seeing himself thus dismissed, was much ashamed and greatly angered: he could no way account for it, as the messengers had not declared to him the cause of his disgrace. Being desirous of admittance to the presence of the duke, to learn from him how he had angered him, he was told, that neither the king nor the duke would hear anything he had to say. When he found his disgrace was resolved on, he packed up all he wanted, and set out much dejected, from Paris, for a castle of his in Anjou, called Sablé*. He remained there for some time, but in very low spirits, from being driven from the palaces of France, Touraine and Sicily. He therefore determined, since their gates were shut against him, that he would retire to the duke of Brittany and relate to him what had happened.

This he executed, and met the duke at Vannes, who received him kindly. He had

* The castles of Craon and Sablé are in Anjou, two leagues distant from la Flèche.

already heard what had befallen him, and sir Peter again told him every particular that had passed, and that he was banished the court of France. The duke of Brittany, having heard his story, replied, "Good cousin, make yourself easy: it is the lord de Clisson who has brewed this mischief for you." From this speech a deadly hatred sprung, and greatly increased, as you will hear in the course of this history. Sir Peter de Craon lived so long with the duke of Brittany that he was forgotten in France; for the constable and the king's council never publicly mentioned his name. They did not like the duke of Brittany more for having invited and retained him; but the duke was indifferent to the king of France's anger or love, and provided all his towns and castles plentifully with stores and provisions, plainly showing he cared not whether it was war or peace between him and France. Every thing he did was known to the king and his council; and those most in the king's favour thought him presumptuous, and menaced him for his conduct. The duke held their menaces cheap, and declared he would wage war on the count de Penthievre in earnest, and on all his abettors, for he had just cause of quarrel. He said, "This count de Penthievre, our cousin, signs himself John of Brittany, as if he were our heir. We have no objection to his signing John for that is his name, or count de Penthievre; but we are resolved he shall lay down the ermines, and title himself John of Blois, or of Châtillon, and bear none other arms but those; if he refuse, we will force him to do it, and take from him his lands, which he holds in vassalage from us. With regard to the duchy of Brittany, he need not think of that, for we have a son and a daughter who are our heirs. Let him seek some other inheritance, for he will be disappointed in ours." Such were the conversations of the duke with sir Peter de Craon, who, far from contradicting any of his future plans, rather urged him on, from hatred to the constable and council of France.

We will now leave this subject, and speak of a more melancholy one relative to the count Guy de Blois, whom I have before mentioned in this history as my great patron and master.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE DEATH OF THE YOUNG COUNT LOUIS DE CHASTILLON, SON TO COUNT GUY DE BLOIS.—THE SUDDEN DEATH OF GASTON COUNT DE FOIX.

I HAVE already spoken of the marriage that took place between Louis de Chastillon, son of the count de Blois, and the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry. In the settlements of this marriage, the duke managed well for his daughter; for she had a dower of six thousand livres, French money (which are well worth the same sum of francs, reckoning them as florins) assigned her on the county of Blois, so that if she survived her husband, the county of Blois would be obliged to pay her this sum annually during her life. Now it fell out, that about St. John Baptist's day, in the year of our Lord 1391, the boy whom I have called Louis de Blois, son to the count de Blois, left his father at the château des Moutils*, situated in the county of Blois, and set out for Hainault to visit his mother and wife. Not long after his arrival, he was seized with a fever, for he had rode very hard and the weather was hot: he was also of a tender age, being no more than fourteen years old, and, in spite of the physicians, he died, for they could not check the fever. His parents, you may suppose, were much grieved for the loss of their heir, as was the young lady of Berry: she loved him most affectionately and considered herself as nobly married. The count de Blois was uneasy at the consequences, for his affairs were rather in confusion, and he knew the duke of Berry to be avaricious beyond measure, who, in order to grasp at the dower of his daughter, would take possession of the county of Blois: he therefore waited the event in silence.

Thus were the two daughters, Bona and Mary, widowed in the same year. The eldest was married to Amadeus count of Savoy, who died very suddenly, and so much was said on the subject that sir Otho Grandeson was near being arrested for the suspicions that were laid to his charge, and forced to quit Savoy, France, and Germany, to fix his residence in England.

In this year, died likewise suddenly, the noble and gallant count de Foix. I will say

* "Les Moutils,"—a village in the Blesois, diocese of Blois.

how it happened*. True it is, that of all the pleasures of this world he took most delight in the chase, and was always well provided with hounds of all sorts, having never less than sixteen hundred. The count de Foix was at this season hunting in the forest of Sauveterre, on the road to Pampeluna in Navarre, not far distant from Orthès in Béarn. The day he died, he had all the forenoon been hunting a bear, and it was late in the evening when he was taken and cut up. His attendants asked where he pleased to have his dinner prepared: he said, "At the inn of Rion, where we will dine, and in the cool of the evening ride to Orthès." His orders were obeyed. The count with his companions rode a foot's pace towards the village of Rion, and dismounted at the inn. The count went to his chamber, which he found ready strewed with rushes and green leaves; the walls were hung with boughs newly cut for perfume and coolness, as the weather was marvellously hot, even for the month of August. He had no sooner entered this room, than he said, "These greens are very agreeable to me, for the day has been desperately hot." When seated he conversed with sir Espaign du Lyon on the dogs that had best hunted; during which conversation his bastard-son sir Evan and sir Peter Cabestan entered the apartment, as the table had been there spread. He called for water to wash, and two squires advanced, Raymonet de Lasne and Raymonet de Copane: Ernaudon d'Espaign took the silver bason, and another knight, called sir Thibaut, the napkin. The count rose from his seat, and stretched out his hands to wash; but no sooner had his fingers, which were handsome and long, touched the cold water, than he changed colour, from an oppression at his heart, and, his legs failing him, fell back on his seat, exclaiming, "I am a dead man: Lord God, have mercy on me!" He never spoke after this, though he did not immediately die, but suffered great pain. The knights present and his son were much terrified: they carried him gently in their arms to another chamber, and laid him on a bed covering him well, thinking he was only chilled.

The two squires who had brought water to wash in the bason, said, to free themselves from any charge of having poisoned him, "Here is the water: we have already drank of it, and will now again in your presence," which they did, to the satisfaction of all. They put into his mouth bread, water, and spices, with other comforting things, but to no purpose, for in less than half an hour he was dead, having surrendered his soul very quietly. God, out of his grace, was merciful to him.

You may imagine all present were exceedingly afflicted at what had happened: they fastened the door of the chamber, that his household might not instantly be made acquainted with his death. The knights seeing sir Evan lamenting and wringing his hands, said to him, —"Evan, the business is over: you have lost your father and lord. We know that he loved you in preference to all others. Take care of yourself: mount your horse, ride and gain possession of the castle of Orthès, and the treasure within it, before any one know of our lord's death." Sir Evan made them a low reverence, and replied: "Gentlemen, I return you many thanks for the friendship you now show me, I trust I shall not forget it; but tell me what are my lord's tokens, or I shall not gain admittance into the castle." "You say true," answered the knights: "take them." This he did. The tokens were a small golden ring the count wore on his finger, and a little knife with which he sometimes cut his meat at table. These were the tokens the porter of the castle at Orthès was acquainted with, and had he not seen them he would never have opened the gate.

* Gaston de Foix was born in 1331, and died in 1391. His character is nowhere better delineated than in the pages of Froissart; from them posterity have formed their judgment. One accomplishment, however, he has left unrecorded: Gaston was a poet, or at least a rhymer, for the verses he has left behind him do not display much of the poetic fire; but the accomplishment of verse-making was considered a necessary part of a Provençal gentleman's education, and accordingly we find that *Phœbus* possessed it. This surname, or rather *sobriquet*, is not well accounted for; some say it was given from his love for the chase, others from his fair complexion, and others from his choice of the sun as his armorial bearings.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXIX.—SIR EVAN DE FOIX, BASTARD-SON TO THE LATE COUNT, INTENDING TO CARRY AWAY PRIVATELY THE TREASURE OF HIS FATHER, IS DISCOVERED BY THE TOWNSMEN OF ORTHES, WHO, HOWEVER, PROMISE EVERY ASSISTANCE TO HIM AND TO HIS BROTHER THAT IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE TRUE HEIR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, THE VISCOUNT DE CHASTELBON.

Sir Evan de Foix left the inn at Rion with only two servants, and rode in haste to Orthès, where nothing was known of the count's death. He passed through the streets without speaking to any one, or his errand being suspected, until he came to the castle, and called to the porter. The porter said, "What does my lord Evan want? Where is my lord?" "He is at Rion," answered the knight, "and has sent me to seek for some things that are in his chamber, and to return back to him. To convince you of what I say, look here are his tokens, his ring and knife." The porter, having eyed them through a window, knew them well and opened the wicket, through which sir Evan entered, and his servants led the horses to the stable. When sir Evan had passed the gate, he told the porter to fasten it; which being done, he seized the keys, and said to him, "Thou art a dead man, if thou do not obey me." The porter was frightened, and asked the cause. "My lord and father is dead," said the knight, "and I wish to gain possession of his treasure before any one know of it." The porter obeyed, as it was necessary for him to do; but he would indeed have preferred that sir Evan should have the treasure to all other persons. Sir Evan knew well enough where it was deposited, in the great tower, but he had three pair of strong doors to open, and with separate keys, before he could gain admittance. These keys he was unable for some time to find, as they were in a small long box of fine steel, locked with a little steel key, which the count de Foix carried with him when he rode abroad; and it was found hanging to a piece of silk which he wore over his shirt. The knights, who were watching the body of the count at Rion, noticing this key, could not imagine the use of it; but the chaplain of the count, sir Nicholas de l'Escalle, being present, knew it well. He had been much loved by the count, who entrusted him with all his secrets, and, when he had visited his treasure, had never taken any one but his chaplain with him. On seeing the key, he said, "Sir Evan will lose his pains, for without this key he can never enter the treasury: this opens a small steel casket in which the other keys are." The knights were vexed at hearing this, and said, "Carry it to him, sir Nicholas: you will act well by so doing, for it it is better sir Evan should gain the treasure than any other: he is a good knight, and our late lord loved him exceedingly." The chaplain answered, "Since you advise me, I will cheerfully do it;" and, instantly mounting his horse, he hastened with the key to the castle of Orthès, where sir Evan was very melancholy at not finding the keys, and at the impossibility of forcing the locks of the doors, as they were very strong, and he had not any instruments for the purpose. While he was in this distress, and sir Nicholas on the road to assist him, it was known in Orthès (I know not whether by inspiration, or from women and servants returning from Rion) that the count de Foix, their lord, was no more.

This was very afflicting news, for the count was greatly beloved by all ranks. The whole town was in motion, and met in the public square, where they conversed together on the subject. Some who had noticed sir Evan ride up the town, said, "We saw sir Evan de Foix gallop towards the castle, and he seemed much distressed." Others replied, "Without doubt, what we have heard is true; for it is not usual for him to ride without his father." As the men of Orthès were thus conversing and murmuring, the chaplain, sir Nicholas, fell into their hands. They surrounded him to enquire the news, and said, "Sir Nicholas, how fares my lord? they tell us he is dead: is it true?" "No," replied the chaplain: "he is not dead, but most dangerously ill; and I am hastening to seek for some things that may do him good, which I shall return with to him." On saying this, he passed on to the castle. Having gained admittance, sir Evan was rejoiced at his arrival, for without the small key he could never have entered the tower.

I will say how the townsmen behaved. They began to suspect the death of the count had been hid from them, and said among themselves, "It is now night, and we hear nothing

certain of our lord's health, from his officers or secretaries. Sir Evan and his chaplain, who was his confidential secretary, have entered the castle: let us guard that place this night, and to-morrow we shall have certain news. We will send privately to Rion to inquire how things are; for we know that the greater part of our lord's treasure is in the castle, and if he be robbed or defrauded of any part of it, we shall be blamed. We must therefore be on our guard concerning what passes." "That is true," replied others, who thought the advice good. They instantly surrounded the castle, and placed sufficient guards at all the gates of the town, so that no one could enter or go out without permission; and this strict watch they continued until the morrow. The truth was now known of the count's death, and caused the greatest tribulation among the inhabitants of all descriptions, for he was much beloved by his subjects. The guards were now doubled, and the principal townsmen drew up before the castle.

When sir Evan de Foix saw, from the castle of Orthès, the manner in which the townsmen had drawn themselves up, and that the death of the count was known to them, he said to the chaplain,—"Sir Nicholas, I have failed in my attempt: I can never go hence without leave of the inhabitants, for they know my father is dead, and their numbers are every moment augmenting. I must humble myself to them, for force will be of no avail." "You say well," replied the chaplain: "you will gain more by civil words than harsh ones: go, and speak to them, but act cautiously." Sir Evan went to a tower near the gate, which had a window looking over the bridge to the square where the townsmen were assembled. It was in this tower the lady Jane of Boulogne was brought up and educated, until she became duchess of Berry, as has been already noticed in this history.

Sir Evan opened the window of the tower, and called to him some of the principal inhabitants, who advanced on the bridge to hear what he had to say. He thus addressed them aloud,—"Good people of Orthès, I know but too well why you are thus assembled and sorrowful: you have good cause for it. I therefore most earnestly entreat, for the love you bore my late lord and father, that you will not be displeased nor angered, if I have hastened to take possession of this castle and what is contained within it, for I mean nothing but what is just. You know the great affection my lord and father had for me, and that he would willingly have made me his heir. It has happened, by the will of God, that he died without having completed any regulations to that effect, which has thrown me upon you, with whom I was brought up and educated, a poor knight, bastard to the count de Foix. I therefore beg you would counsel me how to act, and assist me in this time of distress. I pray God that you will have compassion on me, as it will be an act of charity; and I shall open the castle for your free admittance, as I never thought of closing its gates against you."

The chiefs among the townsmen answered,—"Sir Evan, you have well spoken, and to the purpose, and we are satisfied. We therefore say, that you shall live among us: and it is our intention that you keep this castle, and all that is within it, which we will aid you to defend. Should the viscount de Châtelbon, your cousin, who is heir to the territory of Béarn, and the nearest relation to our late lord, your father, claim any thing belonging to this castle, we will strenuously defend you, and your brother sir Gracien, in your rights. But we suppose, that when the king of France was last at Toulouse, and our lord, your father, waited on him, some regulations were made respecting these matters; and your cousin, sir Roger d'Espaign, ought to know all the circumstances relative to them. We will write, to inform him of the death of our lord, and to invite him hither, to give us his advice, as well on the state of Béarn and Foix, which may fall to ruin, as respecting the moveables and funeral of our lord. What we have now said, we promise you most faithfully and loyally to observe."

Sir Evan was well satisfied with this speech, and threw open the gates of the castle for all to enter who pleased. Many did so, examined it well, and placed sufficient guards to defend it.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE CORPSE OF THE COUNT DE FOIX IS BROUGHT FROM RION TO ORTHES. —THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE BISHOP OF NOYON AND THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE INTO THE COUNTY OF FOIX, TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS, ACCORDING TO THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL.

This same day, the body of the count de Foix was put into a coffin, and brought to Orthès. The inhabitants, men, women and children, who went to meet it, wept most bitterly, remembering his valour, prudence and generosity, and the happiness they had enjoyed during the whole of his reign; for there was neither Englishman nor Frenchman who dared to anger him. They said,—"Our neighbours will now make war on us who have hitherto lived in peace, and we shall inhabit a land of misery and slavery. No one will now attend to or defend our rights. Ah, Gaston! fair child, why didst thou anger thy father? If thou hadst remained to us, whose youth promised so much, we should be comforted; but we lost thee when too young, and thy father has lived too short a time. He was but sixty-three years old*, and that is no great age for such a handsome and healthy prince, and one who had every comfort about him. Ah, desolated and comfortless Béarn! now thou hast lost thy prince, what will become of thee? Never shalt thou have an equal to the gallant and noble Gaston." With such lamentations was the body of the noble count carried through Orthès, attended by the following knights: first, the viscount de Bruniquel and the lord de Copane, then sir Roger d'Espaign and the lord de Laisne, sir Raymond de la Motte and the lord de Besach, sir Menaut de Noailles and sir Richard de Saint George. Sir Evan de Foix walked in the rear, attended by the lord de Corasse, the lord de Barentin, the lord de Baruge, the lord de Quer, and upwards of sixty knights of Béarn, who had hastened to Rion on hearing the melancholy news of their lord's death. The body of the count was borne, with his face uncovered, to the church of the Cordeliers in Orthès, where it was opened, embalmed, and put into a leaden coffin, and left in that state until the day of its interment. It was handsomely watched; for there were continually burning around it, night and day, twenty-four large wax tapers, which were held by as many varlets; twenty-four being employed on this service during the day, and the like number of others during the night.

The death of the count de Foix was now public in various places, and more were sorry than rejoiced; for he had made, in his lifetime, innumerably valuable gifts, and was beloved by all who were acquainted with him. Even pope Clement showed much concern on hearing it, notwithstanding the difficulties the count had, for a long time, thrown in the way of the marriage of his cousin, the lady Jane of Boulogne, now duchess of Berry. The bishop of Pamiers was at this time resident at Avignon; for he was afraid of living in his diocese, from the hatred the count de Foix bore him. Although they were relations, and the count had made him a bishop, he incurred the count's disgrace, from his attempts to extend his jurisdiction to the prejudice of the count. The pope sent for him to the palace, and said, "Bishop of Pamiers, your peace is made: the count de Foix is dead." The bishop was well pleased to hear it, and, in a few days, set out from Avignon, for his bishopric in the county of Foix.

When intelligence of the count's death was carried to the court of France, the king, his brother, and the duke of Bourbon, were grieved thereat, for his many good qualities. The council addressed the king: "Sire, the county of Foix is now yours by lawful succession; for, since the count has died, without leaving any heirs by marriage, no one can dispute your claim. This is understood by the landholders of Foix. There is also another circumstance which adds to your claim, you have lent on mortgage of that county fifty thousand francs, send and take possession for payment, and hold it as your legal inheritance: those of the county desire nothing more eagerly than to be under your government. It is a fair possession, and comes very opportunely, for it borders on Catalonia and Arragon; and if, in time to come, you should be at war with the king of Arragon, the county of Foix will be a good frontier; for it has many castles and forts which may be very advantageously

* He died on the 12th of August 1391, and was born in 1331.—Ed.

garrisoned with men at arms." The king listened with pleasure to this speech, and, agreeing with his council, said, "See whom we shall send thither." They resolved on the lord de la Riviere, because he had formerly been there, and determined that he should be accompanied by the bishop of Noyon. These two lords on hearing of their embassy, made very handsome preparations, but did not immediately set out. When they did, they travelled slowly and at their leisure, taking the road through Avignon.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE VISCOUNT DE CHATELBON, HEIR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, ATTENDS HIS FUNERAL AT ORTHES.—HE IS ADVISED TO SEND TO THE BEFORE NAMED COMMISSIONERS FROM FRANCE, TO DEMAND POSSESSION OF THE SUCCESSION WHICH HAD FALLEN TO HIM BY THE DEATH OF THE COUNT DE FOIX: HE AFTERWARDS SENDS, TO THE SAME PURPORT, TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

The death of the count de Foix was signified to the viscount de Châtelbon in Arragon. He instantly set out for Béarn, and arrived at Orthès; but, though the inhabitants made him very welcome, they did not acknowledge him for their lord. They said, "They were but a part of the country; and that it would be necessary for all the barons, prelates, and citizens of the principal towns to assemble and consider of the business; that Béarn was an independent territory, and those lords who resided in it would never consent that it should pay homage to any one." It was now determined to perform the obsequies of the count de Foix, and then to summon all the barons of Béarn and Foix; that all who pleased might attend and deliberate how to act, on the present occasion, in the choice of a lord. The barons, prelates and chief citizens of Béarn and Foix were invited to the funeral of the count. Those from Béarn came; but the Foixiens refused, saying they should stay at home to guard and defend their country until the matter of succession were determined, for they had heard the king of France laid claim to it. The bishop of Pamiers, notwithstanding this, being a relation and invited, went to Orthès in handsome state, becoming his rank.

Great were the numbers who attended the funeral of Gaston count de Foix, the last of the name, in the church of the cordelier friars of Orthès, on a Monday, the 12th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1391. In addition to the barons and knights, there were three bishops: first the bishop of Pamiers, who said mass and performed the service; then the bishops of Lescar and Oléron. The church was splendidly illuminated, and, during mass, four knights displayed, in front of the altar, the emblazoned banners of Foix and Béarn. The first was supported by sir Raymond de Châtelneuf, the second by sir Espaign du Lyon, the third by sir Peter de Quer, and the fourth by sir Menaut de Noailles. Sir Roger d'Espaign made the offering of his sword, supported by the bourg de Copane* and sir Peter Andrew de Béarn, governor of Lourde. The viscount de Bruniquel offered the shield, supported by sir John de Châtelneuf and John de Chantiron. The helmet was offered by the lord Valentin de Béarn, supported by sir Arnold de Rostem, and Arnold de Sainte-Colombe. The war-horse was offered by the lord de Corasse, supported by sir Arnauton d'Espaign and Raymonnet de Copane.

Every part of the obsequies was most honourably and magnificently performed according to the custom of the country. Sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix, the two bastard-sons of the count, were present, as were the viscount de Châtelbon, all the barons from Béarn, and some from Foix; but the last, as soon as the service was ended, mounted their horses, and went to dine at Heritiel, two leagues distant from Orthès. Very early on the morrow, the bishop of Pamiers took his departure, refusing to assist at the assembly of the barons of Béarn, which was fixed for that day. As soon as the obsequies had been performed, the body of the count de Foix was taken from the leaden coffin, enwrapped with a new and handsome waxed cloth, and buried in front of the grand altar in the choir of the church of the Cordeliers. Of him there is an end: God pardon his sins!

I will now say what was done at this great meeting of prelates, barons, knights, and

* The family of Copane is known at this day under the name of Caupenne. The castle of Caupenne is near Bayonne.—*Note by the Marquis de Sy.*

principal citizens of Béarn, at Orthès. I imagine, from the information I received, the viscount de Châteaubon was addressed nearly as follows: "My lord, we know well that, from your relationship to our late much honoured lord, whose soul God pardon! you are entitled to succeed to all his inheritances, as well in Béarn as in Foix; but at this moment we dare not acknowledge you as our lord, lest we be guilty of great imprudence, and hazard this country of Béarn in a dangerous war; for we have heard that the king of France, who is our good neighbour, and very powerful, has ordered hither some of his council: we know not, nor shall we learn until they arrive and tell us, on what cause they are sent. You are not ignorant, any more than ourselves, that our late lord, whom God forgive! was last year with the king of France at Toulouse, when they had many secret conferences; and the object of these must be explained, for, should he have signed and sealed any transfer of Foix and Béarn, the king of France will think himself justified to possess them by force. We therefore must know the terms of such treaties, if they exist, for we are otherwise situated than Foix. Ours is a free country*, which owes neither homage nor servitude to any one; whereas the county of Foix is a tenure from the king of France, and the Foixiens are so attached to France, that they will cheerfully acknowledge that king for its lord: indeed, they already say, that since the count de Foix has deceased without heir-male by legal marriage, that county naturally falls to the king of France, its lord paramount. My lord, you know we shall maintain our rights, and that we will not surrender them to any lord, whether the king of France or you. We recommend, therefore, that in this business you take the lead, by treaty or otherwise." The viscount replied,—"And how would you advise me to act? for I have declared my willingness to follow every thing in reason that you shall counsel me." "My lord," said they, "we think you should desire your cousin sir Roger d'Espaign, who is here present, to accompany you at your expense to the county of Foix, to negociate with the barons, prelates and principal inhabitants. If you succeed in prevailing on them to accept you for lord, or to keep secret their intentions until you shall have gained over the king of France by means of a composition in money, that the inheritance may be yours, you will have done well. Have an interview with the commissioners sent by the king of France to Foix, and offer one or even two hundred thousand francs, you will find it cheaply bought, and have more than enough to pay it from the treasure our late lord (whose soul may God pardon!) has left behind him. But we are resolved that his two bastard-sons shall have a handsome share of his landed property, and of the ready money."

The viscount de Château-bon answered,—"Gentlemen, I consent to all your wishes. Here is sir Roger d'Espaign, and in your presence I entreat that he will accompany me on this journey." Sir Roger said, he would cheerfully do so, as he might mediate between them; but if the king of France, his sovereign lord, or his commissioners, should require him to be of their party, or wish him to retire, he should then return. The viscount was satisfied with this answer, and said,—"I will never act, cousin, but by your advice; and, when you are by my side, I shall be more encouraged and the sooner accomplish my ends." On this, the meeting was on the point of being dissolved, when the viscount requested that he might have, by way of loan, five or six thousand francs from the treasury, to carry on his affairs. The two bastards likewise put in their claims, and desired they might have a share of the money of their father which the men of Orthès had now under their guard. The barons, prelates and citizens, having considered these demands, agreed that the viscount should have five thousand francs, on the terms he had proposed, and the two bastards of Foix two thousand. Orders were accordingly given for their delivery. This was complied with, and the treasurers summoned to pay it. Not one person who had any office under the late count was dismissed; but the guard of the castle of Orthès, and all within it, was given to the inhabitants of the town.

The viscount de Château-bon, on his arrival at Orthès, set at liberty all prisoners confined in the castle. They were very numerous; for the count de Foix was very cruel to any person who incurred his indignation, never sparing them, however high their rank, but ordering them to be thrown over the walls, or confined on bread and water during his pleasure;

* The Béarnese had their own courts and customs, which they long preserved.—Ed.

and such as ventured to speak for their deliverance ran risks of similar treatment. It is a well-known fact, that he confined, in a deep dungeon, his cousin-german, this viscount de Château-bon, during eight days; and he would not give him his liberty until he had paid down forty thousand francs. Since that time, he bore him such a hatred, that he dared not appear before him; and, had the count lived two years longer, the viscount de Château-bon would never have inherited his possessions in Foix and Béarn. Those who had attended this meeting at Orthès now separated, to return to their homes, leaving the viscount to the care of his own affairs. He was not idle, but collected about his person those knights and squires he thought attached to him, and left Orthès with an attendance of two hundred horse. He went to Morlaas, a good town and well enclosed: it is the last in Béarn, on the side of Bigorre, four leagues from Pau, and six from Tarbes.

On the morrow, as he was preparing to set out for Saint Gaudens, another good town at the entrance of Foix, on the Garonne, news was brought him that the bishop of Noyon and sir Bureau de la Riviere were arrived in great state at Toulouse. The viscount de Château-bon asked sir Roger d'Espaign how he should act. Sir Roger replied,—"Since we have now heard of them, we will remain and observe how they proceed. In a few days, they will make us acquainted with their intentions." This advice of sir Roger was followed: indeed it would have been useless to have advanced further into Foix, for all the chief towns, castles, and passes over the river Garonne, were shut against them, such as Palaminich, Castres, Montesquieu, Carthas, Ortingas, Sossa, the city of Pamiers, the castle of which was under the guard of the townsmen, Savredun, Montant, Mazeres, Vespuis, and all the castles on the frontier of Arragon. The inhabitants of Foix declared that no foreign power, of men at arms, should enter their country, until the right of succession was established: they, however, showed a great inclination that France should have their country, and that it should be governed by a séneschal, like Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire; but it happened otherwise, as I shall shortly relate.

When the commissioners from France arrived at Toulouse, they sought intelligence from the archbishop, the sénéschals of Foix and Toulouse, who told them enough; for the two last had, from the great love they bore the late count de Foix, with many of the principal persons in Toulouse, attended his funeral at Orthès. They had, when there, inquired into the state and disposition of the country, from such as they imagined could inform them. Upon hearing their report, the bishop of Noyon and lord de la Riviere consulted together, and determined to send for sir Roger d'Espaign, for he was liege-man to the king of France, his officer, and sénéschal of Carcassonne, and keep him with them should there be occasion. According to this plan, they sent off an honourable squire, with letters sealed to sir Roger. He left Toulouse, thinking to meet sir Roger at Montréal or at Saint Gaudens, with the viscount de Château-bon; for he had heard they had left Morlaas on their road to enter Foix. The squire followed the road to Saint Gaudens, and soon arrived there, as the distance was not more than twelve leagues. He presented the letters to sir Roger, telling him at the same time from whom they came. Sir Roger, having read them, said,—"You will stay here to-day: to-morrow you shall return, and I hope have company with you." The squire assented to this.

The viscount and sir Roger had a long conference on the subject of these letters, and it was concluded that Sir Roger should wait on the commissioners at Toulouse, when he would hear what was the object of their coming, and what their intentions. On the morrow, the knight, in company with the squire who had brought the letters, set out for Toulouse, and they continued their journey until they arrived there in the evening, when sir Roger retired to his lodgings, and the squire to his masters. On learning that the knight was arrived, the commissioners said, "Since sir Roger d'Espaign is come in person, to-morrow we shall have some intelligence." The next day, after mass, sir Roger waited on the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere, who kindly received him. After some conversation on different subjects, they told him the cause of their coming, and showed the king's procuration, for them to take possession, in his name, of the county of Foix. Sir Roger observed their papers and credential letters were properly drawn up, and, after a short pause, he replied: "My lord of Noyon, and you my lord de la Riviere, I am not such an intimate counsellor of the king as

ye are, for, if I were, I would (under your favour) advise him to take the money, and indeed somewhat more than what he has, on mortgage on this county, advanced to the late count, and to be repaid on his death, and let the natural heir succeed to his inheritances. This would be, in my mind, greatly to his honour and profit, and to the salvation of his soul. I will give you other substantial reasons why this should be done, if you will listen to me. First, it is well known that this mortgage was fraudulently made by the late count, for he abounded in money; and was in this matter actuated solely by his hatred to the true heir, the viscount de Château-bon, whom he thought he could never sufficiently injure. The king may therefore, if he consent to it, be implicated in this disgraceful transaction. Secondly, by following my advice, the king will be a gainer; for the county of Foix will cost him full as much to guard and defend as his receivers can collect from it, and he will, beside, lose the homage and service of a powerful man. Thirdly, he will heavily load his conscience by thus disinheriting another; for if he had meant to act justly in such a bargain and sale, he ought to have called upon all the relations of the late count, who had the remotest claims on his succession, to oppose this act, if they should have thought it necessary, which was not done. Consider, therefore, my lords, you who have so good understandings, and are come hither as those most looked up to in the king's council, all that I have said, before you approve yourselves abettors of frauds, which must affect the conscience of the king, for on you will the whole blame be thrown, and, before it be too late, apply a remedy. You have now time, for my cousin, the viscount de Château-bon, has sent me to remonstrate with you on this business; and he, as well as myself, beg you will pay attention to our complaints; for it is not just to seize all that strength and power may enable you to do." When sir Roger had done speaking, the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere looked at each other; and the bishop thus replied,—"Sir Roger, we are convinced the proposition you have made us is caused by your love of justice; but our commission does not extend to annihilate the bargains which may have been made between the king of France and the count de Foix. However, from consideration and love to you, and for the satisfaction of all parties, we will not proceed further in the business, if you will undertake a journey to Paris, and make to the king and council what remonstrances you may please relative to it. If you can by your eloquence prevail, that the succession of Foix devolve to the viscount de Château-bon, who is indeed, as you say, the legal heir, we shall be right glad, for we are no way inclined to disinherit him." "My lords," replied sir Roger, "you make me very happy by what you say: remain, therefore, and amuse yourselves in Toulouse during my absence, for all your expenses shall be defrayed from the treasure in the castle of Orthès."

Thus did sir Roger d'Espaign manage the matter, during his stay of two days in Toulouse with the commissioners from France: a better negotiator could not have been sent. On the third morning, when taking leave of them, he said,—"My lords, since I have begun this business, I see the necessity for my going to Paris, to bring it to a conclusion, but I know not in what disposition I shall find the king and his court. Should I stay longer than I propose, I beg you will not be uneasy, for it will be the fault of those with whom I must treat, if I do not very speedily return: in the mean time, you shall constantly receive messengers with letters from me."

"Go, in God's name," said the two lords: "we know it will not be your fault if any delay happen." Thus satisfied with each other, they separated. The commissioners remained at Toulouse, and sir Roger returned to the viscount de Château-bon at St. Gaudens, to tell him what had passed. The viscount was rejoiced on hearing it, and said,—"Sir Roger, my fair cousin, I put my whole confidence in you, and the matter interests me greatly; for it is nothing less than whether I am or am not to have the property of my family, from whom I am sprung, and whose arms I bear. I have none other but you to send to France, nor any one on whom I can depend, to lay before the king and council the hardship of my case, with a force of eloquence equal to the occasion. I therefore entreat, from your affection to me, and for the obligation I shall ever be under to you, that you would undertake this journey." Sir Roger said,—"I knew well that you would charge me with this business, and, from my love to you and our relationship, I will readily undertake it." He was not long in making his preparations to go to Paris, and took the road through Rodez, as being the shortest, for



The meeting of Charles VI^th of France and the Duke of Brittany at Tours.

there was now a truce between France and England. Had it not been so, this way would not have been the most expedient; for there were many forts on the borders of Quercy, Rouergue and Limousin, in the hands of the English.

We will now leave sir Roger to pursue his journey, and speak of the king of France and the duke of Brittany.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MEET AT TOURS, TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES.—AMBASSADORS FROM ENGLAND COME THITHER ALSO TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE.

The great hatred which subsisted between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, has been repeatedly mentioned in this history. The duke, in addition to the ill will he bore him, was envious of the favour he was in with the king of France, and the opinion he had of his advice: he would willingly have prevented or troubled this, if he had the power, and was not fearful of offending the king. This made him frequently repent that he had not put him to death when in his castle of Ermine, for no one would have revenged it, and the matter would soon have been forgotten. The duke, on account of this hatred and envy of the constable, was very backward in his duties to the crown of France, and, when he could, absolutely refused paying them. He knew he was acting improperly, but persisted in this conduct, for he was too much inclined to England, and provided his castles and towns with artillery and stores, sending secretly to England for men at arms and archers, whom he placed in his forts, giving it out that he was expecting war to be made on him, but his subjects could not guess from what quarter.

News of all that he was doing was carried to the court of France, and several spoke loudly against him. The duke, indeed, knew that many of the French lords disliked him; but he was indifferent as to this, and continued to act as before, entrusting only the duchess of Burgundy with the real state of his affairs and his intentions. He was right so to do, for he was by her strongly supported. She had a great affection for the duke of Brittany, not only because he was her relation, but her father, the late earl of Flanders, had been much attached to him, and comforted him in all his distresses. This duchess of Burgundy was a determined lady, and the duke, her husband, would not willingly have angered her, as was indeed natural; for he had gained by his marriage with her immense possessions, and was the father of many fine children, which bound him, as well as the whole royal family, the more to her.

These hatreds and jealousies were daily increasing; and although the duke of Brittany went to Paris, and paid his homage to the king, I will not pretend to say that it was done from the heart, for on his return to Brittany, very little change was observed in his conduct. He had also sworn obedience to the pope of Avignon, but acted contrary to his solemn pledge, for he disclaimed him by words, and would not allow his bulls to have effect in his duchy. He was neuter between the two popes in many things, and disposed of vacant benefices according to his pleasure; so that no foreign clerk, unless he was perfectly agreeable to the duke, could obtain any benefice in Brittany. And with regard to any writs, or law processes, which were sent thither from the parliament of Paris, he held them very cheap, and seemed to expect that his own officers should take the precedence in all such proceedings.

The duke deprived even the prelates of Brittany of many of their rights, who, though they made loud complaints of this to the parliament of Paris, could not obtain redress; for when the duke was summoned to defend himself against these charges in the courts of justice, he never came nor sent any persons sufficiently authorised to answer for him. When, by order of the parliament, the king's officers were sent into Brittany to serve the duke with writs of summons, they never could speak with nor obtain a sight of him, from different excuses he made; but, when they had left his country and where returned to Paris, he said,—"Yes, to be sure I will go to Paris to hear law! never will I do such a thing. Three years ago, I was there for that purpose and to obtain justice; but the last I never could get. Our judges of the parliament turn it as they please; and they must think me very young and

ignorant when they want thus to manage me. I wish to let them know, that if all my subjects were unanimous in the same opinions with me, I would find the kingdom of France so much employment that the most obstinate should listen to reason. All who had loyally and faithfully served should be rewarded accordingly, and such as had acted on opposite principles should be punished; and those who demanded justice should have it." Such speeches, which were often repeated, were carried to the French court; and the king's most confidential ministers said, "This duke of Brittany is so presumptuous and obstinate in his opinions that, if he be suffered to go on with such discourses, the kingdom will be weakened, by other lords following his example, and the rights of the crown by degrees may be lost." It was therefore resolved, to obviate all difficulties, that the duke of Brittany should be civilly invited to come to Tours, where the king of France, from the affection he bore him, would endeavour to give him the meeting, attended only by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the bishops of Chartres and Autun, members of his council, who were expressly named, as more in favour with the duke of Brittany than any other lords in France, except the lord de Coucy and the lord d'Estampes.

This plan being followed, the count d'Estampes and sir Yves d'Orient were sent into Brittany, where they had much difficulty to persuade the duke to meet the king of France and his uncles at Tours. They discussed the matter so ably, he at length said, "that he would go to Tours; but they need not press him to prolong his journey, for further he would not go, neither would he see his enemy, sir Oliver de Clisson, as he hated him mortally." These terms were complied with before he would consent to set out for Tours. The two envoys returned to France to tell the king and his uncles their success with the duke of Brittany. They appeared satisfied therewith, since they could not do better. The king and his lords began to make preparations for this journey to Tours on a large scale; for they imagined they should remain there two or three months, as the treaties and negotiations which were to be proposed would require much time before they could be concluded.

The king of France, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, his son John of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, the count de la Marche, the count de Saint Pol, and the whole of their councils, came to Tours, where lodgings had been provided for them. The constable of France and his son-in-law, John of Brittany, came thither from a different quarter, as indeed they were nearly concerned in the matters then going forward. The duke of Brittany, after keeping them waiting a fortnight, at last arrived. Some said, that notwithstanding he had made them come there, he would not meet them; for he had sent twice or thrice to say he was too ill to ride; but having considered the business, he at length came. His purveyances were grand, and he and his people were lodged at their ease.

[The negotiations instantly began on both sides; but as the days were now short, it being the winter season, there could not be any long discussions before dinner, which were renewed afterward until the evening. During the time these treaties were going forward at Tours, between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, which lasted good part of the winter, sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon arrived there from Toulouse on a Wednesday. The city was so full of lords and other company, that it was with much difficulty they could find lodgings. Having at last obtained them, they waited on the king and his ministers, and explained, as eloquently as they were able, the cause of their coming, and the case of the viscount de Château-bon, in regard to his claims on the county of Foix, and the honour of Béarn.] The king and his council were so fully occupied with the affairs of Brittany, which touched them more nearly, that they could not attend to other business.

Sir Roger d'Espaign was however well heard, though he had not a speedy answer: he remained there upwards of two months, and was daily told his proposal should be considered, but the answer was not given. There was another cause of delay, during the king's residence at Tours, that increased the labours of his council; for sir John Clanvow, counsellor and chamberlain to the king of England, and Richard Rowhall, clerk, doctor of laws, and of the council of England, arrived there from king Richard, on the subject of a peace which had been first proposed by sir Thomas Percy and the lord de Clifford, some time before at Paris, as you have heard. On their arrival, all other business was laid aside, and they alone were

attended to. It was told me, they had brought credential letters to the king, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who heard what they had to say. Their mission was to know if the king of France and his council were willing to hold conferences at Amiens, as had been proposed, to endeavour to establish a lasting peace between the two kingdoms and their allies. The king of France, who, from every appearance, seemed desirous of peace, answered in the affirmative, and said, "that as soon as the business between him and the duke of Brittany was finished, and he was returned from Tours, he would not attend to any thing until he arrived at Amiens, according to the former propositions; and that he would wait there the arrival of the commissioners from England, who should be made welcome with the best cheer of the country."

The English were well pleased with this answer, and staid five days at Tours, passing their time with the king, the chief lords and the chancellor of France. Having accomplished the object of their coming, they took leave of the king and court. The king made them handsome presents, for which they returned thanks, and had all their expenses, while at Tours, paid. During their stay, they neither saw nor spoke with the duke of Brittany, for they were anxious to avoid giving the French any cause of suspicion of underhand dealing. They returned through Paris and Picardy to Calais, and, having a favourable passage, arrived at Dover, and thence journeyed to London, where they found the king and council assembled at Westminster, and related to them the answer they had received, and what observations they had made. The king and council were satisfied with what they heard, and gave orders respecting the conferences to be holden at Amiens.

We will now return to the ambassadors from Béarn and Foix.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—SIR ROGER D'ESPAIGN AND SIR ESPAIGN DU LYON, AMBASSADORS FROM THE VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBON, PRACTISE SO SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE COURT OF FRANCE, THAT HE IS DECLARED HEIR AND SUCCESSOR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX BY LETTERS PATENT FROM THE KING OF FRANCE.

Sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon acquitted themselves handsomely and successfully, in regard to the affairs of the viscount de Châteaubon. They had many difficulties to overcome with the king and the court, more especially with the members of the privy council, who had advised the king to annex the county of Foix to the crown of France, since the inhabitants were desirous of it. The king was likewise of this opinion, but the duke of Burgundy more wisely opposed it, and recommended it to the king to do nothing more than receive back the money he had advanced, saying, he had lands enough to guard without adding these, and disinheriting the lawful heir. I believe the duke of Burgundy's advice would not have been attended to, if the duke of Berry had not taken up the matter. You have heard that formerly he had sent to the count de Foix the count de Sancerre, the viscount d'Assy, sir William de la Tremouille, and the lord de la Riviere, to treat for his marriage with the lady Jane of Boulogne, whom the count de Foix had in ward. The count listened to the proposals, but told the envoys that the duke of Berry should never have her for his wife if he did not give him thirty thousand francs for the expenses of her education, and this demand the duke paid, for he was determined to have the lady. This he had not forgotten, and, sending for sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon to his chamber at Tours, shut the door and conversed with them in private, saying, "You may, if you please, succeed in the object of your journey hither; but you must first promise me, that I shall be fully repaid the sum my treasurer gave the count de Foix when I was married to my present duchess. I have always determined, that if I survived the count, this money should be paid me back."

The two knights, hearing the duke thus talk, looked at each other, but said not a word. The duke added,—"My fair sirs, it was for this I wished to speak with you by ourselves: consult together on what I have told you; for, be assured, whether you consent or not, I will obtain repayment, and your treaty shall not succeed. I can depend on my good brother of Burgundy acting as I please; he is lieutenant over all the countries of Oil, as I am over

those of Oc, and none will dare to controvert my orders, or oppose my will. This viscount de Châteaubon will find money enough for my demand, since the late count has left more behind him than the king has in his treasury." Sir Roger d'Espaign now answered, "My lord, suppose we were to accede to your proposal, we have not any money with us." "Oh," replied the duke, "sir Roger, that shall be no hindrance. You shall take the debt on yourself, and give me your bond for it: I have that opinion of your honour I will credit you for this, or a much larger sum if it were necessary." "My lord," said sir Roger, "I thank you: we will consult together, and you shall to-morrow have our answer." "I am satisfied," answered the duke; when the conversation ended, and the doors were opened.

The two knights returned to their lodgings, and had many conversations, whether or not they should agree to the duke's demand, and accept of his mediation. Every thing considered, they thought the best they could do would be to consent: for the matter had been drawn out to a great length without any appearance of being decided; but on condition that all the landed property was yielded to the viscount de Châteaubon. On the morrow, they returned to the duke of Berry, and engaged themselves for the payment of thirty thousand francs, on condition he would influence the king and council to allow the viscount de Châteaubon to inherit Foix, on his paying back the sum it had been mortgaged for. The duke replied,—"Leave that to me: I will have it done, otherwise I shall not expect you to fulfil your engagements." From that day forward, the duke of Berry was so anxious to receive his thirty thousand francs, and so able an advocate for the viscount de Châteaubon, that every thing was arranged according to his wishes. The king and council desisted from their first demands; and the two foreign knights had given them letters of confirmation of the county of Foix to the viscount de Châteaubon, addressed to the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere, who had remained at Toulouse.

The substance of these letters, as I learnt from credible persons who had been on this embassy, was as follows:—"We Charles, by the grace of God king of France, order and command our reverend father in God the bishop of Noyon, and our knight and chamberlain the lord de la Riviere, to allow the viscount de Châteaubon, heir of Foix and Béarn, to have peaceable possession and enjoyment of the same, and of all dependencies thereto belonging, on condition that he first pay into your hands the sum of sixty thousand francs, which you will receive in one payment in the city of Toulouse; and we will, after payment made, that the receipt, sealed by our séneschal of Toulouse, to the viscount de Châteaubon, shall be a full and legal acquittance to him, and to whomever else it may concern. In addition, we expect payment of twenty thousand francs, for the expenses you have been at in your journeys to and from the county of Foix on this occasion: you will for this money give acquittances from our above-named office in Toulouse: saving and reserving that sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix, bastard-sons of the late Gaston count de Foix, of happy memory, have a reasonable share of the moveable property and inheritances of their deceased father, according to the discretion and advice of sir Roger d'Espaign, the viscount de Bruniquel, sir Raymond de Châteauneuf, and the lord de Corasse, to whom we will write, that they acquit themselves in the matter honourably to the discharge of our conscience; for, some time since, we made such promise to their father. And should any demur arise, either on the part of the four knights to whom we have entrusted this business, or from obstinacy and rebellion on the part of the viscount de Châteaubon, we annul and declare all treaties we may have entered into void, and of no effect. In testimony whereof, we have given these letters under our seal, in the city of Tours, this 15th day of December, in the 12th year of our reign."

When these letters were finished to the satisfaction of the king, council, and ambassadors, the knights made preparations for their departure; and, having taken leave of the king and lords, and paid their expenses, they set out from Tours on their return home.

You before heard that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, was resident in the neighbourhood of Carcassonne, and had been so a long time, as lieutenant for the king over all those countries as far as the Dordogne. The bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere sent for him to Toulouse, and thus addressed him:—"Marshal, the viscount de Châteaubon, who declares himself heir, by the death of Gaston count de Foix, to the county of Foix and

its dependencies, save and except what may concern Béarn, is in treaty with us. We have sent intelligence of it to the king and his council; but we know not, nor indeed can we as yet, how the king and his ministers may please to act in the matter. Be you, therefore, provided with a sufficient body of men at arms, and garrison well the frontiers of Foix. Sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon are now in France; and if we hear from them, or by messengers from the king, that there is no probability of any compromise taking place, but that the king means to annex Foix to his crown, you will instantly enter that county, and take possession of it, according to the powers the king has intrusted to us in this affair." The lord Louis said, that in regard to this he was well prepared, and was increasing his strength daily, waiting for the answer from the king.

We will now return to the duke of Brittany.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—DURING THE RESIDENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUKE OF BRITTANY AT TOURS, THEIR DIFFERENCES ARE PARTLY ACCOMMODATED BY MEANS OF THE MARRIAGES OF THE DUKE'S SON WITH A PRINCESS OF FRANCE, AND A SON OF JOHN OF BRITTANY, SON TO THE LATE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WITH A DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

I HAVE mentioned that treaties were negociating at Tours between the king of France and the duke of Brittany. The duke gave the king and his council a great deal of trouble, for he would not abate any of his pretensions. When any propositions were made to him, he refused them; and in like manner was it returned, when he offered any on his part; so that there did not seem a probability of their disputes being terminated. The duke declared himself willing to serve the king according to the homage he had paid, and to the duty he owed. "Why then," asked the king's council, "since you acknowledge yourself vassal to the king, do you not obey him in all things?" "Wherein am I a rebel?" demanded the duke. They mentioned many instances, and, first, his conduct towards the pope of Avignon, whom the king, his lord, obeyed as the true pope, and with regard to whom he was dissembling his opinion, and refused to obey his commands, filling up all the vacant benefices in his duchy, without paying attention to those who had provided themselves with bulls from the pope. This, they said, was rebellious against the king in thought and deed. The duke replied,—"That no one had a right to arraign or judge his conscience but God alone, who was its supreme lord. With regard to the two rival popes, he had never made any declaration; that when Urban was elected, he was with his cousin, the earl of Flanders, in the town of Ghent; that the cardinal, Robert de Geneve, sent to the earl letters patent, sealed with his seal, which signified and certified to my cousin, that, by the grace of God and the divine inspiration, the conclave had elected Urban pope. How can an election be set aside that seems to me made in the most regular manner? I wish not to say a word against the king or his crown, for I am his cousin and vassal, and will faithfully serve him, whenever I am required, to the utmost limits of my duty; but I shall speak my mind as to those who do not advise him honourably." "Tell us who they are, and we will provide a remedy."

"Oh," replied the duke, "you know them better than I do, for you live more with them; but, as to what you have said touching the vacant benefices, I am not so severe against suitors for them as you say, for I permit the clergy of my duchy to provide themselves with bulls from pope Clement; but I object to strangers having the same liberty, and will tell you why I refuse it. They want to carry all the profit of the benefices out of the country, without serving them. This is so contrary to reason, conscience, and justice, that I will never consent to it. You say my conduct was rebellious and haughty, respecting the king's sergeants that came with writs into my country of Brittany. I neither am rebellious nor wish to be so. You ought to know, or, if you do not, you should learn, that the fief of Brittany is so noble, no law proceedings can take effect unless the duke, its natural lord, shall hold an open court of justice, to hear causes, and the reasons why any appeals may be made thence, and to see that the officers, who bring writs of appeal or

summons, do their duty regularly: should there be sergeants or other officers in my duchy negligent, or against whom strangers have cause of complaint, I would punish them severely, for a warning to others. In addition to what I have said, that the king's council do many reprehensible things, they plainly discover their inclinations to encourage the hatred of the king against me: the proof is clear, by their suffering my cousin, John of Blois, to act in two instances very injuriously against me: the first is, the signing himself John of Brittany, as if, by bearing this name, he could form a claim on the inheritance of that duchy; but he cannot have any right, because I have children, a son and daughter, who will succeed to my possessions. Secondly, he bears the ermines, which are the arms of Brittany, and he had formerly renounced the name, arms, and all things thereto appertaining. True it is, that sir Oliver de Clisson supports him in this conduct, to vex me; and, as long as this shall continue, I will not listen to any treaty of peace or friendship with the king. I shall not make war against him, for he is my natural lord, but if, through envious or malevolent informations, he make war on me, I will defend myself, and shall be found ready on my own territories. All that I have now said, I wish the king to be made acquainted with."

Such was the bitterness with which these negotiations were carried on between the king of France and the duke of Brittany. The duke was master of his council, but the king was led by sir Oliver de Clisson, the bègue de Villaines, sir John le Mercier, and sir William de Montagu. The duke of Burgundy, who saw more clearly into this matter, was uneasy that the duke's reasons were made public, though he supported them privately as much as he could, in which he was assisted by the duke of Berry, who hated the confidential advisers of the king. By their means, his treasurer, Bethisac, had suffered an ignominious death at Beziers, which he was forced to put up with, for it was not yet time to revenge himself.

In this state did they remain at Tours for upwards of three months, without any progress being made in the treaties. They were on the point of being broken off, for the king was impatient at the delays, and wanted to return to Paris, whence he would issue a special summons for the ensuing summer, and make war on the duke of Brittany and his allies, leaving all others in peace. But the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the lord de Coucy, the count de Saint Pol, sir Guy de la Tremouille, the chancellor of France, and many other great barons and prelates, desirous that an end should be put to these differences, held a conference, and said,—"We, who are so nearly connected with the king and the greatest barons of his realm, having agreed to meet the English commissioners this Lent at Amiens, to consider of a treaty of peace, must hasten to put an end to this ill humour of the king and the duke of Brittany; for should we separate without doing so, the English would have the advantage in the business at Amiens: they will expect the support of the duke of Brittany and his country, for they are near neighbours, and we shall have a war with Brittany and England, like what we had before, and it will be too heavy for us."

These lords and their councils so often turned the matter over, that they at length discovered a means of reconciliation between the king and the duke of Brittany. I will mention it, for without this I do not believe it would ever have taken place. It was proposed that a marriage between the son of the duke of Brittany and a daughter of the king of France should take place; and, as John of Brittany had a son, a similar connection should be formed with the daughter of the duke of Brittany. These articles were agreed upon: but, notwithstanding this alliance, John of Brittany was obliged to lay aside the arms of Brittany, and take those of Châtillon; and, if he were desirous of bearing any thing relative to Brittany, as a descendant of that house by his mother's side, he might bear on the arms of Châtillon a bordure ermine, three sables or, and an escutcheon ermine in chief gules, and none others. Thus was the business brought to a conclusion, and the duke restored to the friendship of the king of France and his uncles. He dined with the king, in company with John of Brittany, count de Penthievre; and much affection was mutually displayed by all parties, on account of the marriages which had been agreed to be solemnised.

The duke of Brittany would never see sir Oliver de Clisson, for the hatred he bore him; but the constable was indifferent to this, as the hatred was mutual. All things being now settled, and the lords having sworn to see these marriages consummated when the children should be of a proper age, and the different treaties having been engrossed, they thought it

time to quit Tours, for their stay had been too long, and return to Paris, as the time was approaching for the conferences at Amiens. The king of France, his brother, uncles, and council, had promised to be there to receive the king of England and his council. The duke of Brittany took leave of the king, his brother, and uncles, and of those most in his favour, and set out from Tours for his own country; as did the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with other lords; but the king, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, and the lord de Coucy, staid at Tours, and I will tell the reason.

CHAPTER XXXV.—THE COUNT DE BLOIS AND MARY OF NAMUR, HIS COUNTESS, SELL TO THE DUKE OF TOURAINE THE COUNTY OF BLOIS WITH OTHER LANDS.—THE VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBON TAKES POSSESSION OF THE INHERITANCES OF THE LATE COUNT DE FOIX.

I HAVE before recorded in this history, that Louis de Blois, son to the count de Blois, had died when young, at Beaumont in Hainault, leaving the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry, a widow, who lost by the event many of the good things of this world: for her husband was a rich heir, and would have been a powerful lord. I mention this, because I wish it to be known in times to come how such large properties have been disposed of or alienated. The count and countess of Blois were not formed to have any more children; for by indulging themselves too much in the pleasures of the table, and eating too many sweet dishes, they were become enormously fat. The count could no longer mount his horse, but was always carried in a car whenever he travelled from one place to another, or took the diversions of hunting or hawking. As this was well known to the lords of France, a thought struck the duke of Touraine, during his residence at Tours, which he carried into effect.

The duke had a very large sum of ready money, perhaps a million of florins, lying idle, which he had received from the count de Vertus, on his marriage with the lady Valentina of Milan. This money he wanted to dispose of to advantage. He knew the great properties of the count de Blois would be dispersed after his death. The county of Blois would fall to John of Brittany, who was his cousin-german; the lands in Hainault to the duke of Juliers and duke of Lancaster, excepting Chimay, which would go to Conflans in Champagne. The county of Soissons had belonged formerly to the counts of Blois, but was alienated to the lord de Coucy, for the ransom of Guy de Blois from England. The lands of Argies and Nouvion went to other heirs: Holland and Zealand fell to the count of Hainault. Thus would this noble inheritance be dispersed piece-meal, for it was well known it must happen on the death of the present possessor. The duke of Touraine cast his eyes on this property, as he had money enough to purchase it, were it sold at a fair price, and determined to desire the king, his brother, to treat with the count de Blois for the county of Blois, which was a valuable property, and very convenient to him by bordering on his duchy of Touraine. To this county are also attached many considerable fiefs. The duke of Touraine, having this scheme in his head, did not rest before he mentioned it, first to the king, then to the duke of Bourbon, and to the lord de Coucy, who was an able negotiator and much in favour with the count de Blois, for he had married the daughter of his cousin-german the duke of Lorraine. The duke of Touraine and the above mentioned persons were careful not to drop the least hint of this business to the duke of Berry, because the lady Mary, his daughter, had her jointure of six thousand francs a year settled on this county, and the duke of Berry imagined that, for this sum and the charges that would accrue, he should obtain the county of Blois, for a person more covetous of other people's property could not be found. The duke of Burgundy was also kept ignorant of this plan, because the lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, was married to William of Hainault, son to the count of Hainault; and he thought that by some incident, by purchase or otherwise, the lands of Holland, Zealand and Hainault might revert to his son-in-law, the count d'Ostrevant, or to his son John of Burgundy, who had married Margaret eldest daughter of the count of Hainault. The king and the three other lords proposed therefore, on their departure from Tours, to visit their cousin the count Guy de Blois,

who resided at a handsome castle, eight leagues from Tours, called Chateau-morant, and to open a treaty for the sale of the county of Blois, with the count and the countess, who was very avaricious.

It chanced, by some accident I am unacquainted with, that the bailiff of Blois, named sir Reginald de Sens, a knight of law and arms, and of great prudence, heard of this intended visit and its purposes. He was much concerned from the love he bore his lord, lest he might dishonour himself and disinherit his heirs by a sale, for which he had no need, and severely wound his conscience. He determined therefore, if possible, to prevent it, and, setting out from Blois, rode all night to Chateau-morant, where, being introduced to the count, he said, "My lord, the king of France, the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon, with the lord de Coucy, are coming hither." "That is true," replied the count: "why do you mention it?" "I am come to tell it because you will be pressed to sell your heritage. Consider well the subject as you have time beforehand." The count de Blois was much surprised at hearing this, and said,—"I cannot prevent any one from speaking to me, or offering proposals; but, before I consent to the selling my inheritance, fraudulently disinheriting my heirs and dishonouring myself, I must have neither plate nor porringer of silver to pawn." "My lord," replied the knight, "remember this when the time comes, for you will see that all I have told you is true." "Don't doubt it, bailiff," said the count: "I am not so young nor so foolish to listen to such proposals." On this, the bailiff returned to Blois, where he resided, for he did not wish the company he had mentioned should find him there. Two days after, the king and his company arrived at Château-morant, to the great joy of the count and countess of Blois, at his visiting them, and they entertained him splendidly. The king, to win the affections of the count, and gain him over to his plan, said—"Fair cousin, I see you are the lord in our kingdom the most endowed with honour and liberality, and that in former times you must have had large expenses: to assist and recompense you, we will grant you a tax on the county of Blois that shall be worth twenty thousand francs."

The count returned his thanks and accepted the gift, which, however, was of no value to him, for he never received one penny from it. After this, the matter of sale of the county of Blois was entered on, first by the king, and seconded by the duke of Bourbon: but, finding the count very cool and indifferent about it they addressed themselves to his lady, and remonstrated with her, in specious terms, respecting the hazard she incurred of being reduced to a poor estate should she survive the count, as she had every appearance of doing; and it would be more for her advantage to have riches and jewels in plenty, which she might easily secure, if she would persuade her lord to listen to the proposals they had made for the purchase of the county of Blois. The countess, from her avaricious disposition and her eagerness to receive the florins, assented and procured everything they wanted, with the assistance of another person, that is to say, a valet-de-chambre of the count, called Sohier, who was the son of a cloth-worker in the town of Mechlin. This Sohier so completely governed the count, that everything was done as he ordered, and the count had given him upwards of five hundred francs of yearly revenue for ever. See the mischief of such cases, and how miserably some lords are governed; for Sohier had neither prudence nor sense worth mentioning, to deserve such rewards, except the foolish pleasure of his lord, who had taken a friendship to him.

In like manner, the duke of Berry had a worthless fellow, called James Thibaut, that governed him, to whom he had, at different times, given two hundred thousand francs, which he might as well have thrown into the river. If, therefore, Sohier would have wished to have excused himself for this sale taking place, he could not, for, if he had pleased, it would never have been done; but to gratify the king, the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon, and the lord de Coucy, as well as the countess de Blois, who, through avarice, had already consented to everything, he urged on the count in private, and made him totally forget everything he had promised his bailiff, and the reversion of the county of Blois was sold for two hundred thousand francs, and the duke de Touraine was to take on himself the payment of the countess de Dunois' jointure of six thousand francs. There was also another sale made, of the reversion of the lands in Hainault, for which the duke of Touraine was likewise to pay two hundred thousand francs. Count Guy de Blois, indeed, reserved in this last sale the consent

of the count de Hainault, the lord paramount of those lands, but who would never insist on his homage for them. The king of France and the duke of Touraine, however, took on them to answer for the consequences, and before they left the count they bound him so completely in writings sealed, that he could not anyway retract, for he had none to advise him but Sohier, who was illiterate, having never had any education, and he was already on their side.

In such a manner were these bargains concluded, which I have detailed as fully as I was able, that in future times the whole truth of the transaction may be made public, by means of these chronicles. In good truth, my lord and patron, count Guy de Blois, like an ignorant and ill-advised person, pushed on by his countess and his valet-de-chambre, made these miserable sales. When every thing was concluded relative to this business, to the satisfaction of the king, the duke of Touraine and their counsellors, they took leave of the count and returned to Paris. The news of these purchases made a great noise in many countries and astonished all who heard it.

We will speak of sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon, and say how they prospered since they departed from Tours, on the road to Toulouse, where the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere were waiting for them. Their arrival at Toulouse gave great pleasure, for they had been long expected: they instantly waited on the commissioners from France, to show their papers, which they had received from the king, and which fully explained the successful issue of their journey. The bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere entertained them well, and showed they were much rejoiced at the succession, with all its dependencies, of the count de Foix, devolved on the viscount de Châteaubon, according to the tenure and form whereby the count Gaston had held them, and in the manner detailed in the written documents. After considering the business, they thought it advisable that sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon, who had taken so much pains and incurred so much labour in it, should wait on the viscount de Chateaubon and the councils of Foix and Béarn, to inform them what had been agreed on, that all things might be regularly managed, to bring the whole to a happy conclusion.

The knights consented to this proposal, and having refreshed themselves two days in Toulouse, set out for Saint Gaudens. The viscount was not there, but at a beautiful castle, at the entrance of Béarn called Pau, where they found him. He was happy to see them, having long wished it, but much more so when he learnt that the king of France desisted from taking possession of the county of Foix: he knew well where to find the money required for the repayment of the mortgage, and that enough would remain after this was done.

I believe my readers, as well as myself, will think I have said enough respecting the affairs of Foix and Béarn: I will therefore leave them, and enter on other matters; for it would take up too much time to pursue in detail every thing that passed there on the return of the two knights from France. To conclude, the viscount de Chateaubon was acknowledged count de Foix and Béarn, on the same terms on which count Gaston de Foix, of happy memory, had held them*, and he received the homage of all who were his vassals. He satisfied his two cousins, sir Evan and sir Gracien†, the bastards of Foix, by the handsome allotment he gave them of the inheritances and moveables of their father, and repaid to the commissioners from France, the mortgage that was on Foix. Before all these things were accomplished, summer was far advanced, and the bishop of Noyon remained at Toulouse with the lord de la Riviere; for they would not depart until every thing was completely settled, to the honour and profit of the crown, according to the instructions they had received from the king of France.

* The viscount de Châteaubon was acknowledged as sovereign of Bearn, by the estates assembled at Orthès, 5th July 1393. He was married to the only daughter of Don John king of Arragon.—Ed.

† Gracien married Isabella de la Cerda, a daughter of the king of Castile and heiress of the duchy of Medina Celi.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—A GRAND ASSEMBLY AT AMIENS, OF THE KING AND LORDS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, TO TREAT OF A PEACE BETWEEN THE TWO KINGDOMS.

We will now speak of the grand assembly of the lords of France and England, which was held in the city of Amiens, to treat of a final peace between the two countries, at Mid-lent, in the year of grace 1391. Great preparations were made before the arrival of the lords; and in particular those made for the king, his three uncles, and many of the great barons and prelates, were very sumptuous. Other lords were desirous to make a figure; for it was currently reported and believed that king Richard of England intended being there in person, to form an acquaintance with those he had never yet seen, but he did not come. That he had intentions of being there was certain, for he came as far as Dover with his three uncles of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, meaning to cross the sea with them. Many councils were held at Dover, to debate whether the king should proceed further or not; and the council, having considered all things, decided he should remain in the castle of Dover, and the duke of Gloucester with him. The dukes of Lancaster and York, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Derby, sir Thomas Percy, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of London, and others of the king's council, prepared to cross the channel. They did not all pass over instantly, but sent their purveyances forward, and then crossed themselves to Calais, where they were lodged. When the day approached for the meeting at Amiens, these lords set out from Calais together: they were more than two hundred horse, and it was a fine sight, for they rode in handsome array. The king of France had given orders that, during the time the conferences should last, all the expenses of the English, in coming to and returning from Amiens to Calais, should be defrayed by his treasury; that is to say, their nourishment as well as that of their horses.

In company with the dukes of Lancaster and York was their niece, daughter of their sister and the lord de Coucy: she was styled duchess of Ireland, having been married to that duke, as you have heard. This young lady came to visit her father at Amiens; for hitherto she had seen but little of him, which made her naturally more anxious now to wait on him. She travelled in good state, but like a widow who had enjoyed but little pleasure in her marriage. It had been ordered by the king and council of France, that the English lords who were coming to Amiens to arrange a solid peace, should be received with the greatest honours; and that the four dukes then at Amiens, namely, the dukes of Touraine, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, should ride without the town to meet and bid them welcome. As soon, therefore, as the English were near Amiens, these dukes, attended by all the great barons of France, rode forth in grand array. The duke of Touraine took the lead, in great state, and, when he met his cousins of England, they mutually saluted each other, with every respect, as such lords know how to do. When the duke of Touraine had conversed a short time with them, he took his leave, returned to the town with his numerous attendants, and dismounted at the palace of the bishop, where the king resided, remaining with him in his chamber.

The other three dukes, after the departure of the duke of Touraine, rode each with his array to meet the English lords; and, on their meeting, many old acquaintances were renewed with a satisfaction such as was a pleasure to behold. When these dukes had conversed a little, the gallant count-dauphin of Auvergne (who, during the time he was a hostage in England, had lived much with the duke of Lancaster, and bore him great affection) advanced his horse, and saluted him: the duke of Lancaster no sooner recollected him than he pressed him to his arms, and showed him every sign of friendship: their conversation was interrupted by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who joined the duke of Lancaster. The duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy and the count de St. Pol, rode with the duke of York, the earl of Huntingdon and sir Thomas Percy, conversing all the way as they approached Amiens. At the entrance of the city, the honours paid the English were increased; for the duke of Lancaster rode between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and when their horses moved it was but a foot's pace. Their horses heads were in a line, which they took care to keep; and thus these three passed the gates, riding very slowly and

paying each other mutual honours, to the palace of the bishop, where the king and the duke of Touraine were. Having dismounted, they ascended the steps; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, taking the English dukes by their hands, led them towards the king of France, the other lords following.



Assembly of the French King and the Lords of France and England, to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

When in the presence of the king, the three dukes who supported the uncles of the king of England, and the other French lords, cast themselves on their knees; but the two English dukes remained as they were, inclining gently their heads in honour of the king. The king instantly advanced to them, took their hands, and bade his uncles and the other lords rise, and then entered into a friendly conversation with them, as did the barons of France with those of England. After this first interview, the lords of England took their leave of the king, his brother and uncles, and were attended as far as the steps of the palace, when they mounted their horses, and were escorted to their hôtels by the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the count de St. Pol, sir John de Vienne, and the other lords of France, who there took leave, and went back to the king or to their lodgings. The duchess of Ireland was lodged, with her attendants, at her father the lord de Coucy's hôtel.

It had been forbidden by the king and council, (and public proclamation had been made before the arrival of the English, that no one might plead ignorance,) that any outrages whatever be committed during the holding of these conferences under pain of death, or any quarrelling with the English, or riot, during their stay in the city of Amiens. All knights and squires were strictly commanded by the king, under pain of incurring his indignation, not to talk of, or propose, any deeds of arms to any knight or squire from England, but to treat them with the utmost civility and attention wherever they should meet, in the fields, the palace, or in church: that no pages nor varlets of any lords of France cause riot or quarrels in the inns, under pain of losing their heads; and that whatever the English knights or squires might ask for should be immediately given them: that no innkeeper should demand payment for meat or drink, or other common necessaries. It was also forbidden any knight or squire of France to be out at night without a torch; but the English might do so, if they pleased; and if any Englishman were found on the roads, or in any other place, having lost his way, he should be courteously conducted to where he lodged.

Four guards of one thousand men each, were stationed at the four squares of Amiens; and, should there be a fire during the night in any part of the town, these guards were not to move on any account from their posts; but, when the fire-bell rang, those appointed to that duty were to hasten to extinguish it. It was likewise ordered, that no knight or squire should advance from his place to speak with the king, unless called or spoken to by his majesty; and that, during the time the English barons were in the king's presence, no knight or squire converse together nor address the English. It was commanded, under heavy penalties, that no innkeeper, or others, steal or put aside, through avarice, any of the bows or arrows of the English; but if out of courtesy, the English thought proper to give any to them, they might accept such presents.

You must know, that all these orders and regulations were formed with great deliberation of council, to do the more honour to the English who were come to negociate a peace, and proclaimed several times, that they might be strictly attended to; for, if they were infringed, those guilty of it were to have been punished without mercy.

Every day conferences were held with the English lords, with scarcely any intermission, during the fortnight they staid at Amiens, without coming to any conclusion, for the difference was too great in their demands. The French would have Calais razed to the ground, so that it should never again be habitable. The English would not listen to this, nor dared they consent to such an article in the treaty; for the commons of England love Calais more than any other town in the world, saying, that as long as they are masters of Calais, they carry the keys of France at their girdle. However great the differences between the lords of England and France in these matters, and the length of time they were occupied on them, they separated with great good humour on both sides from the conferences, saying, "We will again meet to-morrow on this business; and we hope, through our diligence, to bring the matter at last to a happy conclusion." The king of France entertained the lords of England three times most magnificently at dinner in the episcopal palace. The duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, the count de Saint Pol, gave each a dinner to the English commissioners. Whatever the English wanted was delivered them, free of cost, by clerks who were appointed to take an account of all things they had, which they referred to the king's exchequer for payment.

You must know, that although the dukes of Lancaster and York were at Amiens, they had received such instructions from the king of England and his council, that they could not add to nor alter any of the terms of the treaty they had been charged with. Many persons will not readily believe what I am about to say, though it is strictly true, which is, that the English are fonder of war than of peace. During the reign of king Edward of happy memory, and in the lifetime of his son the prince of Wales, they made such grand conquests in France, and by their victories and ransoms of towns, castles and men, gained such wealth that the poorest knights became rich; and those who were not gentlemen by birth, by gallantly hazarding themselves in these wars, were ennobled for their valour and wealth. Those who came after them were desirous of following the same road, although sir Bertrand du Guesclin and many other knights of France, as has been related in this history, by their valour and prudence had greatly changed the face of the English possessions in France since the times of king Edward and his son. Even the duke of Gloucester, son of king Edward, inclined to the opinion of the commons, as did many other knights and squires who were desirous of war to enable them to support their state. This caused great difficulties in forming any treaty of final peace, notwithstanding the king of England was earnest about it. By him and the duke of Lancaster were these conferences holden in the city of Amiens; but they were fearful of angering the commons of England: they indeed would have consented to a peace, if the French would have restored all that had been given them by the treaty of Bretigny and paid the arrears of fourteen hundred thousand francs, which were unsettled when they recommenced the war.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH LORDS, NOT BEING ABLE TO AGREE ON THE TERMS OF PEACE, PROLONG THE TRUCE ONE YEAR.—THE ENGLISH, ON THEIR RETURN, ARE ACCOMPANIED BY THE LORD DE CHATEAU-MORANT, TO BRING BACK THE KING OF ENGLAND'S FINAL ANSWER.

The conferences were held at Amiens, respecting a peace, with great perseverance and attention on the part of the lords commissioners of each nation. It was wondered why the matter failed; for the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Lancaster were much in earnest to bring it to a happy conclusion, reserving always what was contained in their private instructions, which they dared not go beyond. The French, perceiving the English were obstinate in their terms, in order to soften them offered, if they would consent to raze Calais, the peaceable possession of what they then held in Aquitaine, with nine bishoprics, independent of all other jurisdictions, and payment of the fourteen hundred thousand francs within three years. The duke of Lancaster and his council replied,—"We have remained here a long time without concluding any thing, nor shall we be able to finish the business without returning to England, and reporting to the king our lord, and the three states of the realm, what you have now proposed. Be assured that my brother York and myself will use every diligence, as well as our council who have attended us hither, in ending the matter according to our and your wishes, with the exception of what you demand concerning Calais; but that we dare not mention, without incurring the hatred of the people. It will be therefore better to remain silent, than to say what would bring blame and hatred against us." The king of France was tolerably satisfied with this answer, as were his uncles: they said, that if, when returned to England, they would exert themselves to obtain peace, a trifle on their part should not prevent it; for the war had lasted too long, and caused numberless misfortunes to both countries.

During the assembly at Amiens, the commissioners bethought themselves, that as the truce between France and England would expire on St. John Baptist's day, they might prolong it, for themselves and their allies, without any blame, for one year longer, by sea and land. With regard to the determination that might be given by the parliament to their proposals, they desired to send two knights with them to England, to bring back the final answer. To this the dukes of Lancaster and York readily assented.

I was told, and believe truly, from the appearances I observed, that the king of France was very desirous of peace at almost any rate; for there were reports current throughout France, that Amurat* had invaded, with a powerful army of Turks, the kingdom of Hungary. This intelligence had been brought by the elder lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, and sir John de Carouge, who were lately returned from Greece and parts of Turkey.

The king of France, when younger, had an anxious wish to undertake an expedition against Amurat, and recover Armenia, which the Turks had seized from king Léon, who was then present at the conferences at Amiens. He had stated his grievances to the dukes of Lancaster and York, who knew him well, for he had been in England, to offer his mediation for peace between the two countries, when the king of France was encamped near Sluys. The king of France, weighing this invasion of the Turks in his mind, and his former promises of support to the king of Armenia, thus spoke to the duke of Lancaster when he took his leave,—"Fair cousin, if peace shall be established between us and the king of England, we may undertake an expedition to Turkey, to assist the king of Armenia and the emperor of Constantinople†, whom Amurat presses very hard, and recover Armenia from the hands of the Turks. They tell us that Amurat is a man of great valour and enterprise, but of a sect contrary to our faith, which he daily oppresses: we ought, therefore, to unite in its defence; and I entreat, fair cousin, that you will consider of it, and do every thing you can to promote this expedition when returned to England." The duke of Lancaster promised to comply with his request, and to exert himself so strongly in the matter, that the effects would soon be apparent. Upon this they took leave of each other.

* Amurat died the same year, and was succeeded by Bajazet.—Ed.

† Emanuel Paleologus.—Ed.

The conferences at Amiens lasted fifteen days, and the lords from England were the first to separate. They carried with them the outlines of a treaty, to lay before the king of England and his council. The duchess of Ireland bade adieu to her father, the lord de Coucy, and accompanied her uncles on their return. All the English, on their road to and from Calais, and while at Amiens, needed not to have expended a farthing unless they chose it, for the king had ordered their whole expenses to be defrayed by his officers. The duke of Burgundy went to Arras, where he met his duchess, who, during the time of the conferences, had visited Flanders. The dukes of Touraine, Berry, and Bourbon remained with the king, whose intention it was to go to Beauvais and Gisors, to amuse himself, and return that way to Paris.

In company with the dukes of Lancaster and York were the two French knights who were sent to England by orders from the king of France; their names were sir John de Châteaumorant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle; and they were to bring back the final answer of the king and council of England respecting a general peace. The English dukes were escorted to Calais by sir Reginald de Roye, the lord de Montaurel and the lord de la Vieville, who then took their leave and returned. The English crossed the channel at their leisure to Dover, where they found the king and the duke of Gloucester waiting for them. A grand council was holden by the king and his lords on all that had passed at Amiens; the king was well pleased with what his uncles had done there; but the duke of Gloucester, who was always against any treaty with France, declared, that not any propositions for peace could be determined on till they were laid before the parliament, which ought instantly to be summoned; and whatever measure the three estates of the realm should resolve on, that ought to be adopted, and none other.

This proposal of the duke of Gloucester was agreed to: indeed they dared not oppose him, for he was too popular with the commons of England. The French knights were told that they must continue their journey to London, otherwise they could not obtain any answer. They were willing to consent to this, as was right, and set out with the king and his lords, the greater part of whom went straight to London; but the king turned off at Dartford, and took the road to Eltham, where he had a handsome palace. He there staid some little time with the queen, and they came together to Shene *, and thence to Windsor, where the French knights received an answer; but before I say what that answer was, I must speak of the king of France.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE FIRST ILLNESS OF KING CHARLES.—COUNT BERNARD D'ARMAGNAC DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING.—THE LORD DE CHATEAUMORANT RETURNS FROM ENGLAND WITH AN ANSWER RESPECTING PEACE.

After the conferences at Amiens, the king of France, unfortunately, and through his imprudence, was seized with a burning fever, for which he was advised to change the air. He was put into a litter and carried to Beauvais, where he remained in the bishop's palace until cured. His brother, the duke of Touraine, and his uncles of Berry and Bourbon, attended him constantly, and there kept their Easter. When the king was perfectly recovered, and able to ride, he went to Gisors, at the entrance of Normandy, for the pleasure of hunting, as there are many large forests in the neighbourhood. During his residence at Gisors, sir Bernard d'Armagnac, brother to the count who died in Italy, came thither in handsome state, accompanied by the dauphin of Auvergne, whom he met at Paris. As he held the counties of Armagnac and Rodez from the crown of France, he paid the king homage for them, in the usual manner of vassals to their lord paramount for the fiefs they hold. He became now the king of France's man, and, having had the articles of homage properly drawn out and engrossed, he and the dauphin took leave of the king, and returned to Auvergne and Languedoc. About Ascension-day, the king came to Paris in perfect health, and fixed his residence at the hôtel de Saint Pol, which had been prepared for him, the queen and the duchess of Touraine having arrived there before him.

* Richmond,



The attack on Sir Oliver de Clisson by the followers of Sir Peter de Craon.

The lord de Châteaumorant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle were all this time waiting in England for an answer. They had attended the feast of Saint George at Windsor, where was a brilliant company of barons, and the king's uncles. The lords who had been at Amiens consulted together, on the promises they had made the king of France, as well as in respect to an answer for the two knights, who were very pressing to have one, and leave to return home. After considering the matter, they thus addressed them: "You Châteaumorant, and you Cantemerle, must know, that at this moment we cannot obtain any answer for you to carry to the king of France. It will be a long time before the parliament will take up the matter, for it does not meet before Michaelmas. But to acquit ourselves, and to excuse you, we will write letters fully explanatory of the delay; and if you, or any others, will return hither during the sitting of parliament, you shall receive such answer as the three estates of the kingdom shall think proper to give." The French knights hearing this, and seeing no probability of having any other answer, replied,—"In the name of God, we are satisfied with what you now say: write and seal your letters, and we will set out on our return." This being done, they took leave of the king, and went to London to make preparations for their departure. The king ordered all their expenses to be paid, and had them conducted to Dover, where the bailiff had provided a vessel for them and their horses; but they were detained at Dover five days waiting for a wind. On the sixth it was favourable, and they landed at Boulogne. They took their road through Amiens, and by short days' journeys arrived at Paris, when they found the king and his lords, for it was Whitsuntide. They delivered their letters, which were immediately read, but I believe no great reliance was put on them; and in a short time, they had other affairs of greater consequence at home to attend to.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—SIR PETER DE CRAON, THROUGH MALEVOLENCE, WAYLAYS SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON, BEATS AND SEVERELY WOUNDS HIM.—THE KING AND COUNCIL ARE GREATLY ANGERED THEREAT.

You have before heard how sir Peter de Craon, a knight of high birth and great wealth, was disgraced by the king of France and his brother, as well as the reasons for it; and that, having retired to the court of Brittany, the duke had assured him sir Oliver de Clisson was at the bottom of this business. Some supposed the duke had been instigated to say this from his hatred to the constable, whom he wished to dishonour and destroy. While sir Peter de Craon was with the duke of Brittany, they had frequent conversations on what means they could employ to put sir Oliver to death; for they said, that if he were but destroyed, no one would seek to revenge his loss; and the duke expressed his regret he had not put him to death when in his castle of Ermine, adding, he would willingly give one hundred thousand francs if he could once more have him in his possession. Sir Peter de Craon, observing the mortal hatred of the duke to Clisson, thought of an extraordinary expedient when meditating alone on this subject, for it is from appearances we must judge. He resolved, whatever might be the consequences, that he would himself assassinate the constable, or have it done under his own eyes, and not attend to any thing until the deed were performed, when he would afterwards treat for his pardon. He was no way afraid of what John of Blois or the viscount de Rohan, who had married the constable's two daughters, could do against him: he held them very cheap, for, with the assistance of the duke and his family-connections, he could withstand them both. The house of Blois was much weakened, and the count Guy de Blois had just sold the reversion of that county to the duke of Touraine, which by succession ought to have descended to John of Brittany, who had in this sale been very unkindly treated by the count de Blois. Now, if the constable were slain, by degrees he would soon get the better of the favourites of the king and the duke of Touraine, such as the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, le bègue de Villaines, sir John de Bueil, and others in the king's confidence who were friends of the constable, and whom the dukes of Berry and Burgundy detested, notwithstanding the outward marks of friendship they showed them.

Sir Peter de Craon persevered in his abominable designs, urged on by that enemy who never sleeps, and who delights in the heart of the wicked man that is inclined towards him. He regularly formed his whole plan, in the manner I shall mention; but, had he foreseen the great evils and mischiefs that ensued from them, it is to be hoped reason and temperance would have ruled in his heart to prevent them from being put into execution. It is truly said, that a too great desire to accomplish an object clouds the understanding, and that vicious inclinations overrule virtue. Thus it happened to sir Peter de Craon, whose eagerness to destroy the constable made him listen to the counsels of folly and madness. He had secured a safe retreat with the duke of Brittany, after the deed should be done and the constable dead, without fear of any search being there made for him, for the duke had promised him an asylum; and, should the king of France follow him with a powerful army to Brittany, in one night he could embark and sail for Bayonne, Bordeaux, or England, where he could not come after him. The English mortally hated Clisson, for his great severity to them from the time he had turned to the French: before that period he was strongly connected with them, and had done the crown essential services, as you have had it related in this history.

Sir Peter de Craon long brooded over this intended deed, without mentioning it to any one: I know not if he even told it to the duke of Brittany. Some think he must have disclosed it to him; but others thought the contrary: the first opinion, however, was strengthened, if not confirmed, by sir Peter and his accomplices returning by the shortest road, and as expeditiously as possible, to Brittany, instantly after the assassination, as to a place of refuge. In addition to this, he sold all the castles and estates he held in Anjou to the duke of Brittany, and had renounced his allegiance to the king of France, under pretence of taking a journey to the Holy Land. I shall not say more of these surmises, but relate the fact; for I, the author of this history, was at Paris when this misfortune happened to sir Oliver de Clisson, and ought therefore to be well informed from the enquiries I made concerning it.

You must know, that at this period sir Peter de Craon had a very handsome house near the churchyard of Saint John at Paris*, like other great lords, to receive him, when he came to that city. This hôtel was, in his absence, under the care of a house-steward; and, during the last Lent season, he had sent varlets thither for his service, with orders to lay in a large store of wines, and all sorts of provision. He had likewise written to the steward to purchase for him armour, such as coats of mail, gauntlets, steel helmets, and other things sufficient for forty men, and to let him know when they were provided, that he might send for them, but to observe the greatest secrecy in the business. The steward, thinking no harm, obeyed the orders, and provided the armour; during which time, sir Peter resided at a handsome castle of his in Anjou, called Sablé, from whence he sent at different times four or more determined fellows, in the most secret manner possible, to his hôtel in Paris. He said to them nothing more when they left him, but—"When you arrive at my house in Paris, make yourselves comfortable, and ask the house-steward for whatever you may want, who will instantly give it to you; but do not, on any account, pass the gates or show yourselves. I will one day satisfy you well for your obedience, and pay you handsome wages." Upon this, they departed, and journeyed to Paris, which they entered at their pleasure; for in those days the gates were never shut night nor day. At length, they amounted to forty courageous bravos, for such were what sir Peter wanted. There were several among them who, had they known the business they were engaged in, would not have come; but sir Peter took good care not to betray his secret. About the feasts of Whitsuntide, sir Peter de Craon came to his hôtel in Paris, not in state, but as privately as his men had done. On his arrival, he asked for the porter, and said: "I command thee, under pain of having thy

* "The street of the Mauvais-garçons, in the rue des Boucheries, took its name from a sign. With regard to the other rue des Mauvais-garçons, which leads from the rue de la Verrerie to that of la Tixeranderie, it was formerly called rue de Chartron; but when the lords de Craon built a house there, which is now a churchyard, it was called rue de Craon, to the time when Peter de Craon hid himself and accomplices within it, to assassinate sir Oliver, de Clisson. The street then changed its name, and was called la rue des Mauvais-garçons. The hôtel was, by orders from the king, razed to the ground, and the spot given to the church-wardens of St. John, to enlarge their church-yard."—*Sauval, Antiquités de Paris.*

eyes thrust out, not to admit either man or woman into the hôtel, nor permit any one to go out, without my special orders." The porter, as well as the house-steward, promised obedience. He shut up in their chambers the wife of the latter, her children and the chambermaid. He was in the right to do this. Had these women or children gone into the street, his arrival would have been known; for young children and women naturally tell all they see, and what is intended to be concealed. Thus, as I have related, were the whole of his people confined within the walls of the hôtel, until the feast of the holy sacrament. You may suppose, that sir Peter had his spies fully employed, to bring him intelligence; but it was not until the eve of this feast he found a fit opportunity to execute his scheme, which had vexed him much.

It happened that, on the feast of the holy sacrament, the king of France kept an open court at the hôtel de St. Pol, where he entertained all barons and lords who were in Paris. He was in high enjoyment, as were the queen and the duchess of Touraine: to add to their amusements, after the dinner, lists were prepared within the courts of the hôtel, and young knights and squires, ready armed and mounted for tilting, came thither, and justed very gallantly. The tiltings were well performed, to the delight of the king, queen, ladies, and damsels, and lasted until the evening. The prize for the best tilter was adjudged by the queen, the duchess of Touraine, and the ladies and heralds appointed to the office, to sir William de Flandres, count de Namur. The king entertained at supper, in the hôtel de Saint Pol, every knight who wished to partake of it; and, afterward, the dancings continued until one o'clock in the morning. When these were over, every one retired to his home, without guard and without suspicion. Sir Oliver de Clisson remained the last; and, when he had taken leave of the king, he returned to the apartment of the duke of Touraine, and asked, "My lord, shall you stay here to-night, or do you go to Poulain's?" This Poulain was treasurer to the duke of Touraine, and lived at the Croix du Tiroir, near the Silver Lion. The duke replied,—"Constable, I am not determined whether I shall stay or not; but do you go, for it is high time to retire." "My lord, God give you a good night!" said sir Oliver, and went away. He found his servants and horses waiting for him in the square before the hôtel; but they had not more than eight or ten torches, which the varlets lighted. When the constable was mounted, and the torches were borne before him, he rode down the broad street of St. Catherine.

Sir Peter de Craon's spies had this day exerted themselves, and he knew every particular relative to the constable,—of his staying behind the rest of the company, the exact number of his horses and attendants. He had, in consequence, quitted his hôtel with his men all mounted and secretly armed; but there were not six of them who knew what his real intentions were. He had advanced to the causeway, near the place of St. Catherine, where he and his people lay hid, waiting for the constable to pass. As soon as the constable had left the street of St. Pol, and turned into the square of the great street, advancing a foot's pace, with a torch on each side to light him, he began a conversation with one of his squires, saying,—"I am to have at dinner, to-morrow, my lord of Touraine, the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, sir Charles d'Angers, the baron d'Ivry, and several more: be sure take care they have all things comfortable, and let nothing be spared." As he said this, sir Peter de Craon and his company advanced, and, without saying a word, fell on the constable's attendants and extinguished the torches. The constable, hearing the clatter of the horses behind him, thought it was the duke of Touraine who was playing him a trick, and cried out,—"My lord, by my faith, this is very ill done; but I excuse it, for you are so young you make a joke of every thing." At these words, sir Peter de Craon, drawing his sword from the scabbard, said,—"Death, death! Clisson, you must die." "Who art thou," said Clisson, "that utterest such words?" "I am Peter de Craon, thy enemy, whom thou hast so often angered, and thou shalt now pay for it." Then, calling to his people, he said,—"Advance, advance! I have found him I was in search of, and whom I have long wanted to seize." He then struck him several blows, and his men, drawing their swords, fell on him. Sir Oliver was quite unarmed, having only a short cutlass, not two feet long, which, however, he drew, and defended himself with it as well as he could. His servants, being quite defenceless, were soon dispersed. Some of sir Peter's men asked, if they were to murder

all? "Yes," replied he, "all who put themselves in a posture of defence." They could not resist the attack, for they were but eight, and without armour. Sir Peter's men fully intended to murder the constable, and their master wished nothing more than to see it done; but, as I heard from some of those who had been in this attack, the moment they learnt that the person they were assassinating was the constable of France, their arms became, as it were, nerveless through surprise, and their blows were given weakly and through fear, for in perpetrating wickedness none are bold.

The constable parried the blows tolerably well with his short cutlass; but his defence would have been of no avail, if God's providence had not protected him. He kept steady on horseback some time, until he was villanously struck on the back part of his head, which knocked him off his horse. In his fall, he hit against the hatch of a baker's door, who was already up to attend to his business and bake his bread. Having heard the noise of horses on the causeway and high words, the baker had, fortunately for the constable, half opened the hatch; and sir Oliver, falling against it, burst it quite open and rolled into the shop. Those on horseback could not follow him, as the entrance was neither wide nor high enough, and besides, they did their work like cowards. It must be owned for truth, that God showed great favour to the constable: if he had not exactly fallen against the hatch, or if it had been closed, he would infallibly have lost his life, and have been trampled to death by the horses, for they were afraid to dismount. Several of them imagined, even sir Peter de Craon and the person who had hit him, that the blow on his head which unhorsed him must cause his death: sir Peter, therefore, said,—"Come, let us away: we have done enough: if he be not dead, he can never recover from the last blow, which was given by a lusty arm." On saying this, they collected together and left the place at a good trot, and were soon at the gate of Saint Anthony, which they passed, and gained the fields; for since the battle of Rosebecque, ten years ago, the gates were never shut. The Parisians had then their mallets taken from them by the constable, and many of the citizens punished and fined for their imprudent conduct, as I have fully narrated.

CHAPTER XL.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS HIS OWN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS TO VISIT THE CONSTABLE DURING THE NIGHT.—HE ORDERS THE PROVOST OF PARIS TO PURSUE SIR PETER DE CRAON, WHO HAD FLED FOR REFUGE TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—SOME OF HIS MEN, HAVING REMAINED AT PARIS, ARE EXECUTED.

Thus was sir Oliver de Clisson left for dead at the baker's, who was much frightened when he learnt it was the constable. Sir Oliver's attendants, who had been little hurt, for sir Peter de Craon's men were only bent on killing their master, collected together as well as they could, and dismounting before the baker's door, entered the shop, where they found their lord severely wounded on the head, and his face covered with blood. They were, as may be supposed, greatly affected, and with tears and groans bewailed his loss, for at the first moment they thought he was a dead man.

News of this was carried to the king at the hôtel de Saint Pol, just as he was going into bed. In much alarm, they said, "Ah, sire! we dare not conceal from you a shocking event that has just happened in Paris." "What event?" asked the king. "Your constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, is murdered." "Murdered!" repeated the king. "How? and who has done it?" "Sire, that we do not know; but this misfortune has befallen him hard by, in the great street of St. Catherine." "Come, quickly light torches, for I will go and see him," replied the king. The torches being ready, the varlets bore them before; and the king threw only a cloak over him, while the shoes were putting on his feet. The men at arms and ushers of the guard of the palace escorted him. Those who were gone to bed, on hearing what had passed, instantly dressed themselves to follow the king, who had left the hôtel de Saint Pol in such haste that sir Walter Martel and sir John de Lignac were the only chamberlains that attended him, for he would not wait for others, and thus he walked at a good pace with torches before and behind him. In this manner he arrived at the

baker's shop, which he entered; but the chamberlains, with many torches, staid without. The king found his constable nearly in the state he had heard him to be in, except that he was not dead; for his servants had stripped him to see if he had received many wounds, and where they had been given. The first words the king said, were, "Constable, how fares it with you?" "Dear sire," replied he, "but so so, and very weak." "And who has put you in this state?" "Sire, Peter de Craon and his accomplices have traitorously, and without the smallest suspicion, attacked me." "Constable," said the king, "nothing shall ever be more severely punished than this crime, nor can any sufferings make amends for it: run quickly," added the king, "for doctors and surgeons." These were before sent for; and they arrived from all quarters, particularly those attached to the king's person. On their arrival, the king was well pleased, and said,—"Attend well to my constable, and tell me what state he is in; for I am sorely grieved at his misfortune." The doctors, having declared they would, examined him all over, the king being present, who was greatly angered at this event: he asked, "If there were any danger of death?" The doctors unanimously replied, —"Sire, certainly not; and, within fifteen days, we will restore him to you well enough to ride on horseback." This answer pleased the king, who said, "God be praised, this is excellent news." Then addressing himself to the constable, added: "Take care of yourself, and do not think of this or other business; no crime shall be more rigorously punished than that of these traitors: they shall pay for it as if it were done to myself." The constable faintly answered, "May God repay you all, and for your kindness in this visit."

On this, the king took leave and returned to his palace, and sent for the provost of Paris, who made no long delay before he arrived, for it was now quite day. When the provost entered, the king said,—"Take with you a body of armed men, and pursue that traitor, Peter de Craon, who has treacherously assassinated, and nearly murdered, our constable. You cannot do us a more agreeable service than to take him and bring him before us." The provost replied, "Sire, I will do every thing in my power; but what road do you suppose he may have taken?" "Inquire, and make good diligence," said the king. At that time, the four principal gates of Paris were always open night and day: this regulation had been observed from the time the king returned from Flanders, after defeating the Flemings at the battle of Rosebecque, and when the Parisians, showing symptoms of rebellion, had their mallets taken from them. In order the more easily to chastise the Parisians, sir Oliver de Clisson had advised the chains to be taken from across the streets, and the gates off their hinges, which had been done; and the gates had been, for the last ten years, lying against the walls, so that any one might enter, or go out of Paris, at all hours. Now, observe how the seasons repay, sir Oliver reaped what he had sown himself: had the gates and chains remained, sir Peter de Craon would not have dared to commit this outrage, for he could never have got out of Paris, but knowing he could set off at any hour, he was encouraged thus to disgrace himself. When he left the constable, he concluded he was dead, or at least that he would never recover; but it was not so, as you have heard, to his great mortification. He quitted Paris by St. Anthony's gate, about one o'clock in the morning, and, as some say, crossed the Seine at the bridge of Charenton, and continued his road to Chartres; but, according to others, after going out of Paris, he returned by the gate of St. Honoré, under Montmartre, and crossed the Seine at Ponçon. Whichever way he passed the river, he arrived at Chartres at eight o'clock in the morning, with some of the best mounted of his accomplices. All did not follow but took different routes, and in small companies, to avoid being taken in the pursuit. On his way to Paris he had ordered twenty horses to be in waiting for him, at the house of a canon, who was his friend and had served him; but it would have been better for him never to have known him, although the canon was ignorant of the crime he had committed. Sir Peter de Craon, on his arrival at Chartres, drank some wine and changed horses, and then instantly departed, taking the road for Maine. He continued his journey, until he came to a strong castle he still possessed, called Sablé, where he stopped and refreshed himself, and said he would not go further, but wait there until he heard some intelligence of the constable.

On the Friday, the day following this assassination, it was all the news of Paris, and every one greatly blamed sir Peter de Craon. The lord de Coucy was no sooner informed of it, than

he mounted his horse, attended by only seven persons, and rode to the constable's hotel behind the Temple, whither he had been carried; for they mutually loved each other, styling themselves brothers and companions in arms. This interview with the lord de Coucy was of service to the constable; and he was visited by all the other lords of the court. The duke of Touraine accompanied the king in his next visit: the two brothers were very wroth, and said sir Peter de Craon had committed this crime in spite of them; and that it was a plot formed by traitors to throw the kingdom into confusion. The duke of Berry, who was at the time in Paris, dissembled his sentiments, and seemed to make light of what had passed. I, the author of this history, was then informed, that if he had pleased, this accident would not have happened, for it was in his power to have prevented it, and I will tell you how.

The day of the feast of the holy sacrament, a clerk who was one of the familiars of sir Peter de Craon, came to the duke of Berry, and said: "My lord, I would willingly open my mind to you, respecting some improper conduct that is going forward, which is illegal, and may end unfortunately, for you are more able than any other to put a stop to it." "What is it?" asked the duke. "My lord, I must first insist that you promise my name shall never be brought into question; for, to prevent great mischief being done, and the peril that may ensue in the matter, I am come to discover the whole to you." "Speak out then, boldly," replied the duke: "I will bear you through it." "My lord," said the clerk, "I very much suspect that sir Peter de Craon intends murdering the constable; for he has collected within his hotel, in the church-yard of St. John, a number of companions, whom he has secretly kept there, ever since Whitsuntide. Should he accomplish his purpose, the king will be exceedingly vexed, and confusion ensue to the kingdom. It is for this I disclose it to you, my lord; for, although I am secretary to my lord of Craon, and have sworn fidelity to him, I cannot suffer such an outrage to be committed. If you do not take measures to prevent this, none other will, at this moment, and I beg you will remember what I have now told you, at a proper opportunity; for, since I find sir Peter de Craon is determined to persevere in this business, I must fly, and never again return to his service." The duke of Berry perfectly well comprehended all the clerk had told. He said to him, "Remain with me to-day, and to-morrow morning I will inform my lord of this plot. It is now too late, and I wish not to trouble the king on such a day as this, but, to-morrow, I will not fail doing it; and we will provide a remedy, since sir Peter de Craon is in the town, which I was ignorant of." Thus, by the delay and negligence of the duke of Berry, did the mischief happen, as I have related.

The provost of Paris, with upwards of sixty horse, issued out at the gate of St. Honoré, on the traces of sir Peter de Craon. When he came to Ponçon, to cross the Seine, he asked the bridge-keeper, if any one had passed that morning? he answered, "Yes, my lord, a company of about twelve horsemen; but I did not see any knight or person whom I knew." "And what road did they take?" demanded the provost. "That leading to Vannes," said the bridge-master. "Ah," replied the provost, "it may very probably be they, who are making for Cherbourg." He then quitted the road to Chartres, following that to Cherbourg, and thus lost all traces of them. When they had rode on the road to Vannes till it was dinner-time, they met a knight of that country hare-hunting; and, making inquiry from him, he said that he had seen in the morning about fifteen horsemen riding over the fields, and he thought they were going to Chartres. Upon this, the provost again changed his road, and, arriving in the evening at Chartres learnt that sir Peter de Craon had been at the canon's house about eight o'clock, where he had disarmed himself and changed horses. He now saw that all further pursuit would be vain, as sir Peter had got so much before him, and returned to Paris on the Saturday.

The king of France and the duke of Touraine were very anxious to lay hands on sir Peter de Craon; and, as it was uncertain what road he had taken, they ordered sir John le Barrois, with sixty horse, after him by the gate of Saint Anthony. Sir John crossed the Seine and Marne at the bridge of Charenton, and scoured the whole country as far as Estampes. On Saturday he arrived to dinner at Chartres, where he heard the truth of his escape, and concluded it would be fruitless to follow him, as he must be at too great a distance. He returned to Paris on the Sunday, and related to the king the country he had been over, with the same ill success as the provost had before complained of.

ne ramais a la paix tant/que
Ie vme ne me accorderay



De messire pierre de craon. et
comment il enchey en lindigna
tion du roy de france et duc de
thouraine son frere et comme̅t,
Il fut recoeullie du duc/ de bre
taigne · Chappre. vvj?

En ce temporal
dont ie pawlle
estoit trop grant

On the Saturday morning, the officers of justice, who had been searching all the villages round Paris, discovered in a hamlet seven leagues from Paris, two men at arms, squires to sir Peter de Craon, and his page, who had stopped in this village from inability or unwillingness to proceed further. They were arrested by the officers, brought back to Paris, and executed on the Monday following. They were, however, first led to the place where the crime had been committed, and each had his hand cut off at the wrist: they were then beheaded in the market-place, and their bodies hung on a gibbet. On the Wednesday following, sir Peter's house-steward was executed; but many said this was unjustly done, while others replied, that he suffered for not having revealed the arrival of sir Peter de Craon at Paris. The canon of Chartres, at whose house sir Peter had stopped to refresh himself and change horses, was arrested and confined in the bishop's prison. Everything he possessed was confiscated, and himself condemned to perpetual imprisonment on bread and water: no excuses he could plead for his innocence in this matter were of the smallest avail, though he bore in Chartres the character of an honest prudent man*.

Sir Peter de Craon was exceedingly vexed, when he heard for certain, at his castle of Sablé, whither he had retired, that the constable was not dead, and had not received any wounds that, in six weeks' time, could prevent him mounting his horse. He considered that he would not be safe in this castle when it should be known where he was, and that he would be too closely surrounded to quit it when he pleased. He, in consequence, gave the charge of it to some of his people, and left it secretly, taking the road towards Brittany, where he arrived without stopping and found the duke at Susmet†. The duke, who had already heard the issue of the assassination, and that the constable was not dead, said, on receiving sir Peter de Craon, "You are a poor creature, who cannot slay a man when you have him in your power." "My lord," replied sir Peter, "it was a damnable business. I believe all the devils in hell, to whom he belongs, defended him, and preserved him from mine and my men's blows. There were upwards of sixty thrusts and cuts made at him with swords and cutlasses; and when he was knocked off his horse, in good truth, I thought he was dead; but his good fortune made him fall against the hatch of a baker's shop that was half open, by which means he rolled into the shop. Had he fallen in the street, we would have killed him and trampled him under our horses' feet." "Well," said the duke, "it cannot be otherwise at present. I am sure it will not be long before I hear from the king of France, and shall incur as much hatred as yourself. Keep quiet near me; for I am convinced things will not remain as they now are, but that the king and constable will wage a serious war against me. However, since I promised you protection, I will keep my word."

CHAPTER XLI.—THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO DELIVER UP SIR PETER DE CRAON.—HIS ANSWER NOT BEING SATISFACTORY, THE KING DECLARES WAR AGAINST HIM.—THE KING'S UNCLES MURMUR AT THE GREAT RICHES OF THE CONSTABLE, WHICH WERE DISCLOSED BY HIS WILL.

Intelligence was brought to the king of France, some days after the assassination of the constable, that the duke of Brittany had received sir Peter de Craon. His most confidential counsellors advised him to send instantly to the duke of Brittany, and summon him, on his faith and homage, should that false traitor to the crown of France, sir Peter de Craon, be in any parts of Brittany, to arrest him and send him without delay to France. When these letters were written and sealed, they were given to one of the king's messengers, who set out for Brittany, and found the duke at his castle of Ermine, near Vannes. The duke,

* A process was instituted against Peter de Craon, who was condemned for contumacy. All his goods were confiscated, his houses taken possession of, his furniture seized by the king and his lands given to the duke of Orleans and other courtiers. The monk of St. Denis relates that Jean de Vienne, the admiral of France, who was charged with taking possession of the estate of Ferté-Bernard, disgraced himself by infamously outraging the modesty of Jeanne de Chastillon the wife of Peter de Craon, and her daughter, a celebrated beauty of the time, and afterwards turning them out of doors in their chemises.—*Buchon.*

† "Au Susmet." Q. Succinio, which was a residence of the duke of Brittany.

having received and read the letters, told the messenger, he would write an answer to the king. The substance of it was, that he excused himself from knowing anything of sir Peter de Craon, or where he was; nor did he wish to know anything, for it was no concern of his; and that, as to sir Peter's hatred and quarrel with sir Oliver de Clisson, it no way touched or regarded him, and he entreated the king to hold him excused. When this answer had been properly drawn up and sealed, it was given to the messenger, who returned with it to Paris. The king and his council were impatient to receive the duke's answer; and, when the letters were delivered to the king, he attentively read them, and turning to his brother the duke of Touraine, and the council, said, "This is not satisfactory." Others replied, that the duke of Brittany was at the bottom of the whole mischief. The king and the duke of Touraine declared that such an outrage was too great to be lightly passed over, and was a direct attack on the royal majesty of France.

The duke of Berry was at this time in Paris, and, in his frequent visits to the palace, the king talked much to him concerning the crime of sir Peter de Craon. The duke replied: "My lord, he has certainly committed a great outrage; and if it were known where he was, I would advise that he be arrested and punished for it." "Good uncle," said the king, "he is now with the duke in Brittany, and nowhere else: we are determined to march thither, and you shall accompany us." The duke of Berry assented, though he was dissembling his real sentiments, and added, "My lord, we must have our good brother of Burgundy also with us." "We will have him," replied the king, "for we will not go without him; and our army shall be of strength sufficient to conquer all our enemies. We now clearly see, that this duke of Brittany neither loves nor esteems us. Good uncle, he is very proud and presumptuous; and we will not attend to any other affair until we have brought him to reason." Thus did the king and the duke of Berry converse together: the duke assented to everything his nephew proposed, though determined, in his own mind, to act in opposition to it. The king of France was too earnest in his desire to revenge the insult offered his constable, and was daily pressing forward the preparations for his expedition to Brittany. He was to march first into Anjou, to destroy all the castles and possessions held there by sir Peter de Craon, notwithstanding the duke of Brittany claimed them for his own by purchase. The king and his council answered, that he had never had possession given him of them; and that from having supported and protected sir Peter de Craon, he had incurred personally the indignation of the crown of France, although a marriage had this season been formed between the son of the duke and a princess of France.

While these preparations were going forward, and the rumour of the king's expedition against Brittany was every where talked of in France, the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere returned to Paris, having fulfilled their mission to Béarn and Foix. They related to the king and council what they had done, but the affairs of Brittany occupied so entirely the time of the council, that they could not attend to anything else; and the king was impatient for the constable to be sufficiently recovered to mount his horse.

Before the king left Paris, he commanded the very handsome hotel sir Peter de Craon had, near the church-yard of Saint John, to be razed to the ground, and the spot given for an addition to the church-yard. The king ordered large provision of stores to be made on the roads to Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Brittany, and along the banks of the Loire, ready for his intended expedition; for no one dared to make any opposition to it. It was well known in Paris, and likewise in different parts of the country, that sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, had made his will, in order that, in case of death from his wounds, his heirs might know where to seek for his wealth. He had but two children, both females, one married to John of Brittany, count de Penthievre, whom he had ransomed from England for six score thousand francs paid to the duke of Ireland, as has been related. His other daughter was, or would be viscountess de Rohan, in right of her husband. The whole of his money and movable property, without including any part of his heritage, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand francs, to the great astonishment of all who heard it, as to the means by which he had been able to amass so large a sum. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, in particular, were much surprised, as well as their councils, for the constable was not any way

in favour with them: so that, when among themselves they thus spoke very freely on the subject: "How the devil can this constable have collected such an immense sum of florins, and such splendid furniture? The king of France has nothing like it. We must suppose that it has not been lawfully acquired." This passed off; but those who hated him did not think the less of it.

The king was still at Paris, though his preparations were ready; and all who had been summoned to accompany the expedition to Brittany were assembling accordingly. The duke of Burgundy was, however, much vexed at this war, saying it was made without reason, and would end badly; for neither France nor Brittany, nor their knights and squires, were anyway concerned in the quarrel between sir Oliver de Clisson and sir Peter de Craon; nor had they any business to make war on their account, but should let them fight it out themselves, without thus destroying and harassing the poor of both countries. The duke of Berry was of the same opinion; but they could not be heard, for the king had other counsellors to whom he listened in preference. They knew not, therefore, how to prevent the war from taking place, and when they saw the king was obstinately bent upon it, they obeyed, but as slowly as they could. I heard, and believe it true, that, through the intervention of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Ostrevant was summoned by the king of France to attend him with three hundred lances: the count, who loved arms, made his preparations, and summoned his vassals, but, when he had completed everything at a great expense, he received counter-orders, not to stir.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE DUKE OF TOURAINE IS CREATED DUKE OF ORLEANS.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE BEING RECOVERED, THE KING OF FRANCE ADVANCES TO MANS, WITH THE INTENTION OF CONTINUING HIS MARCH, TO MAKE WAR ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

When all things were ready for the king's departure from Paris, an exchange of lands was made between the king and the duke of Touraine, but this exchange was greatly in favour of the duke; for he surrendered to his brother the duchy of Touraine and its dependencies, receiving in return the duchy of Orleans, which was of four times the value, on the same terms and conditions that Philip duke of Orleans had formerly held it. We shall henceforward call him duke of Orleans*. The king was so pleased when sir Oliver de Clisson had recovered from his wounds sufficiently to ride, that he said he would now set out from Paris to Brittany, to show he made the quarrel his own. In consequence, he and the duke of Orleans took leave of the queen, the duchess, and the other ladies and damsels who were at the hotel de Saint Pol, and went that night to the house of his minister, Montagu, where they supped and lay. The duke of Bourbon, the count de Namur, and the lord de Coucy, went with them. I know not if they all lay there, but the king did so and dined there on the morrow. In the afternoon he departed in handsome array, and supped and lay at St. Germain-en-Laye, where he remained several days. At this period, according to the report of his physicians, the king's health was not good; but, he was so impatient to carry on the war, he declared his health was better than theirs. This he said to push forward the business; for his two uncles of Berry and Burgundy were still behind, and showed clearly the expedition was contrary to their opinion, and that willingly they would avoid going with him. They had, however, issued summonses to their vassals, for they were bound in honour to accompany the king.

When the king had sojourned at St. Germain for fifteen days, and the different lords were arrived, or on the road, he was advised to depart. He did so, crossed the Seine, and marching for Chartres, arrived at Auneau, a good town and handsome castle, that belonged to the lord de la Riviere in right of his wife. In company with him were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The lord de la Riviere received the king and these lords very magnificently, as he was well able to do, and they remained his guests for three days. On the fourth day they

* He was created Duke of Orleans on the 4th of June 1393.—Ed.

departed, and went to Chartres, of whichplace the brother of Montagu was bishop. The king, the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon, were lodged in the episcopal palace. On the second day, the duke of Berry, and the count de la Marche, came there; but the duke of Burgundy was still behind. He had begun his journey, and on the fourth day arrived, to the great joy of the king. Men at arms were pouring in from all quarters; and the king said he would never return to Paris until he had made this duke of Brittany listen to reason, who had so often given him plague and vexation. There were too many about the king, who urged him on; so that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who wished for more moderate counsels, were not attended to. This created a disgust in them and their advisers; and they said among themselves, that public affairs could not long remain in their present hazardous and unsettled circumstances, and that the king was cutting out for himself and kingdom work enough, when he rejected the advice of his uncles and listened to others of little weight. After staying about seven days in Chartres, he departed for Mans. He was followed by men at arms from Artois, Beauvais, Vermandois and Picardy, and other distant countries. They said when together,—"How comes this duke of Brittany to give us so much trouble. He is full of pride, and has never been truly affectionate to the crown of France. If it had not been for his cousin, the late earl of Flanders, who supported him, and the duchess of Burgundy, who does so at this moment, he would long ago have been destroyed. He never could bear the lord de Clisson from the moment he quitted the English party, and is greatly to blame now in assisting sir Peter de Craon against the king and the constable." Others replied,—"Let the king alone; for he has taken this business so much to heart, he will make the duke repent of it before he returns." "That he will," said others, "if there be no treachery in his way. Do you suppose that all who now accompany him are enemies to the duke of Brittany? Certainly not; for whatever they may dare say, they show their intentions too openly by their actions. They are plotting night and day how they may prevent this expedition, and they harass the king so much, it will be well if he keep his health."

Such were the conversations of the men at arms on their march, following the king to Maine. The king, on his arrival at Mans, was lodged in the castle, and his lords in the town as well as the state of its accommodations would allow. The army spread themselves abroad in the plains, which were rich and good lodging for men at arms. The king and his court remained in the city of Mans upwards of three weeks, for the king was in a very feverish state and unfit to ride. The physicians told the duke of Orleans and his uncles, that the king was oppressed with too much business, and was not in a situation to go through it; that rest and quiet were absolutely necessary, for that ever since he had left Amiens after the conferences, his health had not been so good as it was formerly. The king's uncles remonstrated on all this with the council, for the king would not pay any attention to what the physicians said; and he was so impatient to carry the war into Brittany, he told his uncles, that he was always better when on horseback, than when doing nothing; and added, "Whoever advises me to the contrary will highly displease me, and show he has not any love for me." This was all the answer he would give. Every day there was a council holden, which lasted until noon, or beyond it; and the king would always be present, to check any delays being made to the expedition into Brittany.

CHAPTER XLIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE, DURING HIS STAY AT MANS, AGAIN SENDS SOME NOBLE PERSONAGES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WITH ORDERS TO DISMISS SIR PETER DE CRAON.—THE KING IS INFORMED THAT SIR PETER IS ARRESTED AT BARCELONA BY COMMAND OF THE QUEEN OF ARRAGON.

The king was advised, during his stay at Mans, to which he assented, out of affection for his uncles, to send four knights to Brittany. They were to remonstrate strongly with the duke, on the part of the king and council, how greatly he had misbehaved by affording an asylum to an enemy of the king and realm; and that, if he were desirous to acknowledge his fault, and make amends for it, he must send sir Peter de Craon to Mans, when they

would endeavour to make his peace with the king, and prevent this expedition from doing harm to him or to his country. According to what I heard, sir Reginald de Roye, the lord de Garencieres, the lord de Château-morant, and sir Taupin de Cantemelle, governor of Gisors, were ordered on this mission. They left the city of Mans with forty lances, and, having passed through Angers, journeyed on to Nantes, when, having entered the town, they found there the duke. He gave them a good welcome, and entertained them with a splendid dinner; but, before this, they had fulfilled their commission, and had ably explained to him the object of their coming, and what the king and council had ordered them to say. The duke answered prudently and nobly, "that he would be most happy to arrest and give up to the king sir Peter de Craon, but, as God might help him, he neither knew where he was, nor what he was about: he therefore entreated these lords to make his peace, for he had assured them of the truth;" adding, "he had heard, upwards of a year ago, sir Peter de Craon declare, that sir Oliver de Clisson hated him so mortally, he would attack him the first favourable opportunity, with all the force he could muster, let the event be what it would. When he told me this, I asked if he had notified this to sir Oliver: he said he had, and had sent him his defiance; adding, that he would put him to death, by day or night, the very first time he met him. I know nothing further of the matter, and am surprised that my lord should think of making war on me for this cause. Begging his pardon, I do not feel that I am any way so blameable, either towards him or the kingdom of France, that war should be declared against me; for never will I infringe, if it please God, the alliances that have been entered into between us, as well in regard to the marriage of our children, as respecting other matters." This was the answer the French knights received from the duke of Brittany; and, when they had dined with him, and remained one day more at Nantes, they took leave, and set out on their return the way they had come.

The king and council were impatient for their arrival, to hear the duke's answer. What you have just heard, the knights repeated to the king, and to those interested, from the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were well satisfied with it, and would have persuaded others to be so likewise, saying the answer was proper and reasonable. But the king declared that, from the information he had received, he was of a contrary opinion, and since he was come so far, he would never return to Paris until he had humbled the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy would willingly have altered this declaration, had they known how, but they were not attended to; and the king had taken such a hatred to sir Peter de Craon, whom he said the duke of Brittany secreted in his country, that no excuses were of avail.

There was a report at Mans, and in many other places of France, that the lady Jolande de Bar, queen of Arragon, and cousin-german to the king of France, had thrown into the prisons of Barcelona, a knight who was unknown to her or to her people; and, from his refusal to tell his name, he was thought to be sir Peter de Craon. The queen of Arragon, wishing to please the king, wrote to him in the most friendly terms, to say,—"that on the fifth day of July a knight, with a handsome array, had come to Barcelona, with intent to cross the sea; that he had hired, at a very dear rate, a vessel to carry him, as he said, to Naples. Having had all our ports well guarded, so that no stranger could leave them without permission, and this knight refusing to say who he was, we have detained him in prison. We suppose, from the great anxiety he shows for his liberty, that he is the knight you are seeking for, and on whose account you have written to us. Have the goodness, therefore, to send hither, as speedily as may be, some persons who are acquainted with sir Peter de Craon; for he whom we hold in prison shall not be set at liberty until we have heard from you. We shall learn with pleasure that the intelligence we have sent has been agreeable to you and to your council. May the Holy Spirit have you in his keeping! Written at Perpignan the ninth day of July," and signed "Jolande de Bar, queen of Arragon and Majorca, lady of Sardinia." The superscription was, "To our very redoubted lord the king of France."

This intelligence softened the hearts of many, and the expedition was on the point of being broken off; but the friends of the constable thought this was an invented story, to prevent the king advancing further; and that sir Peter de Craon was in danger of no other

prison than what the duke of Brittany pleased, for he was safely in refuge within his duchy. The king paid no attention to this letter, saying it was all deceit; but the duke of Burgundy replied,—"At least, my lord, to satisfy my niece of Arragon, who has written to you, and to deliver this knight, if he be guiltless, condescend to send some one thither, that our cousin may not be displeased with you and with us. "We are very willing to do so, good uncle," said the king, "for I wish not to vex you. Let some persons be sent to Barcelona; but I am firmly persuaded that the traitor, Peter de Craon, is not there, nor in any prison but the duke of Brittany's palace; and I swear, by the faith I owe St. Denis, that one day he shall severely pay for it." Nothing could alter the king's opinion that sir Peter de Craon was in Brittany. The duke of Brittany received regular information of what was passing, and, as the king was so much enraged against him, was not well satisfied of his security; for he saw that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had no weight in the council, and that the party of his adversary, Clisson, led the king just as they pleased. He had his castles and towns most strictly guarded; but, unfortunately for him, there were no towns or castles he dared trust his person to, excepting Vannes, Campel, Dol, Quimperlé, Ermine, Quimper-Corentin, and Suseniot. He had written to the knights and barons of Brittany, from whom he looked for support and advice, but they all dissembled with him, seeing the king, their lord paramount, so wroth against him, and from his so openly taking the part of sir Peter de Craon against the king and the constable, which was very indecent. He almost repented what he had done; but, his spirit was so lofty, he disdained to own it, and he said to himself,—"If the king, as he seems now inclined, enter Brittany with his army, I will not, at the beginning, make any opposition, that I may see who are my friends and enemies, nor will I hurry myself to retaliate; but, when he shall think himself in full security, I will fall upon him, since there is no other way of obtaining peace."

Thus did the duke counsel with himself, and at times with his ministers; for he concluded that a war with France was now inevitable. It was not so, however, for matters turned out otherwise than he expected, to his great advantage. The old proverb says, "He is not poor who is lucky." The duke of Brittany was wondrous fortunate at this season, from an astonishing and pitiable accident that befel the king of France. Nothing less could have withdrawn from him the dangers he was surrounded by, and permitted him the enjoyment of peace.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE KING, HAVING LEFT MANS TO CARRY ON HIS WAR AGAINST BRITTANY, IS ORDERED TO RETURN, BY AN UNKNOWN PERSON.—THIS SAME DAY, HIS MIND IS DERANGED, AND HE IS BROUGHT BACK TO MANS.

When the king of France had resided about three weeks in the city of Mans, during which time councils were daily held, and when the knights were returned with the duke of Brittany's answer, as you have heard; the king said, that since he knew what to depend on, he would not longer stay at Mans, for it was displeasing and hurtful to him, but advance towards the frontiers of Brittany, nearer this duke, who was supporting the traitor, sir Peter de Craon. The intention of the king was to deprive the duke of Brittany of his duchy, and nominate a governor of it, until his children should be of age to have it restored to them, but the present duke was to be driven thence; and this determination was so firmly rooted in his mind, nothing could make him change it. He set out from Mans between nine and ten o'clock in the morning; and the lords and others who had been quartered there prepared to follow him, after they had heard mass and drank a cup. He had, the evening before, sent for the marshals of his army to his chamber, and ordered them to have the men at arms ready by early morn to march to Angers; "for," he added, "we have determined never to return from Brittany, until we shall have destroyed the traitors who give us so much trouble." The marshals gave their orders for the army to march on the morrow, and assured the captains that it was now determined upon to pursue the road to Brittany. The day the king left Mans was excessively hot, as was to be expected, for it was the middle of August, when the sun is in its greatest force.

You must know, in order perhaps to account truly for what followed, that the king, during his stay at Mans, laboured hard and assiduously in the council, where he had but little assistance, and was beside not perfectly recovered in health. He had been the whole summer feeble in body and mind, scarcely eating or drinking any thing, and almost daily attacked with fever, to which he was naturally inclined, and this was increased by any contradiction or fatigue. He suffered much from the insult offered his constable, so that his physicians and uncles noticed that at times his intellects were deranged; but they could not do any thing, for he would not listen to what they proposed, nor would he consent, on any account, to defer the expedition to Brittany.

I was told that a strange accident happened to him as he was riding through the forest of Mans, for which he ought to have assembled his council, instead of pursuing his march farther. A man, bareheaded, with naked feet, clothed in a jerkin of white russet *, that showed he was more mad than otherwise, rushed out from among the trees, and boldly seized the reins of the king's horse. Having thus stopped him, he said, "King, ride no further, but return, for thou art betrayed." This speech made such an impression on the king's mind, which was weak, that his understanding was shaken. As the man finished his speech, the men at arms advanced and beat him soundly on his hands, which made him drop the reins. They suffered him to run off, without paying attention to what he had said, thinking he was some madman, for which they were by many afterwards greatly blamed and disgraced: they ought at least to have arrested him, to have examined if he were really mad, and to learn why he had uttered such words, and whence he had come. Nothing, however, was done, and he made off by their rear, and was never after seen by any who had the least knowledge of him. Those who were near the king's person heard very plainly the words he had spoken.

The king and his army passed on; and it might be about twelve o'clock when they were clear of the forest. They now entered an extensive sandy plain; and the sun was so resplendent, and in such force, that scarcely any could endure the heat: the horses, consequently, suffered much. There were none so used to arms as not to complain of the oppressive heat; and the lords took different routes, apart from each other. The king rode by himself, to have less dust; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, conversing together, kept on his left hand, at about two acres' distance from him. The other lords, such as the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon, sir Charles d'Albret, sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry and sir Philip de Bar, sir Peter de Navarre, rode in different paths. The duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, sir Charles d'Angers, the baron d'Ivry, were following at a gentle pace, talking together, and some distance from the king, not suspecting the misfortune which was on the point of befalling him. It was manifestly the work of God, whose punishments are severe, to make his creatures tremble. Have we not seen many similar examples, both in the Old and the New Testament, especially in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians? He reigned over them with such power, that nothing was spoken of but his magnificence and glory; when suddenly, in the midst of his pomp, the Lord of kings, God, the Master of heaven and earth, and Creator of all things, struck him in such wise that he lost his senses and his kingdom. He continued for seven years in this deplorable state, living on acorns and wild fruits, having the taste of a wild boar or hog. After this period of penitence, God restored to him his senses and memory; upon which he declared to Daniel, the servant of the Lord, that there was none other god but the God of Israel. To speak truly, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three in name, but one in substance, was, is and ever will be, of as sufficient power to declare his works as from the beginning, and one ought not, therefore, to be surprised at whatever wonderful things happen.

The reason why I thus speak is, that a great influence from Heaven this day fell on the king of France, and, as some say, from his own fault. The physicians of his body, who ought to have known well his constitution, declared, that considering the weak state of his health, he should not have thus exposed himself to the heat of the day, but have rode in the cool of the mornings or evenings. Those who had advised otherwise were disgraced; but he had been long led by his ministers to act just as they pleased. The king rode over this

* Burel blanc.

sandy plain, that reflected the heat, which was much greater than had been ever before known or felt in that season: he was besides dressed in a jacket of black velvet that added to the warmth, and had only a single hood of crimson, ornamented with a chaplet of large beautiful pearls the queen had presented to him on his leaving her. He was followed by one of his pages, who had a Montauban cap of polished steel on his head that glittered in the sun, and behind him another page rode on horseback, carrying a vermilion-coloured lance, enveloped with silk for the king, the head of which lance was broad, sharp and bright. The lord de la Riviere had brought a dozen such when he last came from Toulouse, and this was one; for he had presented the whole to the king, who had given three to the duke of Orleans, and the same number to the duke of Burgundy.

As they were thus riding, the pages, who were but children, grew negligent of themselves and their horses; and the one who bore the lance fell asleep, and, forgetful of what he had in his hand, let it fall on the casque of the page before him, which made both the lance and casque ring loudly. The king, being so near, (the pages rode almost on the heels of his horse,) was startled and shuddered; for he had in his mind the words the wise man or fool had spoken when he seized his horse's reins in the forest of Mans, and fancied a host of enemies were come to slay him. In this distraction of mind, he drew his sword, and advanced on the pages, for his senses were quite gone, and imagined himself surrounded by enemies, giving blows of his sword, indifferent on whom they fell, and bawled out, "Advance! advance on these traitors." The pages, seeing the king thus wroth, took care of themselves, for they imagined they had angered him by their negligence, and spurred their horses different ways. The duke of Orleans was not far distant from the king, who made up to him with his drawn sword, for at that moment his frenzy had deprived him of the means of knowing either his brother or uncles. The duke of Orleans, seeing him approach with his naked sword, grew alarmed, and, spurring his horse, made off and the king after him. The duke of Burgundy, hearing the cries of the pages, cast his eyes to that quarter, and seeing the king pursuing his brother with his drawn sword, was thunderstruck, and not without reason: he cried out for help, saying,—"My lord has lost his senses: for God's sake lay hands on him:" and then added, "Fly, fair nephew of Orleans: fly, or my lord will murder you." The duke of Orleans was much frightened, and galloped as fast as his horse could go, followed by knights and squires. There were now great shoutings, insomuch that those at a distance thought they were hunting a wolf or hare, until they learnt it was the king, who was not himself.

The duke of Orleans, however, escaped by making several turns, and was aided by knights, squires, and men at arms, who surrounded the king, and allowed him to waste his strength on them; for, of course, the more he exerted himself, the weaker he grew. When he made a blow at any one knight or squire, they fell before the stroke, and I never heard that in this fit of madness any one was killed.* Several were struck down by his blows, because no one made any defence. At last, when he was quite jaded and running down with sweat, and his horse in a lather from fatigue, a Norman knight, who was one of his chamberlains, and much beloved by him, called sir William Martel, came behind, and caught him in his arms, though he had his sword still in his hand. When he was thus held, all the other lords came up, and took the sword from him: he was dismounted, and gently laid on the ground, that his jacket might be stripped from him, to give him more air and cool him. His three uncles and brother approached; but he had lost all knowledge of them, showing no symptoms of acquaintance or affection, but rolled his eyes round in his head without speaking to any one. The princes of the blood were in amazement, and knew not what to say nor how to act. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy at length said, "We must return to Mans, for the expedition is at an end for this season." They did not then say all they thought; but they made their intentions very apparent to those who were not in their good graces, on their return to Paris, as I shall relate in the course of this history. It must be owned, that when all things are considered, it was a great pity for a king of France, who is the most noble and powerful prince in the world, to be thus suddenly deprived of his senses.

* "Les Grandes Chroniques de France" say, that he killed four men, and the anonymous MSS. of St. Denys add a fifth, a knight of Guyenne, called the Bastard of Polignac.—Ed.

There could not be any remedy applied, nor any amendment expected, since God willed it should be so.

Having undressed and cooled him as gently as they could, they laid him on a litter, and carried him slowly to Mans. The marshals instantly sent orders for the van to return, and the whole army was informed there was an end to the expedition. To some, the reasons were told why it was thus put an end to, to others not. The evening the king was brought back to Mans, his physicians were much occupied with him, and the princes of his blood in the utmost trouble. The event was spoken of very differently: some said that the king, to ruin the kingdom of France, had been poisoned, or bewitched, the morning before he left Mans. These words were so often repeated, that they came to the ears of the duke of Orleans and others of the blood-royal. In conversation together, they said,—"Do you hear, (for you must, unless you shut your ears) what murmurings there are against the king's ministers? It is reported, and commonly believed, that he has been poisoned or bewitched: now, how can we know whether this has been done or not?" Some made answer, "From his physicians, for they must know his habit and constitution." The physicians were sent for, and most strictly examined by the duke of Burgundy. To this examination they replied, "that the king had, for a long time, been suffering under this disorder; and, knowing that this weakness of intellect oppressed him grievously, it would make its appearance." The duke of Burgundy told the physicians, "that in the whole of the matter they had honestly acquitted themselves, but that the king, from his great anxiety to undertake this war, would not listen to any advice on the subject of his health. Cursed be this expedition, and unhappy is it that ever it was proposed, for it has been his destruction; and it would have been better that Clisson and his whole race had been murdered, than that the king had been afflicted with such a disorder. News of it will be carried everywhere, and, as he is now but a young man, we who are his uncles, and of his blood, who should have advised him, shall be much blamed, though we have been no way in fault. Now tell us," said the duke, addressing himself to the physicians, "were you present yesterday morning at his dinner before he mounted his horse?" "Yes, in God's name were we," said they. "And what did he eat and drink?" "So very little, that it is scarcely worth mentioning; for he sat musing the whole time." "And who was the person that last served him with liquor?" asked the duke. "That we know not," said the physicians; "for as soon as the table was removed, we went away to make ourselves ready for riding, but you will learn it from his butlers or chamberlains." Robert Tulles, a squire from Normandy, and head butler, was called. On his coming, he was questioned who had served the king with wine. He replied, "My lords, sir Robert de Lignac." The knight was then sent for, and asked where he had taken the wine to serve the king the morning before he mounted his horse. "My lords," said he, "here is Robert Tulles who gave it me, and tasted it, as well as myself, in the king's presence." "That is true," added Robert Tulles; "and in this respect there shall not be the smallest ground for suspicions; for there is now some of the very same in bottles to what the king drank, which we will open and drink before you."

The duke of Berry then said,—"We are debating here about nothing: the king is only poisoned or bewitched by bad advisers, but it is not time at present to talk of these matters. Let us bear the misfortune as well as we can for the moment."

CHAPTER XLV.—KING CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE, CONTINUING DERANGED IN MIND, IS REMOVED FROM MANS TO CREIL, ON THE OISE.—THE REGENCY OF THE KINGDOM IS GIVEN TO THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY BY THE THREE ESTATES.

On the conclusion of the duke of Berry's speech, the lords retired to their lodgings for the night; and the king's uncles ordered four knights of honour to sit up with the king, to attend him quietly, and administer to his wants. They were sir Reginald de Roye, sir Reginald de Trie, the lord de Garencieres, and sir William Martel. The lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, the bègue de Villaines, sir William des Bordes, and sir Helion de Lignac, were ordered not to interfere in any manner of business until the king should

be perfectly recovered. On receiving this order, they departed, and others took charge of the government. On the morrow morning, the king's uncles visited him: they found him very weak, and asked how he had slept? His chamberlains replied,—"Very little: he cannot rest." "This is sad news," said the duke of Burgundy. All three then approached him; and by this time the duke of Orleans arrived, and asked him how he was? He made no answer, but stared at them without recollecting who they were. These lords were much shocked, and, conversing together, said, - "We need not stay longer, for he is extremely ill, and we do him more harm than good by our presence. We have ordered his chamberlains and physicians to take every care of him, which of course they will do. Let us consider how the kingdom is to be governed, for a government must speedily be provided, or all things will go ill." "Good brother," said the duke of Burgundy to the duke of Berry, "it will be necessary for us to go to Paris, and order the king to be brought hence gently; for we can have him better attended when nearer to us than here. We will assemble the whole council at Paris, and discuss how the kingdom shall be governed, and whether our fair nephew of Orleans be regent or we." "It is well spoken," replied the duke of Berry: "let us consider of the best place for the king to be removed to for the recovery of his health." After some consultation, it was determined he should be carried, with every precaution, to the castle of Creil, which has a good air, and is in a rich country on the river Oise.

When this was settled, the men at arms were disbanded, and orders given by the marshals for them to retire peaceably to their homes, without committing any ravages on the country; and that, if such excesses were indulged in, the leaders would be called upon to make reparation. The king's uncles and the chancellor of France sent off varlets to the different cities and principal towns in Picardy, to order the inhabitants to be very attentive in the guard of them, for the reason that the king was indisposed. These orders were obeyed. The French nation was dismayed and concerned when it was publicly known that the king laboured under a frenzy. They spoke much against those who had advised him to this expedition to Brittany, and said he had been betrayed by those who had urged him on against the duke and sir Peter de Craon. People's tongues could not be stopped, for it was so serious a misfortune, it was necessary vent should be somehow given to the vexation it caused.

The king was carried to Creil, and put under the care of the before-named knights and his physicians. The men at arms were disbanded, and marched home. It was strictly forbidden the queen's household and all others, under pain of being severely punished, to mention this misfortune to the queen, who was far gone with child. It was concealed from her for some time, during which the king was under the care of the knights at Creil, and his physicians, who were giving him various medicines, which, however, did him little good. At this time, there was a most learned physician in France, who had not his equal anywhere, a friend of the lord de Coucy, and born on his lands. His name was master William de Harseley: he had fixed his residence in the city of Laon, which he preferred to any other. On first hearing of the king's illness and the cause of it, knowing, as he thought, the king's constitution, he said,—"This disorder of the king proceeds from the alarm in the forest, and by inheriting too much of his mother's weak nerves." These words were carried to the lord de Coucy, at that time in Paris with the duke of Orleans and the king's uncles. The whole of the council, and the principal barons and prelates of the realm, were there assembled, to consult on the government of the kingdom during the king's illness, and until he should be perfectly restored; and whether the duke of Orleans, or his uncles, or all three, should have the regency. They were upwards of fifteen days before they could agree: at last, it was thought advisable, from the youth of the duke of Orleans, which made him unfit to bear so great a weight, that the two uncles of the king should govern the kingdom; but that the duke of Burgundy should be the principal; and that the duchess of Burgundy should remain with the queen, and be respected as second to her in rank.



The Dukes of Burgundy & Berri sitting in Council
as Regents during the illness of Charles VI^th of France.

CHAPTER XLVI.—THE LORD DE COUCY INTRODUCES THE GREAT PHYSICIAN, MASTER WILLIAM DE HARSELEY, TO CURE THE KING OF FRANCE.—VARIOUS CAUSES ASSIGNED FOR THIS DISORDER.

The lord de Coucy was not unmindful of what he had heard of master William de Harseley. He spoke of him to the king's uncles, and mentioned his learning and success, and that it would be proper he should try his skill to recover the king. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy listened to it, and sent for him. On his arrival at Paris, he first waited on the lord de Coucy, with whom he was very intimate, and he introduced him to the king's uncles, saying,—"Here is master William de Harseley, of whom I spoke to you." The two dukes received him kindly, and made him welcome. They then ordered him to visit the king at Creil, and remain with him until he should have restored him to health. Master William, in consequence of these orders from the dukes, set out from Paris in good array, as was becoming him, and arrived at Creil, where he established himself near the king's person, and took the lead over the other physicians, undertaking to make a cure; for he saw it was to be done, since the disorder was caused by weakness of nerves, from the sudden alarm of the appearance of the madman, and then by the noise from the blow on the page's helmet; and he was very anxious to restore the king to health.

News of the king of France's illness was carried far and near, and, however others may have been grieved at it, you may suppose that the duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon were not much affected: they soon dried their tears, for he was pursuing them with bitter hatred. Pope Boniface and his cardinals at Rome were rejoiced on hearing it. They assembled in full consistory, and said the worst of their enemies, meaning the king of France, was severely chastised, when God had thus deprived him of his senses; and that this punishment had been inflicted by Heaven, for having so strenuously supported the anti-pope of Avignon; that this chastisement should make him attend more to his own kingdom, and that their cause would now be better.

The pope and cardinals at Avignon, considering the great support the king had given them, had cause for alarm; but they showed none for the honour of the king and realm. They said among themselves, that the king was young and wilful, and had, by his own fault, brought on him this disorder; that those about his person had allowed him to act too much as he pleased; and that he had exerted himself in different excesses, and by riding post night and day, and had laboured unreasonably, in mind and body, on matters that should have been done by his ministers and not by himself; and that, if he had been properly and soberly educated by the advice of his uncles, this unfortunate illness would never have happened. They added, that, "when he was on his journey to Languedoc, he had promised, on the word of a king, and swore likewise on his faith, that he would raise a sufficient force to destroy the anti-pope and his cardinals at Rome, and put an end to the schism and troubles of the church; but he had done nothing, and thus forfeited his oath and promise, by which he has angered God, who, to correct him, punishes him with this rod of frenzy. It therefore behoves us, when he shall have recovered his health, which may soon happen, to send properly instructed legates to remonstrate with him on this breach of promise, in order that, through our neglect, he may not be forgetful of it."—Such was the language at Avignon between the pope and cardinals, who agreed that this disorder had been incurred by his own negligence and fault; but they greatly blamed those of his council and household for not having better attended to him. Many others, in France, did the same.

In a church at Haspres, in Hainault, dependent on the abbey of Saint Vast at Arras, lies the canonized body of Saint Aquaire, in a rich shrine of silver. This saint is celebrated for the cures he has performed on those afflicted with madness, and on that account is much visited from all parts. To pay due respect to the saint, there was made a figure of wax resembling the king, which was sent thither with a large wax taper, and offered, with much devotion, to the shrine of the saint, that he might pray to God to alleviate this cruel afflic-

tion of the king. A similar offering was made to Saint Hermier in Rouais, who has the reputation of curing madness, and wherever there were saints that were supposed to have efficacy, by their prayers to God, in such disorders, thither were sent offerings from the king, with much ceremony and devotion.



Shrine of St. Aquaire. Presentation of the Waxen Figure of the King.—
Designed from Contemporary MSS.

When this event was known in England, the king and lords were greatly concerned thereat. The duke of Lancaster especially testified his sorrow, and said to the knights near his person,—"On my faith, it is a great pity, for he showed himself a man of courage, with strong inclinations to do good. When I took leave of him at Amiens, he said,—'Fair cousin of Lancaster, I earnestly entreat you will exert yourself to the utmost of your power that there may be a solid peace between the king of England your nephew and myself, and between our kingdoms: we may then march a powerful army against this Amurat, who has conquered the kingdom of Armenia from its lawful monarch, and who intends to destroy all Christendom, that we may exalt our faith, as we are bounden so to do.' Now," added the duke, "there is an end to this, for he will never again have that confidence he before enjoyed put in him." "That is true enough," said those who heard him, "and the kingdom of France seems likely to fall into much trouble."

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY RUIN THOSE WHO HAD BEEN THE CONFIDENTIAL SERVANTS OF THE KING.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TREATS RUDELY THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON.

Such were the conversations of lords in different countries on hearing of the king of France's illness, who remained confined in the castle of Creil, under the care of the four knights, and master William de Harseley, who had the sole management of him: none were allowed to speak with the king, nor even entered the castle, but such as had his permission, or were acting under his orders. At times, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon came to visit the king, and see how he was going on, but the dukes of Berry and Burgundy never left Paris. They had not as yet made any changes in the government, but they shortly intended doing so in regard to many who were not in their good graces, from their behaviour when in power, which was, as they thought, contradictory and presumptuous.

The duke of Berry said, that Clisson, la Riviere, le Mercier, and le bègue de Villaines, had, during their attendance on the king in Languedoc, caused his treasurer and faithful servant Bethisac to be disgracefully punished with death, through envy and wickedness; and that, in spite of anything he could say or do, he could never get him out of their hands. "Let them now beware of me, for the time shall come when I will repay them with the same coin, and struck from the same mint." The duke of Burgundy and those attached to him loved no better the above-named persons, who had governed the king; for, whenever they wanted anything at court, they were repulsed sharply enough, and very little done for them, of which they murmured and talked loudly behind their backs.

The duchess of Burgundy, who was a very unforgiving and haughty lady, resided at Paris with the queen, and had the supreme government of her and her household, so that no one was permitted to speak with the queen but through her permission. This lady hated with her whole heart sir Oliver de Clisson, on account of the duke of Brittany, who was nearly related to her. She frequently remonstrated with the duke of Burgundy, saying, that those who had supported sir Oliver de Clisson against so potent a prince as his cousin the duke of Brittany, were very blame-worthy. The duke of Burgundy was cool and prudent, and saw far into the state of affairs and their consequences: he wished not to encourage any troubles in France, but to keep every one in good humour as long as it should be possible, and on this account had never opposed any measures of his late brother, Charles V. nor of his nephew, the present king. He therefore replied thus gently to his wife: "Lady, it is good at all times to dissemble. The duke of Brittany, it is true, is a great prince, and an overmatch for the lord de Clisson. If I join the duke, and make myself openly one of his partisans, the kingdom would be dissatisfied, and not without reason; for the lord de Clisson would declare and prove, that the whole hatred our cousin the duke bears him is for having supported the interests of France, in which we have so large a share, and it is so believed throughout the realm. Hitherto I have had no cause whatever to incline me to the duke against the lord de Clisson. It therefore behoves me to dissemble my real sentiments, if I wish to preserve the favour of the king and country to whom I am bounden by every tie, which is not my case with regard to the duke of Brittany. It has happened that my lord the king is indisposed, and in an alarming state, as you know: this is very much against the lord de Clisson, and will be hurtful to all who advised him to undertake this expedition, and on which he was so obstinately bent, in spite of everything my brother and myself could urge against it. The rod is already prepared with which they shall be punished, as you shall shortly witness or hear of; but have the goodness, at this moment, to have a little patience. Lady, lady, there is no season but what makes some return, nor any fortune stable, nor afflicted heart but is at times rejoiced, nor angered minds but have their revenge. Clisson, la Riviere, Montagu, le Mercier, de Villaines, and others who have acted improperly, will shortly be made to suffer for it." With such conversations did the duke and duchess of Burgundy amuse themselves; and not many days after this last, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had a private conference They said, "it was now time to punish those who had dishonoured their nephew, the king,

and who had led him to act according to their pleasure. We will begin, first, with the constable, for he is of the highest rank and greatest wealth: when he made his will a short time ago, on being wounded, he proved he had seventeen hundred thousand francs in money and movables. How the devil could he have amassed such a sum? for the marriage of his daughter, with our cousin, John of Brittany, whom he ransomed from England, must have cost him, in the whole, two hundred thousand francs! But how shall we manage to begin on him, with any reasonable pretext? for he is strongly supported by our nephew, the duke of Orleans, and by many of the great barons of France. However, if we can but once lay hands on him, we will attack him by law, and the parliament at present is of our party." "That is true," replied the duke of Burgundy; "and the first time he comes to me, which he must do to-morrow on business, I will convince him by the reception I give him, that he is not in my favour, and do you, brother of Berry, do the same when he comes to you." "That I will," answered the duke of Berry; and with these words the conference ended.

The lord de Clisson, who thought not but that he was moderately well in favour with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, waited on the last, for business of his office. He had been much teased by many knights and squires, who were of the late expedition, and wanted money, for they had never received anything: the chancellor of France and the treasurer had sent them to the constable to be paid. He came therefore one afternoon to the hotel d'Artois, to remonstrate with the duke of Burgundy on this business, and nothing else, for he had already been dismissed from any share in the government. When he arrived at the hotel d'Artois he entered the court with his attendants, who were not numerous, and dismounted. The constable ascended the stairs attended by only one squire, the others waiting for him in the court. He found two of the duke's knights in the hall, and demanded from them if the duke was disengaged, and if he could speak with him. "Sir, we know not," replied they; "but will soon inform you if you will wait here." They entered the duke's apartment, and found him unoccupied, chatting with a herald, returned from a grand feast in Germany. The knights interrupted the conversation, by saying, "My lord, sir Oliver de Clisson is in the hall, and wishes to speak with you, if it be your pleasure." "In God's name," replied the duke, "let him come forward: we have at present leisure to speak with him, and hear what he has to say." One of the knights left the apartment, and called the constable, saying,—"Sir, come on: my lord sends for you." The constable no sooner entered the room, than the duke changed colour, and repented having sent for him, although he was anxious to tell him his mind.

The constable took off his hood, and, bowing to the duke, said,—"I am come, my lord, to know how to act respecting the payment of the knights and squires who were of the late expedition, for my office is perpetually besieged by them; and, as you and my lord of Berry at present govern the kingdom, have the goodness to inform me." The duke of Burgundy angrily replied,—"Clisson, Clisson, you need not trouble yourself about the state of France; for, without your office, it will be perfectly well governed. In an evil hour have you interfered in it. How the devil can you have amassed such a sum as seventeen hundred thousand francs, which you declared yourself to be possessed of by your will? Neither my lord the king, my brother of Berry, nor myself, with all our power, have ever been able to collect such a sum. Quit my presence, and leave my house, and let me never see you again; for, if it were not from regard to my own honour, I would have your other eye put out." At these words, the duke of Burgundy went away, leaving the lord de Clisson astonished. He quitted the apartment, with his head sunk down, and quite melancholy, without being attended by any one. Having crossed the hall, he descended into the court, mounted his horse, and departed with his people, taking a private way to his own hotel, without saying a word.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON, AFTER THE HARSH ANSWER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, RETIRES TO MONTLHERY.—BEING PURSUED THITHER, HE HAS TIME TO MAKE HIS RETREAT TO CHASTEAU-JOSSELIN.

When the lord de Clisson had entered his hotel, he formed various plans in his own mind as to his future conduct: he foresaw that very shortly public affairs would be badly managed, and had no one to open his mind to on the subject, for the duke of Orleans was at Creil: indeed, had he been at Paris, he had no power to save or defend him. Suspecting, after what had passed, that the duke of Burgundy would arrest him, and force his hotel, he determined not to wait the event, but ordered his most confidential servants to pack up all he should want, and, in the evening, set off from Paris, attended by only two persons. He passed the gate of St. Anthony, and rode to Charenton, where, crossing the Seine by the bridge, he continued his journey to his castle of Montlhery, seven * leagues from Paris, where he remained until he heard other news.

The same day the duke of Burgundy had rebuffed the constable, he met the duke of Berry at the Louvre, on the affairs of the nation. He told his brother of Berry how he had spoken to sir Oliver de Clisson, who answered,—"You have well done. We must, by some means or other, lay hold of him; for in truth, Clisson, le Mercier, la Riviere, and Montagu have plundered the kingdom; but the time is now come when they must make ample restitution, and their heads ought to pay the forfeit also. I know not the particular reasons, but it is a fact, that the day the constable left Paris, Montagu did the same, and also by the gate of St. Anthony. He took the road for Troyes in Champagne, but said he would not stop anywhere until he was arrived at Avignon, whither he had already sent the greater part of his wealth. He had left a sufficiency with his wife to maintain her state handsomely; for he foresaw, since the king was deprived of his senses, public affairs would go ill under the government of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who never spoke to him.

Sir John le Mercier would have been glad to have done the same, had he been able; but he had been put under an arrest, and nothing could come in or go out of his house without the knowledge of his guards. What he had before laid by in a place of security was of the greatest service to him at a proper opportunity, for all that was known to be his was claimed and seized by the two regents. He was afterwards committed a prisoner to the castle of the Louvre, as was in like manner le bègue de Villaines, count de Ribadeo in Spain. They sent to the hotel of Montagu, but found no one, nor could they learn whither he was gone, and with this they were forced to be satisfied. Inquiries were made if sir Oliver de Clisson were in Paris, and orders were sent to his hotel for him to surrender himself a prisoner in the Louvre: but no person was at his hotel except the house-steward, who could not give any intelligence concerning him. Two days passed before it was known that he was in his castle of Montlhery. The two dukes, impatient to lay hold on him, ordered instantly Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châteaumorant, the lord de Coucy, and sir William de la Tremouille to collect three hundred lances; and said to them,—"March with this force without delay to Montlhery, invest the town and castle, and do not leave it until you shall bring us Clisson dead or alive."

The knights obeyed, as was their duty, for the government of the kingdom was now in the hands of these two dukes, and they left Paris with their three hundred lances, not all at once, but in five separate bodies, that their departure might be the less noticed. God, however, assisted the constable; and he had such good friends among this armament, that he was punctually informed of its departure, and the hour it would arrive, so that he had full leisure to take proper measures not to suffer from it. He and his people left Montlhery, and by travelling through by-roads, over heaths, and avoiding all inclosed towns or cities, arrived safely in Brittany, and entered his castle called château-Josselin, which was well provided with all things, where he remained to wait other intelligence.

Barrois des Barres and the other knights put their orders into execution, took possession of

* Montlhery is only *six* leagues from Paris.—Ed.

the town of Montlhery, and surrounded the castle. They remained thus one night, imagining the constable was within, but he was not, as you have heard. On the morrow, while they were preparing for the assault, the servants in the castle came out to know what they were about. The knights said they wanted sir Oliver de Clisson, and that was the object of their coming. The servants in guard of the castle replied, that the lord de Clisson had left it four days ago; and offered to open every part of it for them to search. The knights and squires entered the castle armed from head to foot, as if for instant combat, for fear of being surprised by treachery or an ambuscade. They, however, found that the servants had told them the truth; for they minutely searched every part of it, without discovering any traces of the lord de Clisson. After this, they marched away on their return to Paris, when they related to those who had sent them all they had done.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE, THE PRINCIPAL MINISTER OF THE KING OF FRANCE BEFORE HIS ILLNESS, IS MADE PRISONER BY ORDERS OF THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY.—THE DUCHESS OF BERRY INTERCEDES FOR HIM WITH HER LORD.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, finding that the constable had escaped, were much vexed; while, on the contrary, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon rejoiced at it. "Now," said the duke of Burgundy, "he shows by his flight that he suspects us; but, though he has fled, he is not yet acquitted. We will force him hastily to return, or he shall lose every thing we can lay our hands on. Even this shall not free him from some heavy charges which only wait for trial, to prove him guilty and deserving punishment. If the great, the powerful, and the wicked be not chastised, justice will not be equally dealt, and the lower ranks and the poor will with truth be discontented. Justice ought to be dealt out without discrimination to all, that every one may take example." Such was the discourse of the duke of Burgundy; but the lord de Clisson was safe in his castle of Josselin, in Brittany, well provided with every thing to defend it, and to hold out a long siege.

The day that Barrois des Barres returned to Paris, to tell his lords that sir Oliver de Clisson was not at Montlhery, the two dukes said,—"Barrois, set out to-morrow very early, and ride to Auneau. We have heard the lord de la Riviere is there. Demand to see him from us and from the council, and manage so that you give a good account of him when we shall require it from you." Sir Barrois, having promised obedience, rode the next morning with his men at arms to Auneau, near to Chartres. It has a handsome castle, which the lord de la Riviere received in marriage with his wife the lady of Auneau, and he had greatly improved both the castle and lands. He was much beloved by his vassals, whom he treated with affectionate care. The commissioners sent by the dukes, on their arrival at Auneau, executed their orders on the lord de la Riviere, whom they found with his lady and children. He was expecting such a message, for he had already learnt that sir John le Mercier and the count de Ribadeo were in prison, and that the constable had fled from Montlhery to a more distant and secure castle. Those who had brought him this intelligence said,—"Sir, save yourself; for the envious, who at this present time govern, are against you, and fortune has turned with them." To this he had replied,—"Here and every where else I am in the power of God: if I fly or hide, I should accuse myself as guilty of crimes of which I feel myself incapable and innocent. God has given me all I possessed, and he may take it from me whenever he pleases: to his will I submit. I have faithfully and loyally served the late king, of happy memory, as well as the present king. My services have been well known to both, and they have royally rewarded them. I feel bold enough, from what by their commands I have done for the good of the kingdom, to stand the judgment of the parliament of Paris; and, if they shall find in my whole conduct any thing worthy of blame, let me be punished."

Such was the declaration of the lord de la Riviere to his wife and his friends, before the commissioners from the regents came to Auneau. On their arrival, his servants said,—"My lord, here are such and such persons, with a large force, who want to enter the castle:

what do you say? shall we open the gates?" "Why not?" he replied: "they are very welcome." On saying this, he went to meet them, and received every one most graciously, and in conversing together they all entered the hall of the castle of Auneau. After a short pause, sir Barrois des Barres, a gallant and courteous knight, with much vexation, arrested the lord de la Riviere, according to the orders he had received, which he was bound to execute. The lord de la Riviere held him excused, and immediately obeyed his summons; for he neither could nor would otherwise act by disputing it; and he remained a prisoner in his own castle of Auneau. You may imagine his lady was in great anguish when she saw fortune thus adverse to her lord, and she still more dreaded the conclusion.

The lord de la Riviere was not long a prisoner in his own castle, before he was sent for by those who ruled the temporality and spirituality of France (for the person who signed himself pope Clement held all his power in that country through the good-will of these dukes) to Paris, where he was confined in the prisons of the Louvre. Many in France were afflicted at this, but they dared only speak of it in private. They were indifferent as to sir John le Mercier, but the lord de la Riviere had been courteous, debonair, and patient in hearing poor people, and such as were not of rank to attend his public audiences. It was reported in Paris that they were to be beheaded; and it was whispered slanderously, to ruin their popularity, that they had been traitors to the crown, and plundered the treasury of great wealth, with which they had kept up their state, and built houses and fine castles, while poor knights and squires, who had exposed their lives in arms for the service of the realm, and sold their inheritances for subsistence, could not obtain any payments, for a long time past, from sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, or from Montagu, who had fled. Their numerous enemies, who were in great strength, declared they deserved to die, which put them in great risk. They urged, as a crime against them, that they had advised the king to go to Mans, and thence to Brittany, and had, by poisoned liquors which they gave him to drink, brought on this frenzy; and it was currently reported, that the king's physicians, who had the care of his health, were not, in any way, permitted to have their will, nor was their advice followed.

So much was said against these two, that the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier were removed from the Louvre and delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet, and confined in the castle of St. Anthony, under the guard of the viscount d'Achy, at that time the governor. On this removal, though the common report ran that they were to be put to death, in truth they were never condemned; nor could those by whom they had been examined, ever in their consciences find them guilty of death. They were, however, daily attacked by some, who said, "Take heed to your souls, for your bodies are already disposed of: you are both condemned to have your heads cut off." In this distressing state they were kept for some time; but the bègue de Villaines, a great knight and valiant man at arms, from the country of Beauce, inculpated in the same accusations, had many friends, who pleaded effectually in his favour, and he was freed from prison with a full acquittal. On his leaving the prison, he was told by his relations, sir Barrois des Barres and others, to prepare to set out for Castille, where in future he must reside, on the handsome inheritance he gained by his marriage with the countess de Ribadeo. He followed the advice that had been given him, and speedily packed up all he wanted, and set out for Castille, leaving his two friends in prison, and in daily peril of losing their lives. All the property, moveable and immoveable, of sir John le Mercier, that was in France, and could be laid hold of, was confiscated and given to others. His fine house at Pont à Louvion *, in the diocese of Laon, that had cost him such immense sums, was seized and given to the lord de Coucy, with all its estates, manors, and dependencies. I am ignorant if this was done at his request, but he possessed it, and his heirs afterwards.

The regents treated the lord de la Riviere very cruelly. They confiscated all his estates, as well what had descended to him as those he had purchased, and all his moveables wherever they could be found. The lady, his wife, had, however, reserved to her use all the domain of Auneau, and whatever else she had inherited from her family, by father or mother. She

* "Pont à Louvion."—It is in the MSS. Pont-Aubumen, and Pont à Lonnion. Q. if not Pont à Nouvion. There are three villages of that name in the election of Laon.

had a young and genteel daughter, of ten years old, who had been betrothed to James de Chastillon, son and heir to sir Hugh de Chastillon, who had formerly been master of the cross-bows of France; he was already in possession of large estates, and in the expectation of more. He had made several excursions with his intended father-in-law, the lord de la Riviere; but, notwithstanding this, the regents would break off the intended marriage in spite of the young man. This connexion was put an end to, and he married elsewhere, according to the pleasure of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the lord de la Tremouille, who took the management of the business.

The lord de la Riviere had likewise a son, a squire, who was his heir, married to the only daughter of the lord de Dampmartin, who was not likely to have more children, and this daughter was his heiress. The regents wanted likewise to break off this marriage, and unite her more nobly; but the count de Dampmartin, like an honourable man, stepped forward, and said,—"That as long as the son of the lord de la Riviere lived, his daughter should have no other husband; and, if violence were used to shorten his days, his daughter should remain a widow, and he would so strongly settle his property, that those who might wish to gain it by fraud or otherwise would find themselves disappointed." When they saw the firmness of the count de Dampmartin, and that he would not give up his son-in-law, they left him quiet, and the marriage remained good; but the first I mentioned was set aside by an absolution from pope Clement, who was forced to give it whether he would or not; for he had no power over the realm of France but what the two dukes were pleased to allow him, so greatly was the church lowered and hurt by the disgraceful schism, and by the conduct of those who ought to have ruled it better.

Many in France, and in other countries, acquitted the lord de la Riviere from all blame, but their excusing him was of no avail; for although his innocence was as clear as the day, no one dared to speak in his behalf, but that courageous young lady the duchess of Berry. Too often had that good lady cast herself at her lord's feet, saying, with uplifted hands,—"Ah, my lord, you allow yourself to be swayed wrongly and sinfully, by the envious and disappointed, who poison your mind with tales against this valiant knight, and virtuous man, the lord de la Riviere. They accuse him unjustly, and no one dares to say a word in his defence. I wish you therefore to know, that, if he be put to death, I shall never again taste happiness, but remain all my days in sorrow and affliction. He is, whoever may say the contrary, a most loyal and prudent knight. Ah, my lord, you little remember the handsome services he has done you, nor the pains and difficulty he had to encounter when he accomplished our marriage. I do not say this as pretending to have been worth the trouble, for I am but a poor lady in comparison to you; but you, who were so anxious to have me, had to deal with a hard and cunning lord, the late count de Foix, in whose wardship I then was; and, if it had not been for the persuasive manners of the lord de la Riviere, I should have never been your duchess, but settled in England; for the duke of Lancaster solicited me for the earl of Derby, and the count de Foix inclined more to him than to you. Most dear sir, you ought not to be forgetful of these things, for you know what I say is true. I therefore most humbly entreat that you would have compassion on the gallant knight who so courteously conducted your business, in regard to me, that he suffer neither in life nor limb."

The duke of Berry, thus attacked by his young and handsome wife, whom he doted upon, and feeling that all she had said was true, was much softened in his hatred to the lord de la Riviere; and to appease his lady, who he saw was in earnest, replied,—"Lady, as God may save my soul, I would rather have paid twenty thousand francs, than that la Riviere should have misconducted himself towards the crown of France. Before this indisposition of the king, I loved him well, and considered him as a prudent and valiant knight. Since, however, you thus anxiously interest yourself for him, I will abate my anger; and from your entreaties and solicitations he shall fare the better. I will exert my power to the utmost, and do more for your prayers than if all France united had petitioned me in his behalf." "My lord," answered the lady, "please God, I shall see the effects of it. You will do a good and charitable act; for I believe there is not one, beside myself, that has spoken in his favour." "You say truly," replied the duke; "but when you so warmly take up the

matter, it is fully sufficient." Thus was the duchess contented with the answers of the duke; and when he and the duke of Burgundy, with their councils, met on the business, there was much altercation. There is not a doubt but, if this virtuous lady had not interfered, he would have been put to death. From affection to her, it was otherwise; and sir John le Mercier was fortunate in being the companion of the lord de la Riviere, and implicated in the same charges, for they could not in conscience have executed one without the other.

Notwithstanding this delay, they did not feel perfectly secure in prison, for they knew they had many enemies, who were now in power, and angry (though they were forced to abide by it) that they had not sooner been punished. Sir John le Mercier, during his confinement in the Bastille, was in such continual grief and tears that he nearly lost his sight. It was melancholy indeed to hear the bitterness of his lamentations.

CHAPTER L.—AFTER MANY ADJOURNMENTS AND DELAYS, THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON IS, BY JUDGMENT OF THE COURT OF PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, BANISHED THE REALM OF FRANCE, CONDEMNED TO PAY A FINE OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND FRANCS, AND DECLARED INCAPABLE OF HOLDING THE OFFICE OF CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

During the confinement of the two knights in prison, where they remained upwards of a year, uncertain what the conclusion would be, the lord de Clisson was attacked every way, to degrade his honour and deprive him of his office. They were more desirous to lay hold of him than any others of the late ministry, but he took good care to prevent it. He was wise in so doing; for if he had been arrested, every thing was prepared for his execution the moment he should be condemned, without the smallest hope of mercy, to please his adversary, the duke of Brittany, who had never done any good to France.

When the regents found he had escaped, they resolved to proceed in a different manner. It was ordered, that he should be summoned by the court of parliament of Paris to appear before it, and answer such charges as should be made against him, under pain of being dishonoured and banished from France. Commissioners were sent after him into Brittany, by the chamber of parliament, to summon and arrest him. They acquitted themselves well, so far as going into Brittany and demanding at all the towns and castles belonging to sir Oliver de Clisson where he was to be found, saying,—"We are sent by the king and council to speak with my lord the constable: tell us how we can see him, that we may perform our message." The inhabitants of the towns or castles dependent on the lord de Clisson answered, as they had been tutored to do,—"Gentlemen, you are very welcome: if we wanted to speak with our lord the constable, we would go to such a place, where we should find him without fail." Thus were the commissioners sent from town to town, asking after sir Oliver de Clisson, but without ever finding him, or having any other answers. At length being tired of the pursuit, they returned to Paris, and related their ill success, and the tricks the constable's vassals had played them. Those who had accused him, and wished his condemnation, would not that he had acted otherwise, for now, they said, they would have instant judgment, and he should be treated according to his deserts.

They publicly summoned, by order of parliament, sir Oliver de Clisson in all legal form, allowing the usual interval between each summons, to prevent those attached to him from saying that hatred or malice had outstripped justice. After every adjournment was completed, without any intelligence received from him, and after he had been summoned first at the door of the chamber of parliament, then publicly at the gates and on the steps of the palace, with every usual solemnity, without any answer being returned, a most cruel sentence was passed by the court. He was banished the kingdom of France for a false and wicked traitor to the crown, condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand marcs of silver, for the extortions which he had fraudulently and wickedly committed in former times, as well in the office of constable as in the exchequer and elsewhere, and to be deprived for ever of the office of constable of France. The duke of Orleans was invited by the court to be present when this sentence was passed, but he would not, and excused himself. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were there, with a great many of the barons of France.

Now observe the works of Fortune, how firm and steady they are, when such a valiant and good knight who had laboured so successfully for the honour of France was thus maliciously degraded in honour and hurt in his fortune. He was lucky in not obeying any of the summonses, for, had he come, they would have disgracefully put him to death; nor could the duke of Orleans have saved him, for, if he had interceded for him, no attention would have been paid to it. You may suppose that the duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon, who were strongly connected with each other, were much rejoiced at this; but they were vexed the constable had not borne company with the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier. This sentence made a great noise in France and elsewhere. Some pitied him, and said in secret that he had been unjustly treated: others opposed it, saying it was fortunate he had not been laid hold of and hanged, for he was deserving of it. "Our regents," they added, "who are well acquainted with his manner of life, have not been to blame in suffering him to be thus treated. How the devil could he have laid by such a sum as a million and a half of florins? It could not have been by conquests in war, but from pillage and robbery, and from the pay of poor knights and squires, as is well known at the chancery and treasury, where it is all written down. In the expeditions to Flanders, he raised and received large sums of money, as well as in that which the king made into Germany. All the taxes for the war, and the payment of the men at arms, passed through his hands. He paid himself and others as he pleased, keeping the better part, without any one daring to say a word against it." In such terms was sir Oliver de Clisson accused behind his back; and the proverb says truly, that "those whom necessity forces to sell have never a fair offer."

The duke of Brittany caused it to be rumoured throughout his country, that whenever the dukes of Berry and Burgundy should please, he could easily reduce the lord de Clisson to the lowest state; but at the moment he left him undisturbed, to see what turn affairs would take, for he expected, from the measures then pursuing, the lord de Clisson must be deprived of the constableship. The duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon were thus suddenly relieved from all anxiety by the favour of dame Fortune, who, ever in motion, exalts those who least expect it, and tumbles others into the dirt from the top of her wheel.

Sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, and sir John le Mercier, were principally accused of being the authors of the king's illness; and it was commonly reported by those who hated them, and wished their death, that they had poisoned the king. Now consider how little there was in this charge, or how little probability of their attempting such an act, who were sure of being persecuted if any accident happened to the king, and of course would have been the most eager to have preserved him in health. But nothing was believed which they urged in their defence, as you already know. The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier were for a long time imprisoned in the Bastille, and in great danger of being publicly beheaded. It would undoubtedly have been done, if the king had not very opportunely recovered his health, and had it not been for the strong and repeated intercessions the duchess of Berry made for the lord de la Riviere. The lord de Clisson resided in Brittany; and a severe warfare was kept up between him and the duke, which cost many lives, as will be related hereafter.

CHAPTER LI.—KING CHARLES RECOVERS HIS SENSES THROUGH THE MERCY OF GOD, AND THE DILIGENT ATTENTION OF HIS PHYSICIAN, MASTER WILLIAM DE HARSELEY.

The disorder, which befel the king on his journey to Brittany, greatly affected all his subjects, and they naturally felt for their king, who, before this illness, was very popular with all ranks. Being the chief, every part of the government suffered; for, in like manner, when the head of a man is sick, his other members are not painless. No one ventured to talk openly of his indisposition, which was concealed as much as it could be. Indeed, it was perfectly unknown to the queen until she was recovered from her lying-in; and I believe this time she was brought to bed of a daughter. Master William de Harseley, who had the king under his care, resided quietly with him at Creil, and was very attentive to him, which gained him honour and profit, for by little and little he recovered for him his health.

He first got rid of the fever and great heat he complained of, and then restored to him his appetite, sleep, and his recollection of things about him. Until he was strong enough to bear removal for change of air, he allowed him to ride, hunt, and amuse himself with hawking.



KING CHARLES AND A HAWKING PARTY. From an original design.

On the news of the king's recovery being spread abroad, the whole kingdom of France was rejoiced, and most heartily and sincerely were thanksgivings offered up to God for having restored the king to his senses and memory. During his residence at Creil, he demanded to see the queen and his son: she came thither, and brought the dauphin. The king received them very kindly; and thus by degrees, through the mercy of God, was he restored to health. Master William de Harseley, seeing him in so fair a way, was in high spirits, and not without reason, for he had performed an astonishing cure. He now gave him up to the care of his brother, the duke of Orleans, and his uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, saying to them,—"Thanks to God, the king is now well: I deliver him up to you; but henceforward, you must carefully avoid angering or vexing him, for as yet his nerves have not quite recovered their strength, though they will daily get better. Amusements and relaxations from the fatigues of business will be of service to him, and, above all, he must not weary himself too much with his ministers or council; for his head will continue some time weak and delicate, as he has been much pulled down and shattered by this indisposition."

Having consulted together, they resolved to retain master William de Harseley at such an ample salary as should satisfy him; for it is the object of all medical men to gain large salaries, and as much profit as possible, from the lords and ladies who call for their aid. It was therefore proposed to him to remain with the king; but he excused himself, saying, "that he was old and weakly; that the manner of living at court would not agree with his years, and that he must immediately return to his nursling at home." When they saw he was determined in his refusal, they pressed him no further. They gave him permission to depart, and, on his taking leave, presented him with one thousand crowns of gold, and an

order for four horses on the post-masters whenever he should please to come to court. I believe he never returned; for he continued in the city of Laon, where he died very rich, possessed of thirty thousand francs. He was the most niggardly man of his time: his whole pleasure was amassing money, and never spending a farthing at home, but eating and drinking abroad wherever he could. With such rods are physicians corrected.

CHAPTER LII.—THE TRUCE IS PROLONGED BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—THE VISCOUNT DE CHASTELBON DOES HOMAGE FOR THE COUNTY OF FOIX TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

To continue this noble and pleasant history, undertaken at the request and pleasure of that liberal and potent prince, my very dear lord and patron, Guy de Chastillon, count de Blois, lord of Avesnes, Chimay, Beaumont, Schoenhoven and Turgow; I, John Froissart, priest and chaplain to my very dear lord before named, and at the time treasurer and canon of Chimay and Lille in Flanders, set myself to work at my forge, to produce new and notable matter relative to the wars between France and England and their allies, as clearly appears from the various treaties which are of this date, and which excellent materials, through the grace of God, I shall work upon as long as I live; for the more I labour at it the more it delights me: just as a gallant knight or squire at arms, who loves his profession, the longer he continues it so much the more delectable it appears.

You have had it before related in these chronicles, that a truce had been agreed on for three years at Leulinghen, between France and England; that ambassadors from France, namely the count de Saint Pol and the lord de Châteaumorant, had brought the papers signed and sealed from England; and that, since then, the lord de Chateau-morant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle had accompanied the dukes of Lancaster and York from the conferences at Amiens to London, to learn the intentions of the king and parliament of England, in regard to the advances which had been made at Amiens towards a solid peace between the two nations, subject, however, to the consent of England, which had been reserved in the treaty by the dukes of Lancaster and York. The French knights had returned to France; for they were told nothing could be done in the matter until the meeting of the parliament, which was appointed to be holden at Westminster at Michaelmas: that then the affair would be discussed, and they should have an answer. When it was known in England how grievously the king of France was afflicted, the business was much retarded. Nevertheless, the king and the duke of Lancaster were desirous of peace between England and France, and, had it depended on them, it would have been concluded; but it was not so, for the commons of England preferred war to peace, saying, "that war with France was more beneficial to them than otherwise." This was also the opinion of Thomas duke of Gloucester, constable of England, who was very popular throughout the country. He inclined for war, as did all the young men who were anxious to signalise themselves in arms; but his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as the oldest and most powerful, took the lead, and said, "the war had lasted long enough between France and England, and that a good peace, if properly attended to, would be very welcome to all parties, who had suffered greatly from the long state of warfare." The duke added, "that holy Christendom was in danger from Bajazet, who was in great force on the frontiers of Hungary, sorely oppressing that country; and that was the proper theatre for all young bachelors who wished to try their skill in arms."

Let us weigh well these words of the duke of Lancaster, which were offered with the best intentions; for he had many times invaded France and overrun that country with small gain. He had undergone great bodily fatigue; and though he burnt and destroyed the flat country, it was almost as soon recovered again from the damages it had suffered. He said that this war led to no good end, but, if continued, must be pushed forward with vigour, and the slightest reverse might be attended with the worst consequences. He likewise perceived the king was more desirous of peace than war. I, the author of this history, know not how to determine who was in the right, or who in the wrong; but it was said the reason

of the duke of Lancaster's conduct was, that he had married his two daughters in Castille and Portugal, and therefore he was desirous of peace. His son-in-law, the king of Castille, was young, and to prevent any troubles from his grandees, and in order that he might reign quietly, it was necessary there should be such a peacewith France as the English could not infringe. Should they do so, the French would instantly fall on Castille; for they had free entrances thither, through the kingdom of Arragon, of which the lady Jolande de Bar, a French woman, was queen, and who governed that kingdom as well as Catalonia, or through the countries of Béarn and the Basques; for the viscount de Chateaubon, the heir to the late count de Foix, had sworn and sealed to grant this permission, when required by the king of France. The French had therefore several entrances to Castille, without danger of opposition from the king of Navarre, who would not willingly anger his cousin-german the king of France. His brother sir Peter de Navarre, was beside at the court of France, and would instantly soften any disputes that should arise between the king of France and his brother of Navarre; for he was a good Frenchman and never acted but for the mutual interest of the two kings. The duke of Lancaster was fully aware of all the consequences of war, and frequently remonstrated on the subject with his son, Henry earl of Derby, who though young, had an understanding and prudence that seemed likely to produce perfection. This earl of Derby had four fine sons, Henry, John, Humphrey and Thomas, and two daughters, by Mary de Bohun, daughter to the earl of Hereford and Northampton, constable of England, and possessed in her right very large estates.

The conclusion of the matter respecting peace, which was long discussed in the parliament held at Westminster, of prelates, noblemen, and citizens from the cities and principal towns, was, that a truce should take place between England, France, and their respective allies, by sea and land, to last from Michaelmas to Saint John Baptist's day, and one year longer. Those who had been sent by the king of France carried back the articles of the truce properly signed and sealed, and the agreement was well observed by all parties.

The health of the king of France had been so exceedingly weakened by his late illness, that his council knew not to whom to apply for advice; for the physician who had before attended, master William de Harseley, was dead. He had, however, given the king, before he left him, several good recipes which he had used, and had returned to Paris in the winter with very good health, to the great joy of his family and the whole commonalty of France, with whom he was very popular. The queen accompanied him from Creil to Paris, where they resided at the hotel de Saint Pol. At times he went to the Louvre, but for the most part staid at the hotel de Saint Pol; and, during the long winter nights, there were carolings, dancings and other amusements, in the presence of the king, queen, duchess of Berry, duchess of Orleans and other ladies, who thus passed the winter nights.

At this season, the viscount de Châteaubon came to Paris, to do homage to the king for the county of Foix, which he inherited as legal heir to Gaston de Foix, and which was a fief dependent on France. Béarn is an independent state, and the lords of it owe service to none other lord but God, notwithstanding the claims the late prince of Wales, of happy memory, urged against Gaston de Foix, the late lord of Béarn. The prince pretended it was dependent on Aquitaine, but the count de Foix denied the fact. To say the truth, all these claims of the prince were instigated through the count John d'Armagnac, as has been already told, so that I shall now pass the matter over. When the viscount de Châteaubon whom henceforward I shall call the count de Foix, came to Paris, he brought a cousin with with him, a bastard son of the late count, called Evan de Foix, a handsome and accomplished knight, whom his late father would have willingly made his heir, with his brother Gracien, that was now with the king of Navarre, but the barons of Béarn would not consent to it. The matter, therefore, remained unsettled, for the count, as you have seen, died suddenly. On sir Evan being introduced to the king, he took a great liking to him, for he was wonderfully handsome and well made; he was besides of the same age with the king; and the affairs of the viscount de Châteaubon were benefited by this friendship, as they were the more speedily concluded. The viscount returned home; but sir Evan remained at court, and was named by the king one of the knights of his bed-chamber, with twelve coursers at the charge of the crown.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE IN GREAT DANGER OF HIS LIFE AT A MASKED DANCE OF MEN DRESSED LIKE SAVAGES.—POPE BONIFACE AND THE CARDINALS AT ROME SEND A LEARNED FRIAR TO THE KING.

Not long after this, a marriage took place between a young squire of Vermandois and a damsel of the queen, both of the royal household. The court were much pleased at it, and the king resolved to keep their wedding feast at his expense. It was held at the hotel of Saint Pol, and great crowds of lords attended; among whom were the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and their duchesses. The wedding-day* was passed in dancing and joy. The king entertained at supper the queen in great state; and every one exerted himself to add to the gaiety, seeing how much delighted the king appeared.

There was in the king's household, a Norman squire, called Hugonin de Gensay, a near relation of the bridegroom, who thought of the following piece of pleasantry to amuse the king and ladies. This marriage was on a Tuesday before Candlemas-day, and he had in the evening provided six coats of linen covered with fine flax, the colour of hair. He dressed the king in one of them, the count de Joigny, a young and gallant knight, in another, which became him well; sir Charles de Poitiers, son of the count de Valentinois, had the third; sir Evan de Foix the fourth; the son of the lord de Nantouillet, a young knight, had the fifth, and Hugonin dressed himself in the sixth†. When they were all thus dressed, by having the coats sewed round them, they appeared like savages, for they were covered with hair from head to foot. This masquerade pleased the king greatly, and he expressed his pleasure to his squire. It was so secretly contrived that no one knew anything of the matter but the servants who had attended on them. Sir Evan de Foix, who seemed to have more foresight of what was to happen, said to the king,—"Sire, command strictly that no one come near us with torches; for, if a spark fall on the coats we are dressed in, the flax will instantly take fire, and we must inevitably be burnt: take care, therefore, of what I say." "Evan," replied the king, "you speak well and wisely, and your advice shall be attended to." He then forbade his servants to follow, and, sending for one of the serjeants at arms that waited at the doors of the apartments, said to him,—"Go to the room where the ladies are, and command, in the king's name, that all the torches be placed on one side of it, and that no person come near six savage men who are about to enter."

The serjeant did as he had been ordered by the king, and the torch-bearers withdrew on one side and no one approached the dancers, so long as the savages staid in the room. The apartment was now clear of all but ladies, damsels, and knights and squires, who were dancing with them. Soon after, the duke of Orleans entered, attended by four knights, and six torches, ignorant of the orders that had been given, and of the entrance of the savages. He first looked at the dancing, and then took part himself, just as the king of France made his appearance, with five others dressed like savages, and covered with flax, to represent hair from head to foot. Not one person in the company knew them; and they were all fastened together, while the king led them dancing. On their entrance, every one was so occupied in examining them, that the orders about the torches were forgotten. The king, who was the leader, fortunately for him, quitted them to show himself to the ladies, as was natural to his youth, and passing by the queen, placed himself near the duchess of Berry, who though his aunt, was the youngest of the company. The duchess amused herself in talking with him, and endeavouring to find out who he was; but the king, rising up from his seat, would not discover himself. The duchess said, "You shall not escape thus, for I will know your name."

At this moment, a most unfortunate accident befel the others, through the youthful gaiety of the duke of Orleans, who, if he had foreseen the mischief he was about to cause, it is to be presumed would not, for any consideration, have so acted. He was very inquisitive in examining them, to find out who they were; and, as the five were dancing, he took one of

* The 29th of January 1392 old style, 1393 new style.—Ed.

† In the history of France by Villaret, these masquers were,—the king,—Hugues de Guissai,—le comte de Joigni,—Aymard de Poitiers, son of the count de Valentinois,—le bâtard de Foix,—Jean de Nantouillet.



the torches from his servants, and, holding it too near their dresses, set them on fire. Flax, you know, is instantly in a blaze, and the pitch, with which the cloth had been covered to fasten the flax, added to the impossibility of extinguishing it. They were likewise chained together, and their cries were dreadful; for, the fire was so strong, scarcely any dared approach. Some knights indeed did their utmost to disengage them, but the pitch burnt their hands very severely; and they suffered a long time afterwards from it.



THE MASQUE AT PARIS, in which the King and others were in great danger. From a MS. of the 15th century

One of the five, Nantouillet, recollected that the buttery was near, broke the chain, and flying thither, flung himself into a large tub of water which was there for washing dishes and plates. This saved him, or he would have been burnt to death like the others: but he was withal some time very ill. When the queen heard the cause of the cries, she was alarmed lest the king should be hurt, for he had told her he would be one of the six, and in her fright fainted and fell down: her ladies and knights hastened to her assistance; and the confusion was so great, no one knew what to do. The duchess of Berry saved the king by throwing the train of her robe over him, and detaining, him, for he wanted to quit her. "Where are you going," said she: "do you not see your companions are in a blaze? who are you? for it is not now a time to keep it a secret." He then named himself, saying, "I am the king." "Ah, my lord," replied the duchess, "put on quickly another dress, and show yourself to the queen, for she is very much distressed about you."

The king on this left the room, and, having thrown aside his mummery, dressed himself as fast as he could, and returned to the queen, who had been much comforted by the duchess of Berry. When the king had quitted her, she went to the queen and said, "Madam, do not be alarmed for the king: you will shortly see him, for I have been talking with him." As she said this, the king appeared, and the queen trembled for joy: she was carried by her knights to her chamber, where the king attended and comforted her. The bastard of Foix, when on fire, cried aloud, "Save the king, save the king!" who indeed was saved in the manner I have related. It was the providence of God that inspired him to leave his companions and converse with the ladies, for, had he remained with them, he must inevitably have been burnt to death.

This terrible accident happened about twelve o'clock at night, in the ball-room, at the hôtel de Saint Pol, and it was a most melancholy spectacle. Of the four that were on fire,

two died on the spot: the other two, the bastard of Foix and the count de Joigny, were carried to their hôtels, and died two days afterward in great agonies. Thus unfortunately did the wedding-feast end, although the married couple could no way be blamed. The duke of Orleans was alone in fault, who certainly intended not any harm when he held the torch so near them. His giddiness caused it; and, when he witnessed how unlucky he had been, he said aloud,—"Listen to me all that can hear me. Let no one be blamed for this unfortunate accident but myself: what has been done was through my fault: but woe is me that it has happened! and, had I foreseen the consequences, nothing on earth should have induced me to do it." The duke then followed the king, and made his excuses, which were accepted. This melancholy event happened on the Tuesday before Candlemas-eve, in the year of grace 1392: it made a great noise in France and in other countries.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were not present when the maskers were set on fire, but were at their own hôtels, having taken leave of the king, queen, and ladies. When, on the morrow, it became public in Paris, the people wondered greatly, and said that God had a second time shown his kind providence to the king, and that he ought now to put aside these childish things, and occupy himself more seriously; for that he had too long played the boy, which was unbecoming a king of France. The commonalty murmured among themselves, and said,—"What a narrow escape the king has had! if he had been burnt like the others, which might easily have happened, what would have become of his uncles? They may be assured not one of them would have escaped death, nor any knight found in Paris." The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, hearing of this language, were astonished and alarmed, and not without cause. They mounted their horses, and rode to the hôtel de Saint Pol to the king, and congratulated him on his escape. They found him still frightened, for he had not yet recovered the sense of the peril he had been in the preceding night. He told them his fair aunt of Berry had saved him from being burnt, but that he was exceedingly grieved for the melancholy end of the count de Joigny, sir Evan de Foix, and sir Charles de Poitiers. His uncles consoled him, saying,—"My lord, what is done cannot be recovered: you must forget their deaths, and render thanks to God for the miraculous escape you yourself have had; for this event might have been nearly the death of the kingdom as well as your own. You may easily imagine what would have been the consequences, when the commons of Paris hold such language as has been reported to us; and God knows, that if you had perished, they would have murdered us all. Make yourself ready to go in royal state, suitable to your rank, and ride in pilgrimage to the church of Notre-Dame and show yourself to your people; we will accompany you, for the citizens of Paris are very desirous to see you." The king replied, he would do as they had advised, and then entered into conversation with his brother the duke of Orleans, whom he much loved. His uncles received the duke kindly, blaming him a little for the youthful trick he had played. It seemed he was not displeased at their lecture, and declared he never intended or suspected he was doing wrong.

On the point of nine o'clock, the king and his attendants mounted their horses, and rode through Paris from the hôtel de Saint Pol, to the church of Nôtre Dame, to appease the people, who were in great commotion, where he heard mass, and made his offerings. He then returned to the hôtel de Saint Pol with his lords, who dined there. This accident was by degrees forgotten, and obsequies, prayers, and alms were made for the dead. Ah, count Gaston de Foix! hadst thou been alive and heard of the cruel death of this thy favourite son, thou wouldst have been sadly grieved, for thou didst love him much, and I know not how thou wouldst have been consoled. All the lords and ladies in France, when they heard of this accident, were shocked and grieved.

But you must know, that pope Boniface and his cardinals at Rome were well pleased when they learnt the news, because the king was contrary to their interests. They said among themselves, in a consistory, that it was a second punishment sent by God, to make him take warning, for having supported the anti-pope of Avignon, Robert de Geneve, who was false, proud, and presumptuous, and had never done one good act in his whole life, but had deceived the world. The pope and cardinals resolved to send in a secret manner and without pomp, a learned friar to the king of France, well instructed how to speak and

preach, to attempt to bring him and the French nation back to the way of salvation. They maintained, that he was now gone astray, and that being the greatest king in Christendom, the church ought to be enlightened and supported by him more than by any other. They selected a devout and sensible man, whom they ordered to go into France; but, before his departure, they fully instructed him what to say and how to act. This was not so quickly done, nor did the envoy soon arrive, for the distance was great, and he had many different states to pass through. It was beside necessary that the friar, who was a Franciscan monk, should know if the king of France were willing to see him before he set out.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE DUCHESS OF BERRY SUPPORTS THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE IN OPPOSITION TO THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.

We will return to the affairs of France, and say how they were going on. Notwithstanding the king's recovery, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not desist from their attempts to ruin that valiant and prudent knight, the lord de la Riviere. He and sir John le Mercier were still confined in the Bastille of Saint Anthony, under the care of the viscount d'Achy; and it was current through Paris, that they would be put to death, insomuch that it was daily expected they would be delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet, and when once this was done, nothing could prevent them from being publicly beheaded as traitors to the crown of France. From the information I then had, I am convinced their execution would have taken place, had not the grace of God been shown them, and the duchess of Berry exerted herself so much. This good lady was incessant in her entreaties for la Riviere,—who had carried her to France and concluded her marriage,—but not without great difficulty, with the duke of Berry. Sir John le Mercier was therefore fortunate in his situation to share the benefits of her exertions. She frequently, with tears, addressed her lord, saying, "that he was instigated by the malicious and envious insinuations of the enemies of la Riviere to keep him so long in prison, and confiscate his inheritance. Ah, my lord, you make him a very ungrateful return for all the pains he took in bringing about our marriage, when you thus consent to his destruction. At least, if you take his property, spare his life; for, if he be executed for the charges that are so unjustly made against him, I shall never again enjoy happiness. My lord, I do not say this from any feigned motive, but I really feel that it will weigh most heavily on my mind. I therefore pray God you will take proper measures for his deliverance." The duke perceiving she was in earnest, and that her arguments were good, abated greatly his hatred to the lord de la Riviere, who would sooner have obtained his liberty; but they were desirous of putting to death sir John le Mercier, and they could not punish one without the other. This sir John le Mercier had wept so long in prison, that he had almost lost his eye-sight.

Had the duchess of Burgundy been listened to, they would have suffered a disgraceful and public death, without hopes of mercy; for she hated them because they had, with sir Oliver de Clisson, advised the king of France to make the expedition into Brittany, to destroy her cousin the duke. She said, that Clisson, le Mercier, and la Riviere were the cause of the king's illness, which would never have happened, had they not persuaded him to undertake the war against Brittany. You must know, that although the king was now in a tolerably good state of mental and bodily health, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not resign the government of the kingdom; and, as they had all the weight, they determined to have the profit also. To this end, they placed only their creatures about the king's person, who was but a king in name, for the two dukes took on themselves to manage whatever concerned the realm. The duchess of Orleans was not pleased that the duchess of Burgundy should have rank second to the queen. She loved honours, and said to those in her confidence,—"The duchess of Burgundy has no right to take precedence of me: I am nearer the crown of France than she is, for my lord is brother to the king. It may so happen that he shall be king; and, as I then must be queen, I know no reason why she is thus eager of honours that are not belonging to her, and to place me behind her."

We will for a while leave these ladies, and speak of some changes in France, and of sir Oliver de Clisson, and of the manner in which he was treated.

CHAPTER LV.—THE LORD DE COUCY REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE SWORD OF CONSTABLE IN THE ROOM OF CLISSON.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY INVEST THE LORD PHILIP D'ARTOIS, COUNT D'EU, WITH IT, IN CONSIDERATION OF HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, WIDOW OF THE LORD LOUIS DE BLOIS.

You have before heard that the constable was summoned publicly by the parliament of Paris, after an adjournment of fifteen days between each summons, and how commissioners were sent in pursuit of him to Brittany, but in vain, for he concealed himself from them. Had they been able to have spoken to him, they would have served him personally with the orders of the court, and laid hands on him, according to the instructions they had received. When, on their return, they had given an account of their mission to the parliament, it was determined by the court and lords of parliament, that sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, had forfeited the protection of the court, and should be banished France, and deprived of all offices and possessions he held within that kingdom; for that he had contumaciously refused obedience to the summons of the great chamber, though sealed with their seal, and also had refused to send back his sword of office. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with their councils, who all hated the constable, and wished his ruin, said they would provide a remedy, for the office of constable was so noble, and of such weight, it could not long remain vacant, for fear of accidents that might happen.

The lord de Coucy was thought the most proper person to fill it; but he excused himself, and refused positively to accept of it, though he should be forced to leave France. When they saw he was determined, they looked elsewhere. At this time a treaty of marriage was in agitation between the lord Philip d'Artois and the young countess de Dunois, the widow of the lord Louis de Blois, and the king of France was well inclined that this marriage with his cousin should take place, but the duke of Berry refused his consent; for the county of Eu is but of small value, in comparison of what she was entitled to from her first union, and he looked to marry her more nobly. To say the truth, the countess was for beauty and goodness, and everything belonging to a noble lady, worthy of the highest rank. The duke of Berry, however, was unwilling to anger the king of France, who knew well that he was solicited by many persons for the hand of his daughter: among whom were the young duke of Lorraine, the count d'Armagnac, and the eldest son of the count de Foix and de Béarn. The king was averse to all these proposals, and said to the duke of Berry,—"Fair uncle of Berry, we are not willing that our cousin your daughter should be settled at a distance from the fleurs-de-lis. We will provide a marriage for her, that shall be suitable in all respects. We see her with pleasure near us; and it becometh her not to leave her mother-in-law, as they are nearly of the same age." These words and others cooled the duke's intentions of marrying his daughter otherwise than as it pleased the king, who leant to his cousin the lord Philip d'Artois. He was a young and gallant knight, and had acquired great renown in arms, in the different expeditions he had made, as well near home as beyond sea, and was also much in the favour of the knights and squires of France.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy agreed, that if the king would give to their cousin of Artois the office of constable of France, which was now vacant, from the sentence against sir Oliver de Clisson, the marriage with the lady Mary should take place; for, in case he were constable, he would be wealthy enough to keep a becoming state. They resolved to speak to the king on this subject, which they did, as follows:—"My lord, your council recommends that our cousin, the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, be invested with the office of constable of France; for Clisson, by the sentence of your judges in parliament, has forfeited it, and the office cannot longer be vacant without great prejudice to the realm. You are bounden, as well as ourselves, to assist our cousin of Artois, for he is very nearly related to us by blood; and, since such an office is vacant, we cannot better fill it than by sir Philip d'Artois, for he will ably and loyally execute it, and is much beloved by every knight and squire, being without envy or avarice." This speech was very agreeable to the king, who gaily replied, that he would think of it, and, if the office was to be disposed of, he would rather the count d'Eu had it than any other. Things remained some time in this state; but

the king was continually solicited by his uncles, who were desirous of advancing sir Philip d'Artois, and degrading sir Oliver de Clisson; for the duke of Berry hated him for the death of Bethisac, and the duke of Burgundy for his opposition to the duke of Brittany; but the duchess of Burgundy was yet more inveterate against him than her lord. The king at length gave his assent, on condition the duke of Berry gave him his daughter.



Marriage of Philip d'Artois and Lady Mary de Berry. Designed from Monuments of the family at the Château d'Eu.

But, before matters had proceeded thus far, in order to avoid disgusting the king, and to satisfy the duke of Orleans, who strongly supported the lord de Clisson, sir William des Bordes, sir William Martel, both knights of the king's chamber, and sir Philip de Savoisis, knight to the duke of Berry, were again sent to Brittany, to speak with sir Oliver de Clisson in the king's name. These knights, having made their preparations, took their road through Angers, where they met the queen of Jerusalem and John of Brittany, who handsomely entertained them, in honour of the king. They remained at Angers two days, and inquired where they could find the lord de Clisson, for they had a very courteous message to deliver to him from the king alone, who had ordered them to speak with him. They replied, that they had not any positive intelligence where he was; but they supposed he must be in one of his castles in Brittany: that he did not constantly remain in any one, but moved from one to another. At their departure, the knights took leave of the queen, her son Charles, prince of Tarentum, and John of Brittany, count de Penthievre, and continued their journey to Rennes. The duke of Brittany had shut himself up with his duchess in Vannes, without making any excursions abroad for fear of ambuscades, and meeting his adversary Clisson, as they were carrying on a murderous war against each other. When their parties met, mercy was shown by neither, and the field was gained by the death of their opponents: if, therefore, he felt alarmed, he had cause for it; for, although the duke was sovereign of the country, there was not a knight or squire that would bear arms against the lord de Clisson. They dissembled with the duke, saying, the quarrel did not any way concern them, and staid at home without interfering. This the duke was forced to put up with.

When the knights arrived at Rennes, they asked where they could for certain find sir Oliver de Clisson, but no one could positively answer them. They resolved to ride to château-Josselin, and were well received by the vassals of sir Oliver, out of respect to the

king of France. They inquired after their lord, and where they could see him, for they were sent by the king and the duke of Orleans to speak with him. They either would not, or could not, give them any satisfactory account; but said, in excuse for themselves and sir Oliver,—"Certainly, my lords, not one of us knows where to find him: to-day he is at one place, to-morrow at another. You may safely ride all over Brittany, since you come from the king; and all the castles and houses of our lord will be thrown open to you."

Perceiving they could not obtain any further information, they left château-Josselin, and rode to all the castles, both great and small, of the lord de Clisson, but without learning anything more. They then waited on the duke and duchess at Vannes, who gave them a hearty welcome; but they only staid half a day with them, without discovering the object of their secret mission, nor was the duke very inquisitive about their coming. They did not see sir Peter de Craon. On taking leave of the duke and duchess, they set out on their return to Paris to the king and lords, who were expecting them. They gave an account to the king and the duke of Orleans, of having visited all the towns and castles of the lord de Clisson without seeing or gaining any certain intelligence of him. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were pleased at hearing this, and would not have wished it otherwise.

Shortly afterward, the marriage was consummated between the lord Philip d'Artois and the lady Mary of Berry. He was appointed constable of France, to enjoy all the privileges and emoluments of that office, although sir Oliver de Clisson had not resigned it, nor sent back his sword of office. He persisted that he was still constable, for that he had never done anything against the king or crown of France that could have deprived him of it. Things, therefore, remained in this state.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON, DURING HIS ABSENCE FROM FRANCE, WAGES WAR ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

Sir Oliver de Clisson was soon informed that the count d'Eu was nominated constable of France, and was to do the duty and receive the profits from the date of his appointment, with the consent of the king of France, and that he had married the daughter of the duke of Berry, widow of lord Louis of Blois. To all this he was perfectly indifferent, for he felt that his loyalty and honour were as firm as ever, and that he had never done anything to forfeit either against the king or crown of France, but that all these proceedings originated in the hatred and malice of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, which were so great that they could not conceal them. This determined the lord de Clisson to continue his war with prudence and vigour against the duke of Brittany. It was severe and bloody, for neither party, when they met, made a sham of fighting, but killed each other without mercy. The lord de Clisson rode frequently from one of his castles to another, and laid more ambuscades than the duke, finding himself superior in numbers to oppose him. None of the Breton chivalry would interfere by bearing arms on either side; but, when the duke sent for them, they came to know what he wanted. He demanded from them aid and advice to correct his vassal, sir Oliver de Clisson, who had greatly misbehaved himself towards him. The barons of Brittany, such as the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Dinant, sir Hermen de Lyon, and many more, excused themselves, saying, they were uninterested in this quarrel, and would not therefore bear arms against the lord de Clisson; but that they would heartily labour to mediate between the duke and him, if they knew how, or saw any probability of establishing peace between them.

The duke seeing he could no way prevail on them to join him, and that in this warfare he was losing more men than the lord de Clisson, consented to send the above-named barons to treat with him, and bring him, under safe passports, to Vannes, that they might confer together. They were to add, that he would find him courteous and well-inclined to listen to any reasonable terms; and, if he had treated him with contempt, he would make such reparations as those he addressed should think proper. The knights willingly undertook the mission, for the sake of doing good, and set out in search of sir Oliver de Clisson, whom I believe they found at château-Josselin. They told him the message they were charged with

from the duke, and urged him strongly to accept of peace; for war between them was very unbecoming, displeasing to the nobles, and highly oppressive to the lower orders in Brittany. "Sir Oliver," said they, "we are thus pressing, in the hope that you will be pleased to wait on our lord; and, for your safety and secure return, we pledge ourselves to remain in your castle of Josselin, without ever stirring beyond the gates. We imagine, that when our lord and you shall confer together, you will very speedily settle your differences, for we left him with the best intentions towards you."

To this speech, sir Oliver replied,—"My good sirs, what advantage can my death be to you? Do you think I know not the duke of Brittany? Most certainly I do; and he is too haughty and revengeful, whatever he may have assured you relative to my security and safe return, not to resolve the moment I shall be in his presence to have me put to death, in spite of his promises to you; and, if I be killed, your fate will be the same, for my people will of course retaliate on you. It is, therefore, much better we run not such risks. I will guard myself well against him; and let him, if he please, do the same." "Fair cousin," replied sir Charles de Dinant, "you may say what you please; we have not seen him show any wish to have you killed, if he could converse with you in the manner we have proposed, but, on the contrary, the strongest desire to accommodate all matters of dispute. We therefore, for him and for ourselves, beg you will consent to it." Sir Oliver answered,—"I believe firmly, that you wish me every good; but, on the security he offers through you, I will not advance one step. However, since you are all so earnest in the business, for which it behoves me to thank you, I will mention on what terms I will come to him; and you shall, if they be agreeable to you, carry them back as my final answer. On your return, you will tell the duke, that I will not accept other pledge for my safety than his only son, who is betrothed to a princess of France. Let him send him hither to remain under the guard of my men, in chateau-Josselin, until I be returned, and I will then set out to wait on him. This mode is more agreeable to me than any other, and also more reasonable; for were you to remain here as hostages, as you offer, who would there be to negotiate the treaty? or who would be the mediators between us? and how, without your interference, shall we ever come to an agreement?" When the three barons saw he was determined, they took leave of the lord de Clisson, and returned to Vannes, to relate to the duke what sir Oliver had said. In regard to sending his son to chateau-Josselin, the duke absolutely refused, and the war continued on the same footing as before, so that no merchants or others dared to travel through the country. All commerce was at a stand in Brittany, which was severely felt in the cities and large towns: even the labourers in husbandry were also in a state of idleness.

The duchess of Burgundy assisted her cousin as much as she could with men at arms from Burgundy and elsewhere, for the duke could not prevail on his subjects to take part in the war, and the knights and squires, excepting those of his household, dissembled their opinions. On the other hand, the duke of Orleans, who was attached to the constable, supported him underhand, and sent him men at arms and good coursers to re-mount his men. Sir Oliver made more frequent excursions than the duke, and it happened that he met with two of the duke's squires who were going on his business: one of them was called Bernard, and the other Yvonnet: they could neither fly nor avoid falling into sir Oliver's hands, who was rejoiced at it, for he was well acquainted with them. One had in former times done him a service, the other the contrary, which he then recollected. They were much frightened at being thus caught, and sir Oliver addressed them,—"Dost thou remember, Yvonnet, how cruelly thou behavedst to me in the castle of Ermine, near Vannes, when thou didst shut me up in a dungeon? Thou, Bernard, then hadst pity on me, and pulling off thy coat, because I was only in my doublet and lying on the pavement, gavest it to me, to cover me from the cold. I will now return that friendship, by sparing thy life; but as for this wicked traitor, Yvonnet, who might have avoided, if he pleased, the cruelty of his conduct, he shall suffer." At these words, he drew his dagger, and slew him on the spot. He then continued his course, without touching the servants.

Another time, sir Oliver de Clisson, with about three hundred lances, was riding before the castle of Auray, in which were the duke and duchess. He met about forty of the duke's

varlets, who had tied their horses to trees, for it was near midsummer, and, having cut some hay, were trussing it up to carry, like foragers, to their lodgings. Sir Oliver galloped among them, without other harm than the fright he put them to, and said,—"How dare you take the field, and carry away the harvest of the farmers? You have not sown this, and are cutting it before it is ripe: you have begun your harvest too soon. Come, take up your scythes, and mount your horses: for this time I will do you no harm; but go and tell the duke of Brittany, who I know is in Auray, to come hither, or send his men to receive me; and that Clisson informs him he will remain here until sun-set." The varlets were happy in their escape, for they thought they should all be killed; therefore they picked up their scythes, mounted their horses, and returned to the duke in Auray. I doubt not they punctually delivered the message, but the duke neither sallied out himself, nor sent any of his men to meet sir Oliver de Clisson. Such skirmishes passed often between them, but the principal inhabitants never interfered.

We will now leave the affairs of Brittany, and return to those of France and England.

CHAPTER LVII.—A TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THEIR UNCLES.

You have before heard of the conferences that were held at Amiens on a peace between France and England, and on what terms the duke of Lancaster had gone back. The English were unwilling to consent to a peace, notwithstanding the king, the dukes of Lancaster and York, and all the commissioners who had been at Amiens, strongly urged it; for the majority of the commons were desirous of war; and two thirds of the young knights and squires knew not how to employ themselves: they had learnt idleness, and looked to war as the means of support. However, they were forced to submit to the opinions of the king, his uncles, and the more intelligent part of the nation. The duke of Lancaster, considering the matter, as well in regard to the welfare of his two daughters, the queens of Castille and Portugal, as in respect to his nephew, the king of England, who was greatly inclined to peace, took much pains to bring it about, because he thought it would likewise be for the honour and advantage of England.

On the part of France, the duke of Burgundy greatly exerted himself, for he found the whole weight of the government rested on him; since his nephews, the king and the duke of Orleans, were weak in body and mind. He was of great power by his marriage with the heiress of Flanders, and daily expecting to inherit Brabant also. If, therefore, in times to come, these countries should quarrel with France, and unite themselves, as they had formerly done, with England, they would be an overmatch for her. The duke of Burgundy was a long-sighted politician, as I was told by those who ought to know; and he and the duke of Lancaster effected that the conferences should be renewed at Leulinghen, where they had before been held, and that the commissioners should have full powers to conclude a peace. The conferences were to be holden in the ensuing month of May, at Leulinghen, in the year of grace 1393. It had been thus agreed to by both parties, and commissioners were appointed by each king.

On the part of the king of England, were his two uncles the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester: this last was very popular with the commons of England, and all others who preferred war to peace. From among the prelates were selected the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and other clerks learned in the laws, to expound the Latin letters.

These lords* repaired to Calais soon after St. George's day, which is always celebrated at Windsor with great feastings by the knights of the blue garter. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy made preparations for coming to Boulogne, that they might be near at hand to the place of conference. The king of France showed great impatience for peace, as the wars had lasted too long; and he said to his uncles, that he would fix his residence near to

* In the Fœdera the commissioners are,—the duke of Lancaster,—the duke of Gloucester,—Walter bishop of Durham,—Thomas earl Marshal, governor of Calais,—sir Thomas Percy,—sir Lewis Clifford,—Richard Rouhall, doctor of laws.

Leulinghen, to prove how eager he was in the matter, and to be ready at hand if necessary. It was proposed that he should be at Saint Omer, on the frontiers of Calais, or at Therouenne, Montreuil, or Abbeville; but the last place was determined on for his residence, as it was large and convenient, and the court could easily be lodged on the banks of the beautiful river Somme.

When this was fixed, great preparations were made for the reception of the king in Abbeville; and the abbey of Saint Peter, as being a large and handsome edifice of the Benedictine monks, was chosen for his lodgings. Thither came the king of France, accompanied by his brother, the duke of Orleans, and sir Reginald de Corbie* chancellor of France. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with the other commissioners, were at Boulogne, and the duke of Lancaster and his company at Calais. It was a handsome show to see the state and array of the French and English commissioners, when they opened the conferences at Leulinghen, between Boulogne and Calais. There were tents and pavilions erected for them to take refreshments, or sleep in on occasion; and two or three days in the week the commissioners met, and were frequently nine hours discussing the preliminaries for a peace, in a large and handsome pavilion that had been pitched for their assembling in.

It was told me (for I, John Froissart, the writer of this history, was at Abbeville, that I might learn the truth of what was passing,) by those who were well informed, that after the procurations from the two kings had been verified as to the commissioners' powers of concluding a peace, the French proposed that Calais should be so demolished, as that it could never again be made habitable. The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester instantly answered that they needed not have made this proposition, for that Calais would be the very last town the crown of England would part with; and that if they intended this as a basis for treating, there was an end to the business, for they would not hear further on the subject. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, perceiving their cousins of England so determined, dropped the matter, for they found it would be in vain to press it, and discoursed on other topics. The English, for a long time, demanded restitution of every thing that had been yielded to the late king Edward, and, in addition to these territories, the balance of the ransom that had been due when the war was renewed between France and England. This was resisted strenuously by the French dukes, who argued themselves, and by their learned clerks, on the unreasonableness of the demand. The two dukes and the chancellor of France replied with temper,—"that with regard to the first demand, that the whole of the territory that had been yielded to king Edward should be restored, it was impossible; for the inhabitants of the towns, castles, and lands, which had been assigned to England by the treaty of Bretigny, and afterwards confirmed at Calais, in the year 1360, were too adverse to such restoration; and the king of France, to whom they had voluntarily surrendered themselves, had, in consequence, accepted their homage, granted them protection, and such other privileges, on his royal word, as could not be broken; and that, if they wished for peace, they must offer other preliminaries."

It was then resolved, between the four dukes, on whom it solely depended whether there should be peace or war, that each party should reduce to writing their different grounds of treating, and mutually deliver them to each other, to consider of them at their leisure, with their clerks, learned in the laws, who had accompanied them, and determine on what parts they could agree to, and what would not be accepted. This was assented to by all; for the dukes were before much fatigued in hearing the various papers read and discussed; more especially the English commissioners; for, as it was carried on in French, they were not so well used to the finesse and double meanings of that language as the natives, who turned and twisted it to their own advantage at pleasure. The English opposed this, for they wished every thing to be made clear and intelligible to every one. The French accused the English of having, at various times, infringed the articles of the peace, and offered to prove it by written documents, and the word of their king, as well as by the judgment of the pope. This made the English more diligent to have every thing made out plain; and, whenever

* I imagine this must be a mistake, though the MSS. are the same; for Pierre de Giac was chancellor after sir Miles des Dormans, and died 1407. Arnaud de Corbie succeeded him, and died 1413.—Henault. [Pierre de Giac died the 17th Aug., 1387, and Arnaud de Corbie succeeded him in that year, and not in 1407.—Ed.]

they found anything obscure in the proposals that had been given them from the French commissioners, which they examined carefully and at leisure, they made their clerks demand from the dukes of Berry and Burgundy how they understood such expressions; for the English dukes would not pass over an article that had the least tendency to a double meaning; and whatever they did not clearly understand they had erased in their presence, declaring they would not allow of any thing that could bear a misconstruction, for that the French, who had been from their youth trained to such things, were more subtle than the English.

So many difficulties greatly lengthened the conferences; and the English held themselves obliged to demand restitution of all the lands dependent on Aquitaine, and their profits since the commencement of the war, as they had been charged to do by the parliament of England. This the French would not agree to: they were willing, indeed, to yield the countries of Tarbes, Bigorre, Agen, and the Agenois, with Perigord, but declared they would never restore Cahors, Rouergue, Quercy, and Limousin, nor give up any part of Ponthieu or Guines more than the English possessed at the present moment. On these grounds things remained: they stood out for upwards of fifteen days, and only came to the conclusion that it should be laid before the two kings: to forward the business, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy offered to set out for Abbeville, to inform the king of France of all that had passed; and, if he would acquiesce in the English proposals, they would not oppose them. They entreated, on the other hand, their cousins to write to king Richard, and amicably let him know what they had done; for he had, for two years past, shown the most anxious desire for peace between England, France, and all their allies. The two dukes promised compliance; but you must know, as I was well informed, the duke of Gloucester was more difficult to persuade than his brother, and he had been purposely chosen his colleague, by those who preferred war to peace, because they knew he would not assent to any thing that was in the least dishonourable to his country. The four dukes then separated in a most friendly manner, having been nine days in conference. The English commissioners returned to Calais, and the French to Boulogne, whence they set out for Abbeville. They found there the king of France, who was amusing himself, he having taken a liking to the place. There is scarcely any city in France more pleasantly situated; and within it is a handsome inclosed garden, partly surrounded by the river Somme, in which the king spent much of his time, and often supped there, telling his brother and council that the air of Abbeville had done his health great good.

At this time, Leon king of Armenia was with the king of France: he was just come from Greece and the frontiers of his own kingdom, into which he dared not venture; for the Turks had conquered, and kept possession of it as well as other places, in defiance of the world, excepting the strong town of Conich*, situated on the sea-shore, which the Genoese had strongly garrisoned and guarded against the Turks; for, if they had possession of this place, they would grievously harass by sea the Cyprotes, and other Christians of Rhodes and Candia. The king of Armenia would gladly have seen a peace concluded between France and England, that such knights and squires as wished for deeds of arms might travel to Greece, and assist him in the recovery of his kingdom.

The king received kindly his two uncles at Abbeville, and made them good cheer. He asked how the treaty was going on, and how they were themselves. They having related to him the true state of affairs, and how all had passed, he was well contented, and testified his joy and wishes for peace. In like manner, the two English dukes, on their arrival at Calais, had written to the king of England the demands and answers made to them, which, being sealed, were forwarded to him. In reply to which, the king had desired they would proceed in the treaty, for the war had lasted long enough, to the ruin of the country, and the slaughter of chivalry, and the great weakening of Christendom. "This might," he added, "have serious consequences; for Bajazet with his Turks were advancing towards the kingdom of Hungary, and were now in Wallachia, as letters to France and England had brought information."

The time was now come for the return of the four dukes and commissioners to the renewal of the conferences at Leulinghen. With the French lords came the king of Armenia, to

* "Conich." The MSS. have Gourch.

remonstrate with the English on his distressing situation: he was well known to the duke of Gloucester, when he had visited England during the threatened invasion from France, who had shown him many civilities, and carried him to a beautiful castle he had in Essex called Pleshy. The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester received him well, particularly the last, on account of former acquaintance. They patiently listened to all his grievances, and replied so graciously that he was well contented with them. At these conferences many different proposals were made, and the cardinal de Luna *, in hopes of being heard by the commissioner, had made a long stay at Abbeville, whither he had been sent as legate by pope Clement for the affairs of the church. He was lodged at the convent of the Cordeliers, on the river Somme. The French wanted to insert in their preliminaries some articles relative to the church and to the support of this Robert de Geneve, who styled himself pope: but when the English dukes observed this, they stepped forward with courage, saying to their cousins of France,—"Take away this legate: we want not to hear his speeches: it has not been without fully weighing their merits that we have determined which of the popes to obey. We desire, therefore, not to hear anything on this subject; and, should he again come forward under your protection, we will break up the conference and return home." From this time, nothing more was said of the cardinal, who remained quiet in Abbeville. The lords now pushed forward the treaty with such success that it was brought to a happy conclusion, and to the satisfaction of all parties.

The four dukes saw their respective kings were anxious for peace, more especially the king of France, who, when the duke of Lancaster had taken leave of him at Amiens during the former conferences, had said,—"Fair cousin, I beg you to exert yourself that there may be a solid peace between my brother of England and me, that we may assist our cousin the king of Hungary against Bajazet, who is so powerful in Turkey." The duke of Lancaster had promised the king to do his utmost; and indeed it was through his remonstrances with his nephew, king Richard, his brothers, and the parliament, that the conferences were renewed at Leulinghen, to establish a peace, if possible, to the honour of England. The duke of Gloucester was much colder in the matter, and carefully noticed all the contentious speeches of the French, saying, the French always wished to fight with both hands. He made so strong an opposition, that the adverse party perceiving it, sent a squire of honour, and of the bed-chamber and council of the king of France, to the duke: his name was Robert l'Hermite; and this is what he said, for the duke related to me the words at his castle of Pleshy. "My lord, for the love of God do not longer oppose a peace. You see how diligent our lords of France are in promoting it, and it will be charity in you to join them, for the war has lasted too long; and, when kings wish for peace, their relations and subjects ought to obey." "Robert, Robert," replied the duke of Gloucester, "I wish not to prevent a peace; but you Frenchmen use such specious words, beyond our understanding, that, when you will, you may urge them as signifying war or peace as you shall choose. In this manner has the business hitherto been conducted, dissembling always until you have gained your end. If my lord the king had believed me, and the majority of those who are bound to serve him, there never would have been peace with France, until you had restored to us all you have taken through treacherous causes, as is known to God, and to all who will search into the business. But, since my lord inclines to peace, you are in the right to press it forward: it is just that we should also approve of it, and since peace is so much wished for are we here assembled: let it, however, be well kept on your side, as it shall be on ours." On saying this, the duke of Gloucester went away. Robert l'Hermite, at the same time, took his leave, and returned to his countrymen. I will not protract the subject longer, but come to the conclusion, as the matter requires it.

The four dukes, having full powers from their respective monarchs, to conclude a truce or peace, continued their conferences with such success, that the report in Abbeville was current of a peace having been made between France, England, and their allies. But I, the author of this history, who at the time resided in Abbeville, to learn news, could never understand that a peace had been concluded: only the truce had been prolonged for four years, on sea

* The cardinal de Luna, an Arragonian, was anti-pope after the death of Clement, under the name of Benedict XIII. See more of his turbulent life in Muratori, &c.

and land, between all the parties. It was imagined that, before the expiration of this term, all the territories and lordships in Languedoc, that were to revert to the kings of England and their heirs for ever, would be surrendered to king Richard, or to his commissioners. In return for the giving up so many towns, castles, and lordships, which had been agreed to by the commissioners for peace, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester engaged that their captains, of whatever nation they might be, who held possession of different forts in France, that were to revert to the king of France, should evacuate them, and cease from carrying on any war under the name and pretext of the king of England or the English. All the articles of the truce were fairly written out, signed and sealed by the different lords, and copies of them sent to the two kings, before they parted, at Leulinghen.

The king of England was very impatient to hear of peace being concluded, and his uncles, knowing this, determined to send him an express with the news: they called to them a herald, named Marche, who was king at arms in England, and wrote to the king by him the whole detail of what had been agreed on, and signed by both parties. The herald was rejoiced to receive these letters from the dukes, and, leaving the English tents, rode to Calais, where he hired a fishing-boat, and, by the grace of God, a favourable wind, and the exertions of the fishermen, was speedily landed at Dover. He then continued his journey until he came to London, where he found the king. On his arrival, he was introduced into the king's chamber, because he was come from Calais, where the king's uncles were negotiating a peace. He presented his letters; and the king, having perused them, was so well pleased with their contents, and the good news he had brought, that he gave him very rich gifts, and a handsome annuity, as the herald told me afterwards when riding with him through part of England.

CHAPTER LVIII.—THE TREATY OF PEACE IS NEARLY BROKEN OFF BY POPE BONIFACE, AND BY THE KING OF FRANCE RELAPSING INTO HIS FORMER ILLNESS.

Let us return to the commissioners from France and England at Leulinghen. When they pleased they lived in tents, which were prepared for them in great numbers and magnificence. The English were very attentive to the verification of the different papers, that nothing obscure or doubtful might remain. They examined every paper, and had every expression made clear before they signed them. From an event that happened, the negotiations which had taken up so much time were near being broken off. I will say what it was; for in matters of history everything should be detailed, that the truth may be more apparent. You have heard that the king of France had made a long stay at Abbeville: he took pleasure in the place, but his stay was prolonged on account of the treaty that was going forward at Leulinghen.

Just at the conclusion of the treaty, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester declared it was the intention of king Richard and the parliament, that pope Boniface, who was acknowledged for the true pope by the Romans, Germans, Hungarians, Lombards, Venetians, English, and by all Christendom except France, should be received as such, and the person who styled himself pope Clement be degraded and condemned. This proposal, the two dukes said, they had been specifically ordered to make by the three estates of England. When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this, to please their cousins of England, and to prevent the treaty from being interrupted, they desired, in a friendly way, to have a little time to consider what they had proposed. It being granted, they consulted together; and the duke of Burgundy eloquently and prudently answered as follows, to soften the matter to the English dukes:—"It does not seem to us any way proper that we should intermix with our negotiations the dispute between the two popes. My brother of Berry and myself are somewhat surprised how you could have proposed it, for at the beginning of the conferences you objected to the presence of the cardinal de Luna, who is now at Abbeville as legate from the pope, and refused to hear anything he had to say. We had before determined that when the cardinals elected Urban for pope, and on his death Boniface, the elections were null, for no one either from your country or ours was summoned to them; and the election of him who calls himself

Clement and resides at Avignon is, from the same cause, in the like predicament. We do not deny that it would be great charity in those who could attend to it, to appease and put an end to this schism in the church. But, in regard to ourselves, we must refer the matter to the university of Paris; and, when all our business here shall be concluded by a solid peace, we will, in conjunction with the council of our cousin the king of Germany, willingly attend to this matter, as you may do on your side."

This reply of the duke of Burgundy was agreeable to the English dukes, for it seemed reasonable, and they answered, "You have well spoken: let the matter now rest, and be as you say." The negotiations were going on as well as before; but there fell out, just at the conclusion, a great hindrance by the king of France relapsing into the same frenzy by which he was afflicted in the preceding year. He had remained at Abbeville until near Midsummer, at the abbey of Saint Peter, passing his time in a variety of amusements. The first that noticed his relapse was a Norman knight, called sir William Martel, who was employed the most about the king's person. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the time at Leulinghen or Boulogne, bringing the conference to a close, or at least finishing all that could be done this year. The moment the duke of Orleans perceived the state of the king's health, he sent information to his uncles by a favourite squire of his own, called Boniface, an agreeable man. The two dukes, on hearing this unfortunate intelligence, set out as speedily as they could; for they had already taken leave of their cousins of England, who were returned to Calais to wait for information from the king of Navarre and the duke of Brittany.

It had been proposed at the conferences, that as the castle of Cherbourg in Normandy had been mortgaged to the king of England for sixty thousand nobles, who in consequence had possession, it should be restored to the king of Navarre, on the king of France repaying the sixty thousand nobles; and in like manner was the castle of Brest to be surrendered to the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not wait for the conclusion of these two articles, but hastened to Abbeville, where, to their sorrow, they found the king in a very poor state of health. The king's disorder was kept secret as long as possible, but in such cases it is very soon publicly known. The court at Abbeville was shortly dispersed, and every one retired to his home. Councils were holden as to the proper place the king should be conveyed to, and in respect to his management. The castle of Creil was again fixed on for his residence, whither he was carried in a litter. The weather was now so hot, that they rested the day and only travelled the night season: the king was attended to Creil by his brother and the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy went to Artois, and thence visited Flanders, having met his duchess at the castle of Hêdin.

The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier seemed entirely forgotten: no one spoke of them, nor interfered in their delivery from prison. This relapse of the king had, however, greatly exculpated them for the accusations of having been the cause of his first illness in the eyes of the public. The wisest in France had now learnt, that from the weakness of his nerves, he was naturally inclined to this disorder, which had been brought forward with greater force from the excesses he had indulged in. It was much regretted by those who wished his recovery that master William de Harseley was no more, for his relatives knew not where to seek a prudent physician that was acquainted with his disorder. It was, however, a matter of necessity to make the best use of such as they had.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT AT AVIGNON.—THE ELECTION OF POPE BENEDICT.—A LEARNED CLERK, IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF RHEIMS, SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF THE SEE OF AVIGNON, BY HIS SPEECHES AND PREACHINGS.

In the month of September, of this year, Robert de Geneve, whom we have called pope in our history, died at his palace in Avignon *. It happened to him just as he had wished, that he might die pope. He died indeed with the honour and state I have mentioned, but whether he enjoyed these wrongfully or not, I shall not pretend to determine, for such

* He died on the 16th September, 1394.—Ed.

matters do not belong to me. The cardinals at Avignon were much surprised at this event, and resolved to form a conclave in haste, and elect one from among themselves as his successor.

The health of the king of France was again beginning to return, to the great joy of all who loved him, and his good queen, who had been in great affliction. She was a valiant lady, whom God corrected and loved: she had made many processions, and given great alms, in hopes of his recovery, in several parts of France, but especially in Paris.

The college of cardinals at Avignon, as I was then informed, elected pope the cardinal legate de Luna. To say the truth, he was a devout man, and of a contemplative life; but they had chosen him subject to the approbation of the king of France and his council, otherwise they would not have been able to maintain their election. Consider how much the church must have been degraded by this schism, when those who were, or ought to have been free, thus subjected themselves to the will of others, whom they should have commanded. All the solemnities required at the coronation of a pope were paid to the cardinal de Luna, who took the name of Benedict *. He offered a general pardon to all clergy who should come to Avignon; and, by the advice of his cardinals, wrote letters to the king of France, to announce his elevation to the papacy. I heard that the king paid little attention to his letter; for he was not yet determined whether to acknowledge him for pope or no; and, to have the best advice on the occasion, he summoned before him the most learned and prudent clerks of the university of Paris.

Master John Gigencourt and master Peter Playons †, who were esteemed the most learned and acute in the university, told the king, as did others, that the schism in the church corrupted the Christian faith; that the church ought not longer to be kept in this state, for that all Christendom suffered from it, but more particularly churchmen; and that it was unbecoming the university to send to pope Benedict at Avignon, lists of those priests who had need of briefs. The king, on hearing their opinions, thought them reasonable, and consented that there should be a cessation of such lists as were usually sent to the pope, until the disputes between the two popes were settled: things therefore remained in this state. The duke of Berry, however, strenuously supported the new pope; and all the clergy dependent on him acknowledged him for the true one; and many of his people were provided with pardons from this Benedict. The duke and duchess of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, with many other great lords of France, dissembled their real opinions on the subject to the king. Some through favour acknowledged Benedict, who was prodigal of his pardons, in order that the court of Avignon might thrive the more.

The duke of Brittany readily enough followed the opinion of the king of France; for he had been in former times so scandalised by the information the earl of Flanders, his cousin, had given him of the rebellion in the church, that he would never allow of Clement being the true pope, although his clergy paid him obedience and acknowledged him. When any of the churches in France became vacant, the king disposed of them to clergymen, without ever speaking of it to pope Benedict, who, as well as his cardinals, was greatly surprised at such conduct, and began to fear the king would deprive them of the benefices they held in his realm. They resolved, therefore, to send a well-instructed legate to France, to remonstrate with the king and council on the state of the church, and to learn their intentions, and likewise to assure them that the pope they had elected was only conditionally chosen, in case of his proving agreeable to the king, but that otherwise they would dethrone him, and exalt another more to his pleasure.

About this period, the friar, whom I before mentioned to have been sent by pope Boniface ‡ to the king of France, but without the pomp or state of a legate, arrived at Paris, with the consent of the king, who listened to his arguments and sermons with pleasure. The legate from Avignon, a subtle and eloquent clerk, was heard also by the

* Peter of Luna, born of an illustrious family of Spain, was elected Pope on the 28th September, 1394, and took the name of Benedict XIII. Before his election, he subscribed an act by which all the cardinals promised on oath to use every effort for the reunion of the church, and even to resign the pontificate if necessary for that purpose. He, however, afterwards showed very little respect to this oath.—Ed.

† In the Museum MS. it is Gignicourt and Pierre de Lyons: in mine, the first as D. Sauvage, and the other Pierre de Palions.

‡ Boniface IX. elected Pope the 2nd Nov. 1389.—Ed.



De la mort du pape clement (
daungnon et de lelection du
pape benedit Chapitre xxvi.

En ce tampe ou
moys de septem
bre tresspassa de
ce siecle en son pallais daun,
gnon robert de gemeue cy des-
sus nomme en nostre hystoire

The death of Pope Clement of Avignon.



Johanne Parennes. Preaching.

king and his court: those attached to the pope at Avignon took good care to push him forward, and contrived that he should have audiences often. It was the opinion of the council, but it was not without great difficulty the university of Paris subscribed to this opinion, that it would be a wise and prudent measure, if means could be found to make the rival popes resign their dignities, as well as all the cardinals, and then select the most learned and prudent among the clergy, from the empire of Germany, France, and other countries, who should form a general council, and then, without favour or affection to any party, restore the church to its former unity, discipline, and stability. They declared they saw no other way of destroying the schism; for the hearts of different lords were so swollen with pride, each would support his own party.

This idea, which was proposed in the presence of the king, and the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, in council, was approved of; and the king, having agreed to it, said he would cheerfully write on the subject to the kings of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and England; that he thought he could depend on the kings of Castille, Navarre, Arragon, Sicily, Naples, and Scotland, obeying whatever pope he should acknowledge. In consequence of this proposition being adopted, the king of France sent off special messengers with letters to the kings above mentioned, but answers were not returned to them so soon as expected. During this interval, that learned clerk, master John de Gigencourt, died at the Sorbonne. The king of France, his court, and the university were very sorry for the loss, as his equal was not at Paris, and he would have been of singular service in reforming the church, and bringing about a union.

At this time, there was at Avignon a clerk well skilled in science, doctor of laws, and auditor of the palace: he was a native of the archbishopric of Rheims, and called sir John de Varennes. He was much advanced in the church for the services he had rendered pope Clement and others, and was on the point of being a bishop or cardinal. He had also been chaplain to a cardinal, called, at Avignon, Saint Peter of Luxembourg. This John de Varennes, beneficed and advanced as he was, resigned all, retaining only, for his subsistence, the canonry of our Lady at Rheims, which is worth, by residence, one hundred francs; otherwise not more than thirty. He quitted Avignon, returned to his native country, and fixed his abode at the village of Saint Lye, near Rheims, where he led a devout life, preaching the faith and works of our Lord, and praising the pope of Avignon. He declared he was the true pope, condemning, by his speeches, that of Rome. He was much attended to, and followed by the people, who came to see him from all countries, for the sober and holy life he led, fasting daily, and for the fine sermons he preached. Some, however, said, that the cardinals at Avignon had sent him thither to support their cause, and to exhibit the holiness of his life, which was devout enough to have entitled him to be raised to the papacy. Master John de Varennes would not allow himself to be called the holy man of Saint Lye, but simply the Auditor. He lived with his mother, and every day said mass very devoutly. All that was given him, for he asked for nothing, he distributed in alms to the glory of God.

We will now leave him, and speak of other matters.

CHAPTER LX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ADVISED TO MAKE A JOURNEY TO IRELAND,—AND TO SETTLE ON THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND HIS HEIRS FOR EVER, THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE WITH ALL ITS DEPENDENCIES.

The truces that had been agreed to between the kings of France and England, and their allies, were well observed on sea and land. There were, however, some pillagers still in Languedoc, who came from foreign countries, such as Gascony, Béarn, and Germany. Sir John de Grailly, bastard-son to the late captal de Buch, a young and expert knight, was governor of the strong castle of Bouteville. You may suppose that the captains of such forts as Lourde in Bigorre, on the borders of Arragon, Bouteville on the frontiers of Saintonge, near la Rochelle, and Mortaign, were sorely vexed they could no longer overrun the country and make their accustomed pillage from the neighbouring towns. They had

been particularly forbidden to infringe the articles of the truce, under pain of being severely punished.

At this period, an expedition against Ireland was proposed in the English council; for, in the truces king Richard had agreed to with France and her allies, young as he was, he had reserved Ireland from being included, as his predecessors had always claimed it as their right; and his grandfather, king Edward of happy memory, had signed himself king and lord of Ireland, and had continued his wars against the natives notwithstanding his pressure from other quarters. The young knights and squires of England, eager to signalise themselves in arms, were rejoiced to learn that king Richard intended leading a large power of men at arms and archers into Ireland, and that he had declared he would not return thence until he should have finally settled everything to his satisfaction. It was, at the same council, ordered, that the duke of Lancaster, who in his time had laboured hard, on sea and land, for the augmentation of the honour of England, should make a journey to Aquitaine, with five hundred men at arms and one thousand archers. He was to embark at Plymouth or Southampton, as he pleased, and sail for Guienne or Aquitaine. It was the intention of king Richard and his council, that the duke of Lancaster should hold in perpetuity, for himself and heirs, the whole territory of Aquitaine, with all its seneschalships and domains, in such manner as king Edward of England, his father, and the former dukes of Aquitaine, had held them, and which king Richard held at this moment, with the reserve of homage to the kings of England. The duke of Lancaster was to enjoy all other rights, lordships, and rents, which stipulation was confirmed by the king, wholly and fully, under his seal.

The duke of Lancaster was very thankful for this magnificent gift, as he had reason to be; for in truth the duchy of Aquitaine has wherewithal to enable its lord to keep a grand state. The deed which was to establish this gift, having been properly engrossed, was carefully examined, and passed with great deliberation of council, in the presence of the king, his uncles the dukes of York and Gloucester, the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Derby (son to the duke of Lancaster), the earl marshal, the earl of Rostellant *, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, sir Thomas Percy, the lords Despencer and Beaumont, sir William Arundel, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishop of London, and of all those who were entitled to be present, whether prelates or barons. The duke of Lancaster thanked, in the first place, the king his nephew, then his brothers, and the barons and prelates of the council. After which he began to make most sumptuous preparations for crossing the sea, and taking possession of the duchy the king had invested him with. Purveyors were likewise busy in preparing, on a large scale, for the king's expedition to Ireland; and those lords who were to accompany him were ordered to make preparations of whatever things they might think necessary.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE DEATH OF THE LADY ANNE OF BOHEMIA, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LANDS IN AQUITAINE, AND THE KING OF ENGLAND IN IRELAND.

The king of England and the duke of Lancaster were daily occupied in their preparations for leaving England, and had sent their men and purveyances to the different ports they were to embark from; the one to Ireland, and the other to Aquitaine; but their expedition was delayed for about two months by an event I will now relate. At this period, the lady Anne, queen of England, fell sick, to the great distress of the king and her household. Her disorder increased so rapidly that she departed this life on the feast of Whitsuntide, in the year of grace, 1394. The king and all who loved her were greatly afflicted at her death. She was buried in the cathedral church of London †; but her obsequies were performed at leisure, for the king would have them magnificently done. Abundance of wax was sent for from Flanders to make flambeaux and torches, and the illumination

* Rostellant. Q. Rutland.

† "On the 7th of June, queen Anne died at Shene in Surrey, and was buried at Westminster. The king took her death so heavily that, besides cursing the place where she died, he did also, for anger, throw down the buildings, unto the which former kings, being weary of the city, were wont for pleasure to resort."

Stowe's Chronicle.



The death of Anne of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II.



Richard IIndus setting out upon his invasion of Ireland.

was so great on the day of the ceremony, that nothing was ever seen like to it before, not at the burial of the good queen Philippa nor of any other. The king would have it so, because she was daughter to the king of Bohemia, emperor of Rome and of Germany. He was inconsolable for her loss, as they mutually loved each other, having been married young. This queen left no issue, for she had never borne children.

Thus in the same year were the king, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Derby made widowers. There was no talk of the king's marrying again, for he would not hear of it. Although the expeditions to Ireland and Aquitaine were delayed by the queen's death, those lords who were named to go to Ireland did not fail continuing their preparations; and, as their purveyances were ready, they sent them across the sea to Ireland from Brisco* and Lolighet† in Wales; and the conductors were ordered to carry them to a city on the coast of Ireland, called Dimelin‡, which had always been steadily attached to England, and was an archbishopric: the archbishop of which place was with the king.



Richard II. on his Voyage to Ireland. Metrical History of Richard II. Harleian MSS.

Soon after Saint John Baptist's day, king Richard left London, and took the road for Wales, amusing himself by hunting on the way, to forget the loss of his queen. Those ordered to attend him began their journey, such as his two uncles of York and Gloucester, with grand array, as did the other lords: the earl of Kent, half-brother to the king, sir Thomas Holland, his son, the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, the earl marshal, the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, sir William Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, sir Thomas Percy his brother, high steward of England, the earls of Devonshire and Nottingham, with numbers of knights and squires. A considerable body remained at home to guard the borders of Scotland; for the Scots are a wicked race, and pay not any regard to truces or respites, but as it suits their own convenience.

At the time the king of England undertook this expedition, he had not the company of his other half-brother, sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon, for he was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai, and was to return through Hungary. Having heard at Paris, as he passed through France, where he had been handsomely treated

* "Brisco." Q. Bristol.

† "Lolighet." Q. Holyhead.

‡ "Dimelin." Q. Dublin.

by the king and his court, in respect to the king of England, that the king of Hungary and Amurat* were to have a battle, he declared he would not fail being present.

The duke of Lancaster and his array arrived at Plymouth, where transports waited to carry them across the sea. When his men and purveyances were all on board, they weighed anchor, and steered with a favourable wind for Bordeaux.

We will return to the king of England, who had with him full four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand archers. They were shipped at three different places, Bristol, Holyhead, and Herford†, and passed over daily; but it was a month before the whole armament and their horses landed in Ireland. On the other hand, there was in Ireland a valiant English knight, called the earl of Ormond, who, like his predecessors, held lands in that country, but they were disputed, and he had made similar preparations to his ancestors.

The earl marshal had the command of the van, consisting of fifteen hundred lances and two thousand archers, who prudently and valiantly conducted themselves. King Richard and his uncles embarked at Haverford in Wales, many at Holyhead, and others at Bristol, and the whole landed without any loss. As they disembarked, by orders from the constable and marshals, they quartered themselves on the country, occupying a large uninhabited tract, of about thirty English miles, beside the city of Dublin. The army lodged themselves prudently, for fear of the Irish: had they done otherwise, they would have suffered for it. The king, his uncles, and prelates, were quartered in Dublin and near it; and I was told that, during the whole campaign, they were well supplied with all sorts of provision; for the English are expert in war, and know well how to forage and take proper care of themselves and horses. I will relate the history of this campaign of king Richard, and what befel him, according to the information I received.

CHAPTER LXII.—SIR JOHN FROISSART ARRIVES IN ENGLAND, AND IS PRESENTED TO KING RICHARD BY THE DUKE OF YORK, UNCLE TO THE KING.

In truth, I, sir John Froissart, treasurer and canon of Chimay, in the county of Hainault, and diocese of Liege, had, during my stay at Abbeville, a great desire to go and see the kingdom of England: more especially since a truce had been concluded, for four years, on sea and land, between France, England, and their allies. Several reasons urged me to make this journey, but principally because in my youth I had been educated at the court of king Edward, of happy memory, and that good lady, Philippa, his queen, with their children, and others of the barons of those times, and was treated by them with all honour, courtesy, and liberality. I was anxious, therefore, to visit that country, for it ran in my imagination that if I once again saw it, I should live the longer; for twenty-seven years past I had intentions of going thither, and if I should not meet with the lords whom I had left there, I should at least see their heirs, who would likewise be of great service to me in the verification of the many histories I have related of them.

I mentioned my purpose to my very dear patrons, the lord duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and lord of Frizeland; to the lord William his son, styled count d'Ostrevant; to my dear and much honoured lady Joan, duchess of Brabant and Luxembourg; and to my very much respected lord Enguerrand, lord of Coucy; as well as to that gallant knight, the lord de Gomegines. We had both, during our youth, arrived together at the English court, where I saw also the lord de Coucy, and all the nobles of France, who were hostages for the redemption of king John of France, which has been before related in this history. The three lords above mentioned, as well as the lord de Gomegines, and madame de Brabant, on my telling them my intentions, encouraged me to persevere, and they all gave me letters of introduction to the king and his uncles, with the reserve of the lord de Coucy, who, from being now so much attached to France, could only write to his daughter, the duchess of Ireland.

* The person thus called was the sultan Bajazet I. who began his reign 1391.

† From what follows, I suppose this must mean Haverford-west, in Pembrokeshire, as it is pronounced Harford.

I had taken care to form a collection of all the poetry on love and morality that I had composed during the last twenty-four years, which I had caused to be fairly written and illuminated. I was also incited to go to England and see king Richard, son to the noble and valiant prince of Wales and Aquitaine, whom I had not seen since the time of his christening in the cathedral church of Bordeaux. I was then present, and had intentions of accompanying the prince of Wales in his expedition to Spain; but, when we came to the city of Dax, the prince sent me back to the queen his mother in England. I was desirous, therefore, to pay my respects to the king of England and his uncles, and had provided myself with my book of poesy finely ornamented, bound in velvet, and decorated with silver-gilt clasps and studs, as a present for the king. Having this intention, I spared no pains; and the cost and labour seem trifling to people, whenever they undertake anything willingly.

Having provided myself with horses, I crossed from Calais to Dover on the 12th day of July; but found no one there whom I had been acquainted with in my former journeys: the inns were all kept by new people, and the children of my former acquaintance were become men and women. I staid half a day and night to refresh myself and horses; and on Wednesday, by nine o'clock, arrived at Canterbury to visit the shrine of Saint Thomas and the tomb of the late prince of Wales, who had been buried there with great pomp. I heard high mass, made my offering at the shrine, and returned to my inn to dinner, when I heard the king was to come the following day in pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Becket. He was lately returned from Ireland, where he had remained for nine months, or thereabouts, and was anxious to pay his devotions in this church, on account of the holy body of the saint, and because his father was there buried. I thought, therefore, it would be well to wait his arrival, which I did; and, on the morrow, the king came in great state, accompanied by lords and ladies, with whom I mixed; but they were all new faces to me, for I did not remember one of them.

Times and persons had greatly changed since I was last in England, eight-and-twenty years past. The king had not either of his uncles with him: the duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine, and the dukes of York and Gloucester in other parts. I was at first quite astonished, and should have been comforted could I have seen an ancient knight who had been of the bed-chamber to king Edward, and was in the same capacity to the present king, as well as of his privy council, and could I have made myself known to him. The name of this knight was sir Richard Sturry. I asked if he were alive: they said he was, but not then present, as he was at his residence in London. I then determined to address myself to sir Thomas Percy, high steward of England. I found him gracious and of agreeable manners, and he offered to present me and my letters to the king. I was rejoiced at this promise; for it is necessary to have friends to introduce one to so great a prince as the king of England. He went to the king's apartments to see if it were a proper time, but found the king had retired to repose: he therefore bade me return to my inn. When I thought the king might be risen, I went again to the palace of the archbishop, where he lodged; but sir Thomas Percy and his people were preparing to set out for Ospringe, whence he had come that morning. I asked sir Thomas's advice how to act: "For the present," he said, "do not make further attempts to announce your arrival, but follow the king; and I will take care, when he comes to his palace in this country, which he will do in two days, that you shall be well lodged as long as the court tarries there."

The king was going to a beautiful palace in the county of Kent, called Leeds castle, and I followed sir Thomas Percy's advice by taking the road to Ospringe. I lodged at an inn where I found a gallant knight of the king's chamber, but he had that morning staid behind on account of a slight pain in his head that had seized him the preceding night. This knight, whose name was sir William de Lisle, seeing I was a foreigner and a Frenchman (for all who speak the language of Oil* are by the English considered as Frenchmen, whatever country they may come from), made acquaintance with me, and I with him, for the English

* La Langue d'Oil, was the language spoken in the north of France, in contra-distinction to the Langue d'Oc, the dialect of the south, whence the name of the province Languedoc. Oil and Oc, are now both superseded by the modern "Oui."—Ed.

are courteous to strangers. He asked my situation and business in England, which I related to him at length, as well as what sir Thomas Percy had advised me to do. He replied, that I could not have had better advice, for that the king would on Friday be at Leeds castle, and would find there his uncle the duke of York. I was well pleased to hear this, for I had letters to the duke, and, when young, was known to him while in the household of the late king and queen.

I courted the acquaintance of sir William de Lisle, as a means of gaining greater intimacy with the king's household. On the Friday, we rode out together, and on the road I asked if he had accompanied the king on his expedition to Ireland. He said he had. I then asked if there were any foundation in truth for what was said of St. Patrick's hole*. He replied there was; and that he and another knight, during the king's stay at Dublin, had been there. They entered it at sunset, remained there the whole night, and came out at sun-rise the next morning. I requested he would tell me whether he saw all the marvellous things which are said to be seen there. He made me the following answer:—"When I and my companion had passed the entrance of the cave, called the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, we descended three or four steps (for you go down into it like a cellar), but found our heads so much affected by the heat, we seated ourselves on the steps, which are of stone, and such a drowsiness came on, that we slept there the whole night." I asked, if, when asleep, they knew where they were, and what visions they had. He said, they had many very strange dreams, and they seemed, as they imagined, to see more than they would have done if they had been in their beds. This they both were assured of. "When morning came, and we were awake, the door of the cave was opened, for so we had ordered it, and we came out, but instantly lost all recollection of everything we had seen, and looked on the whole as a phantom." I did not push the conversation further, although I should have much liked to have heard what he would say of Ireland; but other knights overtook us, and conversed with him; and thus we rode to Leeds castle, where the king and his court arrived shortly after. The duke of York was already there; and I made myself known to him, by presenting him letters from his cousins, the count of Hainault and the count d'Ostrevant. The duke recollected me, and made me a hearty welcome, saying,—"Sir John, keep with us and our people; for we will show you every courtesy and attention: we are bounden so to do, from remembrance of past times, and affection to the memory of our lady-mother, to whom

* "Nothing has rendered this county (Donegal) so famous as the cave discovered by the patron saint of Ireland, or his namesake, abbot of Nevers, about four hundred years after, in which the holy monk obtained a constant exhibition of the torments of the wicked, for the edification of the Irish. But that it could not be Saint Patrick who first invented it, is plain from his silence about it in his book 'de tribus habitaculis,' heaven, earth, and hell. Henry or Hugh, monk of Saltrey, in Huntingdonshire, was the first who wrote about it, and what one Owen or Tyndal, a soldier, had seen there. It was about sixteen feet and a half long, by two feet one inch wide, built of freestone, covered with broad flags, and green turf laid over them, and was so low and narrow, that a tall man could hardly sit, much less stand in it. In the side was a window just wide enough to admit a faint ray of light: in the floor a cavity capable of containing a man at his length; and, under a large stone at the end of the pavement, a deep pit, which had opened at the prayers of the saint. The bottom of the cave was originally much below the surface of the ground. It stood on the east side of the church, in the church-yard, encompassed with a wall, and surrounded by circles or cells, called *the beds*, scarcely three feet high, denominated from several saints. The penitents who visited this island, after fasting on bread and water for nine days, and making processions round these holy stations thrice a-day barefoot, for the first seven days, and six times on the eighth, washing their weary limbs each night in the adjoining lake, on the ninth enter the cave. Here they observe a twenty-four hours' fast, tasting only a little water, and, upon quitting it, bathe in the lake, and so conclude the solemnity. The original preparatory fast, as we learn from Matthew Paris, was fifteen days, and as long after quitting the cave, out of which all who entered did not return.

"Leave being first obtained of the bishop of the diocese, the prior represented to the penitents all the horror and difficulty of the undertaking, suggesting to them at the same time an easier penance. If they persevered in their resolution, they were conducted to the door with a procession from the convent, and, after twenty-four hours, confinement, let out next morning with the like ceremony. In this recess, enlightened only by a kind of twilight, which discovered a field and hall, Owen was first visited by fifteen persons clothed in white, like religious, newly shorn, who encouraged him against the horrid scenes that were next to present themselves to his view. They were succeeded by troops of demons, who began with laying him on a burning pile, which he soon extinguished, by pronouncing the name of Christ. They then dragged him through the several scenes of torment, where the wicked suffered all the variety of tortures of ancient Tartarus; and, standing proof against all these horrors, he was favoured with a full view and description of paradise, by two venerable prelates, who refused to let him stay there. He met with the same demons and monks as he went out of the cave, after which he visited the holy sepulchre, and, at his return, taking upon him the habit assisted in founding Besmagovcisth Abbey."—*Gough's Addition to Camden*, p. 641, vol. 3.

you were attached. We have not forgotten these times." I warmly thanked him, as was just, for his kind speech, and was well noticed by him, sir Thomas Percy, and sir William de Lisle, who carried me to the king's chamber, where I was introduced to him by his uncle, the duke of York.

The king received me graciously and kindly; he took all the letters I presented to him, and, having read them attentively, said I was welcome, and that since I had belonged to the household of the late king and queen, his grandfather and grandmother, I must consider myself still as of the royal household of England. This day I did not offer him the book I had brought; for sir Thomas Percy told me it was not a fit opportunity, as he was much occupied with serious business. The council was deeply engaged on two subjects; first, in respect to the negotiation with France, to treat of a marriage between the king and the lady Isabella, eldest daughter to the king of France, who at that time was about eight years old. The ambassadors appointed to make this proposal to France, were the earl of Rutland, cousin-german to the king, the earl marshal, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Lye, the lord Clifford, lord Beaumont, lord Hugh Spencer, and several others*.

Secondly, the lord de la Barde, the lord de la Taride, the lord de Pinterne, the lord de Châteauneauf, the lords de Levesque and de Copane, the chief magistrates of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Dax, were come to England, and greatly persecuted the king, since his return from Ireland, for an answer to their petitions and remonstrances on the gift the king had made his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, of all Aquitaine, with its lordships, baronies, and dependencies, which had appertained to the king and crown of England. The above-mentioned lords, and principal cities and towns in Aquitaine, maintained that such a gift could not be made, and that it was null; for that the whole of Aquitaine was a fief depending solely on the crown of England, and that they would never consent thus to be disjoined from it. They had made several reasonable propositions for an accommodation, which I will relate in proper time and place. In order that these matters might be more fully considered, and indeed they required it, the king had summoned the principal barons and prelates of the realm to meet him on Magdalen-day, at his palace of Eltham, seven miles from London, and the same distance from Dartford. On the fourth day after the king's arrival, when I learnt that he, his council, and the duke of York, were about to quit Leeds castle and go to Rochester, in their way to Eltham, I set out in their company.

CHAPTER LXVI.—THE INFORMATION FROISSART GAINS IN ENGLAND, TOUCHING THE OPPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF AQUITAINE TO THE GIFT THE KING OF ENGLAND HAD MADE OF IT TO HIS UNCLE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.—THE COMMISSIONERS SENT TO REMONSTRATE ON THE MATTER WITH THE KING, CANNOT OBTAIN A DECISIVE ANSWER RELATIVE THERETO.

On the road to Rochester, I asked sir William de Lisle and sir John de Grailly, governor of Bouteville, the cause of the king's journey to London, and why the parliament was to be assembled at Eltham. They both answered me satisfactorily; but sir John Grailly particularly informed me why the lords of Gascony, and the deputies from the chief towns were come to England. He was so well acquainted with them, being as it were from the same country and fellow subjects to England, that they hid nothing from him. He said, "that when the duke of Lancaster came last to Aquitaine, he was provided with deeds sealed with the great seal of England, which had been regularly agreed to in parliament and signed by the dukes of York and Gloucester, to whom Aquitaine might possibly revert, by succession, to king Richard of England, who had no children, and these two dukes were brothers-german, by father and mother, to the duke of Lancaster. The

* See the Fœdera for full particulars. The ambassadors were the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Saint David's, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal and sir William Scrope. They were to propose also a marriage between the earl of Rutland and the youngest daughter of the king of France.

The instructions to these ambassadors are dated "Leeds Castle, 8th day of July 1395."

duke of Lancaster sent part of his council to Bordeaux, to inform the mayor and magistrates of his coming and the cause of it. They were greatly surprised on hearing it; but, notwithstanding, they well feasted the commissioners he had sent, in honour to the king, to whom they owed service and obedience. They desired time to consider of their answer, which being granted, they replied, that the duke of Lancaster, as son to king Edward of happy memory, who had been their lord, was welcome, but not in any other capacity, as they had not as yet sufficiently weighed the matter to determine on receiving him as their lord; for their sovereign, king Richard, to whom they had sworn fealty, had not acquitted them of their obedience. The duke's commissioners replied, that as to this, the duke would take upon himself to satisfy them they should never have any trouble from his nephew the king of England. When those of Bordeaux saw themselves thus hardly pressed, they made another excuse by saying,—"Gentlemen, the grant we perceive includes not only us but the cities of Bayonne and Dax, and the prelates and barons of Gascony who are under the obedience of the king of England. Go to them, and as they shall regulate we will do the same." The commissioners, not being able to get any other answer, left Bordeaux, and returned to the duke of Lancaster at Libourne. When the duke heard the above answer, he became very thoughtful, and foresaw that the business he was come upon would not be so soon settled as he had at first imagined, or had been made to understand. He sent, however, his commissioners to Bayonne, who were received by the Bayonnois in just the same manner as they had been received at Bordeaux, nor could they obtain a different answer.

At length, the prelates, barons, and deputies from all the towns of Gascony under the obedience of England, assembled, and, having debated the justice of the king of England's grant to the duke of Lancaster, came to the following conclusion. They were very willing to receive in their castles, cities, and towns, the duke of Lancaster, as son to the noble king Edward of happy memory, and as uncle to king Richard of England; but on condition he would solemnly swear, that himself and people would peaceably demean themselves during their stay, and that they would not take anything by force, but pay ready money for whatever they might want; nor should he, the duke of Lancaster, extend the powers of the crown to oppress any one, nor do so by other means. The duke replied, that he was not come to hurt or oppress the people, but, on the contrary, to guard and defend them as his own inheritance, and intreated that the will of the king of England should be complied with. But the country, with one voice declared they would not be disjoined from the crown of England, and that it was not in the power of the king of England thus to turn them over to another. This matter was disputed for a long time between the duke of Lancaster, and the Gascons; and when he saw he could not prevail on them to receive him as their lord, he requested they would send sufficiently-authorised persons to the king of England, as he would do on his part, and whatever the parliament of England should determine, whether in his favour or not, he would abide by. The Gascons thinking this a very reasonable proposal from the duke, agreed to it; and he then came with his attendants to reside among them, at his former lodgings in the abbey of Saint Andrew. The prelates and barons of Gascony as well as the cities of Bayonne and Dax, selected proper commissioners to send to England.

When the king of France, his uncles, and ministers, heard for certain that the duke of Lancaster had been peaceably received in Bordeaux, and that he had there fixed his residence, they knew not what to think of it, nor whether he would adhere to the truces that had been made between France and England. This gave them so much uneasiness that they resolved to send ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster to learn his intentions. The lord de Boucicaut, marshal of France, sir John de Châteaumorant and sir John Barrois des Barres, were chosen for this purpose, and they were to have under their command one thousand well appointed men at arms. They left Paris, and continued their march to Agen, where they quartered themselves as well as in the surrounding country: they then sent heralds and messengers to the duke of Lancaster, in the city of Bordeaux, to notify their wishes to speak with him. The duke made the messengers good cheer, heard what they had to say, and wrote back to their lords, that since they were desirous to speak with him, he was as anxious to meet them;

and, in order to give them less trouble, would go to Bergerac, where they would confer together. The messengers, on their return to Agen, gave their lords the letter from the duke of Lancaster, which satisfied them as to their safety, and they made preparations accordingly. As soon as they heard of the duke's arrival at Bergerac, they left the city of Agen, and marched thither, where they found the gates open to receive them. The lords entered the town, and went to the hotels which had been prepared for them; but their men lodged themselves in the suburbs and adjacent villages. The three lords waited on the duke of Lancaster, who kindly received them, as he knew well how to do; and in reply to what they urged, he said, "that he wished to be always a good neighbour, and on friendly terms with the king and realm of France, and to adhere to every article of the truces that had been lately made between France, England, and their allies. He had been very active in forming these truces, and of course would be unwilling any way to infringe them; and of this they might be perfectly assured."

The answer of the duke was highly gratifying to the French lords, who remained with him on the most friendly terms. He entertained them grandly at dinner and supper in the castle of Bergerac, after which they separated in a very amicable manner. The duke returned to Bordeaux, and the French lords towards Paris; but in their way they met the duke of Berry in Poitiers, to whom they related all they had done, and the duke of Lancaster's answer. The duke of Berry thought it satisfactory and reasonable, as did the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, when the three lords reported it to them, on their arrival at Paris. Things remained on this assurance quiet. "What after happened I have told you," added sir John de Grailly; "for the duke of Lancaster sent hither some of the principal of his council, such as sir William de la Perriere, sir Peter Cliqueton, and two doctors of laws, master John Huche and master John Richards de Lincestre, to plead his cause before the king, his uncles and council*. It is for this reason the king is now going to Eltham; for as Thursday next is Magdalen-day, the parliament will meet there. What decision they will come to, I cannot say; but this I know, that the duke of Gloucester will be present, and be violent in his support of the duke of Lancaster's claims; for I have heard from some of the English who ought to know, that he would cheerfully see his brother firmly established in Guyenne, and never to return to England, for he finds him his superior, and for this reason is desirous he should gain the duchy of Aquitaine. The duke of Gloucester has a good head, but is proud, and wonderfully overbearing in his manners. Let him say or act as he pleases, he is always popular with the commonalty, for they are mutually attached to each other. He was the cause of the execution of that valiant knight, sir Simon Burley. He it was, likewise, who caused the banishment of the duke of Ireland, the archbishop of York and other knights of the king's council, who were either put to death on very slight grounds, or forced into foreign countries, during the time the duke of Lancaster, who is more feared than loved in this country, was in Castille.

"Let us for the present," said sir John de Grailly, "quit this matter, and speak of the second object that occupies the council. It seems to me, from what I have seen and heard, that the king of England wishes to marry again, and has had researches made everywhere, but in vain, for a suitable lady. If the duke of Burgundy or count of Hainault had daughters of a proper age, he would not be averse to either; but they have none that are not already betrothed. He has been told that the king of Navarre has sisters and daughters, but he will not hear of them. The duke of Gloucester has likewise a grown up girl and marriageable, and he would be well pleased if his nephew would choose her; but the king says, she is too nearly related, being his cousin-german. King Richard's thoughts are so bent on the eldest daughter of the king of France, he will not hear of any other: it causes great wonder in this country that he should be so eager to marry the daughter of his adversary, and he is not the better beloved for it. This he seems indifferent to, and plainly shows that henceforward he will prefer war with any country rather than with France. It is known from experience how anxious he was that a stable peace should be established between the two countries; for he said the wars had lasted too long between him and his predecessors with France, and

* Hollingshed calls them sir William Perreer,—sir Peter Clifton,—master John Huich,—and master John Richards, a canon of Leicester.

that too many valiant men had been slain on both sides, to the great weakening of the defenders of the Christian faith. To put this idea out of the king's mind, for it is no way agreeable to the people of England that he should connect himself by marriage with France, they have told him the lady was by far too young, and that for five or six years to come she would not be of a proper age for a wife. He replied by saying, that every day she would increase in age. In addition to this, he gave pleasantly his reasons for his preferring her: that since she was so young, he should educate her, and bring her up to his own mind, and to the manners of the English; and that for himself, he was young enough to wait until she should be of proper age for his wife. Nothing can make him change this resolution, and before you leave this country, you may perhaps witness many strange things. It is for this and the other business I mentioned that he is journeying towards London."

With such conversation did sir John de Grailly entertain me while travelling between Rochester and Dartford. He was the bastard-son of that gallant knight the captal de Buch. I eagerly listened to all he said, and treasured his words in my memory; for I rode chiefly in his company, and with sir William de Lisle, the whole way from Leeds castle to Eltham

The king arrived at Eltham on a Tuesday. On the Wednesday, the lords came from all parts. There were the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, the earl marshal, the archbishops of Canterbury and of York, the bishops of London and of Winchester: in short, all who had been summoned arrived at Eltham on the Thursday, by eight o'clock in the morning. The parliament was holden in the king's apartment, in the presence of the king, his uncles, and council. The knights from Gascony and the deputies from the cities and towns, as well as those sent by the duke of Lancaster, were present.

I cannot say what passed at this parliament, for I was not admitted, nor were any but the members of it. It sat for upwards of four hours. When it was over, I renewed my acquaintance after dinner with an ancient knight whom in my youth I well knew, when he was of the chamber of king Edward. He was now one of the principal advisers of king Richard, and deserving of it: his name was sir Richard Sturry. He immediately recollected me, though it was twenty-four years since we had seen each other; the last time was at Colleberge*, at Brussels, in the hôtel of duke Winceslaus and the duchess Jane of Brabant. Sir Richard Sturry seemed very glad to see me, and made me a hearty welcome. He asked many questions, which I answered as fully and as well as I could. While we were walking near the king's apartment at Eltham, I inquired if he could inform me what had been the determination of the parliament: having mused awhile, he said he would tell me, for it was not worth while to conceal what must shortly be made public.

"You know," continued the knight, "or have heard, that the duke of Lancaster left England for Aquitaine, on receiving the magnificent gift the king our lord made him. The king loves all who pretend friendship for him, but particularly the duke of Lancaster; and out of gratitude, which he strongly feels, for the great services the duke has done the crown, as well on this as on the other side of the sea, the king has given him and to his heirs for ever the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine, with all its dependencies, excepting the homage, which is the sole thing he has reserved for the crown of England in times to come. This gift has gone through every legal form, with the approbation and consent of his other uncles and the English parliament. The king has specially commanded all his subjects within the boundaries of Aquitaine to obey punctually his well-beloved uncle the duke of Lancaster as their sovereign lord, and to pay him homage and service, in the usual manner as they have done to their lords in former times. Should any prove rebellious to these orders, the king gives the duke of Lancaster full powers to punish such within three days after their disobedience, without any expectation of support from him. It has happened, however, that notwithstanding these strict orders of the king, the barons, knights, gentlemen, cities and towns of Gascony, under the obedience of England, have united together in opposition

* "Colleberge." I do not understand this passage, for the town of Colberg is in the duchy of Pomerania. It never could have been there they met. There is a full stop at the end of Colleberg in the printed and MS. copies: the MSS. say fourteen years instead of twenty-four.

to the duke of Lancaster, and refuse to obey him, declaring and maintaining that the gift the king made his uncle of Lancaster is null and void. The duke, who is desirous of acting in this business by fair means, has listened to their reasonings on the subject, and advised, to prevent further mischief, that they should send hither properly-instructed persons to lay their complaints before the king, and declare their reasons for having opposed his orders.

"They have certainly this day very ably explained the cause of refusing their obedience to the duke of Lancester, and have given the king and his council enough to think upon. They will probably succeed in their mission, and I will tell you my reasons for so thinking; but you will keep them secret, until the matter shall become more public." I replied, that he might depend on my doing it. He then continued: "I believe it was the official of Bordeaux, who, for his learning was their spokesman;—he began by showing their procurations from the different towns, that greater faith might be given to what he should say. He then declared, that 'the cities of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and all the lordships dependent on them, or within their limits and jurisdictions, are of such noble condition, that no king of England, by any act of his, can disjoin them from the domain of the crown of England, nor alienate or dispose of them to any child, uncle, or brother he may have, nor by any way of marriage-settlement nor otherwise. The above-named towns have received, from different kings of England, certain privileges, which their successors have sworn to maintain without any infringement; and the moment a king of England comes into possession of the crown of England and its dependencies, he swears, on the missal in his hand, to preserve inviolate all their privileges, which you, dear sire, have also done, as these papers will prove.' He then produced charters, fairly engrossed and sealed with the great seal of England, which king Richard, who was then present, had given them, and read the whole, clause by clause. The contents of the charters were well understood, for they were in Latin and French; and at the end he named several great barons and prelates, to the number of eleven, who had been nominated as sureties.

"When the papers were read, each lord looked at his neighbour and to the king, but not one said a word in reply. The official, having finished reading his deeds, thus spoke, addressing himself to the king: 'Most beloved and renowned sovereign, and you, my dear lords, all what you have just heard, am I charged by the deputies of the principal towns and inhabitants of Gascony to lay before you, and to maintain their dependence solely on the crown of England, as the charters that have been shown plainly declare. Should the country be inclined to receive the duke of Lancaster for its lord, and be freed from the service and homage it owes you, the loss would be very great to England; for if, at this moment, the duke is attached to the king, and attentive to preserve the privileges of the crown of England, that love and affection will, in course of time, be much weakened by his successive heirs, and by intermarriages that may take place: it is necessary that marriages should be concluded between great princes, for the more effectually preserving the love of their subjects. Now it may happen, in times to come, that the heirs of the duke of Lancaster shall unite themselves by marriage with the daughters of the kings of France, the dukes of Berry, Brittany, the counts of Foix or of Armagnac, the kings of Navarre, the dukes of Anjou or of Maine, and form alliances with their connexions on the other side of the sea, claiming the whole sovereignty of Guyenne, and ruining the country, by putting it in opposition to England. The king of England would probably, in such a case, have great difficulty in recovering the rights due to the crown. Condescend, therefore, most noble king, and you, my dear lords, to consider well all the reasons I have laid before you; for the whole country is unanimous and determined to remain under the obedience of our much redoubted lord and king, and in dependence on the crown of England.' The official here ended his speech; and the prelates and lords, looking to each other, approached the king, conducted by his two uncles and the earls of Derby and Arundel.

"It was then suggested to those who had come from Aquitaine, to leave the chamber until called for, which they did, with the two knights who had been sent by the duke of Lancaster. This being done, the king demanded from the prelates and barons what answer should be made. The prelates referred the answer to the two uncles of the king, because the matter more nearly affected them. At first, they excused themselves, saying, it was a

public concern, and should be deliberated on in common, and not treated as any matter of favour. The business thus remained for some time; but the duke of Gloucester being desired to give his opinion, he said, it would be a strong measure to take from the king a gift that he had made with the unanimous consent of his council, and that had been invested with every legal form, because his subjects were rebellious; that the king was not lord of his inheritance if he could not dispose of it as he pleased. Some commented on this speech, while others had the courage to say the answer was not reasonable, though they dared not contradict it; for the duke of Gloucester was much feared. The earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster, added, 'Good uncle, you have well spoken, and justly explained the matter, and I support what you have said.' The council on this began to separate, and to murmur one to another; but they did not call in the envoys from Guyenne, nor those from the duke of Lancaster."

Here the old knight ended the conversation; but I learnt from him afterwards, that when the king heard this, he dissembled his opinion, with the intention of again summoning his council after dinner, to know if any measures, more to the advantage of the crown, should be adopted, or if anything further should be done in respect to Aquitaine.

The king made the archbishop of Canterbury speak on the business of his marriage, as he had ordered him in the morning, and who should be sent to France, for he was very earnest that this matter should be accomplished. It had before been in debate, and was nearly agreed to, and those were named who were to cross the sea, although their instructions had not been given to them. In this council it was ordered, that the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Rutland, the earl-marshal, the lord Beaumont, sir Hugh Spencer, sir Lewis Clifford, to the number of twenty knights and forty squires of honour, should wait on the king of France and propose a treaty of marriage between the king of England and the lady Isabella, his daughter, who might then be about eight years old. She had been betrothed before to the duke of Brittany's son, as you have seen when the meeting took place, and peace was made between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, at Tours. To break this would be difficult, for the king of France and his uncles had put their seals to the treaty. Notwithstanding this obstacle, the English ambassadors, having received their instructions, left London, and crossing the sea at Dover, arrived in two or three days at Calais. They staid there five days to refresh themselves and their horses, and then departed, taking the road to Amiens, having sent before the Irish herald March, who had brought them passports from the king of France on his return to Calais. The lord de Monchourel * was also sent as a guide, and to have all cities and towns opened to them, as well as to provide for what they might want. We will leave them for a little, and return to the matters we were before speaking of.

As I have mentioned, the deputies from Gascony and from the chief towns in Aquitaine were earnest in their solicitations to the king and council that they might remain attached to the crown of England, according to their ancient rights and privileges, which it had been repeatedly sworn should be observed, in spite of every cause, obstacle, or condition to the contrary. Three parts of the council, and the unanimous voice of the people of England, were on their side; but Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, youngest son to the late king Edward, opposed them, and plainly showed he wished his brother of Lancaster to be detained in Aquitaine, for he felt he was too powerful when in England, and too nearly allied to the king. As for his brother of York, he held him cheap, for he interfered little in public affairs, and was without malice or guile, wishing only to live in quiet: he had beside just married a young and beautiful wife, daughter to the earl of Kent, with whom he spent most of his time which was not occupied with other amusements. The duke of Gloucester was cunning and malicious, and continually soliciting favours from his nephew king Richard, pleading poverty, though he abounded in wealth; for he was constable of England, duke of Gloucester, earl of Buckingham, Essex, and Northampton. He had, beside, pensions on the king's exchequer, to the amount of four thousand nobles a-year; and he would not exert himself in any way to serve his king or country, if he were not well paid for it. He was violently adverse to those of Aquitaine in this business, and did everything in his

* Monchourel. In the MSS. Mont-caurel.



Sir John Froissart presenting his book of Love Poems to
Richard the second

power that the duke of Lancaster might not return to England, for then he would have everything his own way.

To show that he governed the king and was the greatest in the council, as soon as he had delivered his opinion and saw that many were murmuring at it, and that the prelates and lords were discussing it in small parties, he quitted the king's chamber, followed by the earl of Derby, and entered the hall at Eltham, where he ordered a table to be spread, and they both sat down to dinner while the others were debating the business. When the duke of York heard they were at dinner, he joined them. After their dinner, which took no long time, the duke of Gloucester, dissembling his thoughts, took leave of the king as he was seated at table, mounted his horse, and returned to London. The earl of Derby remained that and the ensuing day with the king and the lords, but those from Aquitaine could not procure any answer to their petitions.

CHAPTER LXIV.—FROISSART PRESENTS HIS BOOK OF LOVE POEMS TO KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND.—HE RELATES WHAT HE HAD HEARD OF THE LAST EXPEDITION OF THE ENGLISH TO IRELAND.

I HAVE taken much pleasure in detailing everything relative to the dispute with Gascony and Aquitaine, that the truth of my history may be apparent; and because I, the author of it, could not be present in these councils, that ancient and valiant knight sir Richard Sturry told me everything, word for word, as I have transcribed. On the Sunday, the whole council were gone to London, excepting the duke of York, who remained with the king, and sir Richard Sturry: these two, in conjunction with sir Thomas Percy, mentioned me again to the king, who desired to see the book I had brought for him. I presented it to him in his chamber, for I had it with me, and laid it on his bed. He opened and looked into it with much pleasure. He ought to have been pleased, for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver-gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre. The king asked me what the book treated of: I replied,—"Of love!" He was pleased with the answer, and dipped into several places, reading parts aloud, for he read and spoke French perfectly well, and then gave it to one of his knights, called sir Richard Credon, to carry to his oratory, and made me many acknowledgments for it.

It happened this same Sunday, after the king had received my book so handsomely, an English squire, being in the king's chamber, called Henry Castide*, a man of prudence and character, and who spoke French well, made acquaintance with me, because he saw the king and lords give me so hearty a reception, and had likewise noticed the book I had presented to the king: he also imagined, from his first conversation, that I was an historian; indeed, he had been told so by sir Richard Sturry. He thus addressed me:—"Sir John, have you as yet found any one to give you an account of the late expedition to Ireland, and how four kings of that country submitted themselves to the obedience of the king?" I replied, that I had not. "I will tell it you, then," said the squire, who might be about fifty years old, "in order that, when you are returned home, you may at your leisure insert it in your history, to be had in perpetual remembrance." I was delighted to hear this, and offered him my warmest thanks.

Henry Castide thus began:—"It is not in the memory of man that any king of England ever led so large an armament of men at arms and archers to make war on the Irish, as the present king. He remained upwards of nine months in Ireland, at great expense, which, however, was cheerfully defrayed by his kingdom; for the principal cities and towns of England thought it was well laid out, when they saw their king return home with honour. Only gentlemen and archers had been employed on this expedition; and there were with the king four thousand knights and squires and thirty thousand archers, all regularly paid every

* "Castide." The MSS. Cristeed. Stowe, Henry Cristall.—Sauvage afterwards calls him Cristelle.

week, and so well they were satisfied. To tell you the truth, Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in, or to conquer; for there are such impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes, and bogs, there is no knowing how to pass them, and carry on war advantageously: it is so thinly inhabited, that, whenever the Irish please, they desert the towns, and take refuge in these forests, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts; and whenever they perceive any parties advancing with hostile dispositions, and about to enter their country, they fly to such narrow passes, it is impossible to follow them. When they find a favourable opportunity to attack their enemies to advantage, which frequently happens, from their knowledge of the country, they fail not to seize it; and no man at arms, be he ever so well mounted, can overtake them, so light are they of foot. Sometimes they leap from the ground behind a horseman, and embrace the rider (for they are very strong in their arms) so tightly, that he can no way get rid of them. The Irish have pointed knives, with broad blades, sharp on both sides like a dart-head, with which they kill their enemies; but they never consider them as dead until they have cut their throats like sheep, opened their bellies and taken out their hearts, which they carry off with them, and some say, who are well acquainted with their manners, that they devour them as delicious morsels. They never accept of ransom for their prisoners; and when they find they have not the advantage in any skirmishes, they instantly separate, and hide themselves in hedges, bushes, or holes under ground, so that they seem to disappear, no one knows whither.



Irish Chieftains making a Charge. Metrical History, Harleian MSS.

"Sir William Windsor, who has longer made war in Ireland than any other English knight, has never been able, during his residence among them, to learn correctly their manners, nor the condition of the Irish people. They are a very hardy race, of great subtlety, and of various tempers, paying no attention to cleanliness, nor to any gentleman, although their country is governed by kings, of whom there are several, but seem desirous to remain in the savage state they have been brought up in. True it is, that four of the most potent kings in Ireland have submitted to the king of England, but more through love and good-humour, than by battle or force. The earl of Ormond, whose lands join their kingdoms, took great pains to induce them to go to Dublin, where the king our lord resided, and to submit themselves to him and to the crown of England. This was considered by

every one as a great acquisition, and the object of the armament accomplished: for, during the whole of king Edward's reign, of happy memory, he had never such success as king Richard. The honour is great, but the advantage little, for with such savages nothing can be done. I will tell you an instance of their savageness, that it may serve as an example to other nations. You may depend on its truth; for I was an eye-witness of what I shall relate, as they were about a month under my care and governance at Dublin, to teach them the usages of England, by orders of the king and council, because I knew their language as well as I did French and English, for in my youth I was educated among them; and earl Thomas, father of the present earl of Ormond, kept me with him, out of affection, for my good horsemanship.

"It happened that the earl above-mentioned was sent with three hundred lances and one thousand archers to make war on the Irish; for the English had kept up a constant warfare against them, in hopes of bringing them under their subjection. The earl of Ormond, whose lands bordered on his opponents, had that day mounted me on one of his best horses, and I rode by his side. The Irish having formed an ambuscade to surprise the English, advanced from it; but were so sharply attacked by the archers, whose arrows they could not withstand, for they are not armed against them, that they soon retreated. The earl pursued them, and I, who was well mounted, kept close by him: it chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and, in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. He pressed my horse forward for more than two hours, and conducted him to a large bush, in a very retired spot, where he found his companions who had run thither to escape the English. He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water: the name of this town was Herpelin*. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin Costeret†, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Bryan Costeret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls. I will tell you how I obtained my liberty. It happened in the seventh year of my captivity, that one of their kings, Arthur Macquemaire, king of Leinster, raised an army against Lionel duke of Clarence, son to king Edward of England, and both armies met very near the city of Leinster. In the battle that followed, many were slain and taken on both sides; but, the English gaining the day, the Irish were forced to fly, and the king of Leinster escaped. The father of my wife was made prisoner, under the banner of the duke of Clarence; and as Bryan Costeret was mounted on my horse, which was remembered to have belonged to the earl of Ormond, it was then first known that I was alive, that he had honourably entertained me at his house in Herpelin, and given me his daughter in marriage. The duke of Clarence, sir William Windsor, and all of our party, were well pleased to hear this news, and he was offered his liberty, on condition that he gave me mine, and sent me to the English army, with my wife and children. He at first refused the terms, from his love to me, his daughter, and our children; but, when he found no other terms would be accepted, he agreed to them, provided my eldest daughter remained with him. I returned to England with my wife and youngest daughter, and fixed my residence at Bristol. My two children are married: the one established in Ireland has three boys and two girls, and her sister four sons and two daughters.

"Because the Irish language is as familiar to me as English, for I have always spoken it in my family, and introduce it among my grandchildren as much as I can, I have been chosen by our lord and king to teach and accustom the four Irish kings, who have sworn obedience for ever to England, to the manners of the English. I must say, that these kings who were under my management were of coarse manners and understandings; and, in spite of all that I could do to soften their language and nature, very little progress has been made, for they would frequently return to their former coarse behaviour.

"I will more particularly relate the charge that was given me over them, and how I

* "Herpelin." In MSS. Herpelepin.

† "Brin Costeret." Q. Bryan Costeret.

managed it. The king of England intended these four kings should adopt the manners, appearance, and dress of the English, for he wanted to create them knights. He gave them first a very handsome house in the city of Dublin for themselves and attendants, where I was ordered to reside with them, and never to leave the house without an absolute necessity. I lived with them for three or four days without any way interfering, that we might become accustomed to each other, and I allowed them to act just as they pleased. I observed, that as they sat at table, they made grimaces, that did not seem to me graceful nor becoming, and I resolved in my own mind to make them drop that custom. When these kings were seated at table, and the first dish was served, they would make their minstrels and principal servants sit beside them, and eat from their plates and drink from their cups. They told me, this was a praiseworthy custom of their country, where everything was in common but the bed. I permitted this to be done for three days; but on the fourth I ordered the tables to be laid out and covered properly, placing the four kings at an upper table, the minstrels at another below, and the servants lower still. They looked at each other, and refused to eat, saying I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up. I replied with a smile, to appease them, that their custom was not decent nor suitable to their rank, nor would it be honourable for them to continue it; for that now they should conform to the manners of the English; and to instruct them in these particulars was the motive of my residence with them, having been so ordered by the king of England and his council. When they heard this they made no further opposition to whatever I proposed, from having placed themselves under the obedience of England, and continued good-humouredly to persevere in it as long as I staid with them.

"They had another custom I knew to be common in the country, which was the not wearing breeches. I had, in consequence, plenty of breeches made of linen and cloth, which I gave to the kings and their attendants, and accustomed them to wear them. I took away many rude articles, as well in their dress as other things, and had great difficulty at the first to induce them to wear robes of silken cloth, trimmed with squirrel-skin or minever, for the kings only wrapped themselves up in an Irish cloak. In riding, they neither used saddles nor stirrups, and I had some trouble to make them conform in this respect to the English manners.

"I once made inquiry concerning their faith; but they seemed so much displeased, I was forced to silence: they said they believed in God and the Trinity, without any difference from our creed. I asked which pope they were inclined to: they replied, without hesitation, 'To that at Rome.' I enquired if they would like to receive the order of knighthood? for the king would willingly create them such, after the usual modes of France, England, and other countries. They said they were knights already, which ought to satisfy them. I asked when they were made; they answered, at seven years old; that in Ireland a king makes his son a knight, and should the child have lost his father, then the nearest relation; and the young knight begins to learn to tilt with a light lance against a shield fixed to a post in a field, and the more lances he breaks the more honour he acquires. 'By this method,' added they, 'are our young knights trained, more especially kings' sons.' Although I asked this, I was before well acquainted with the manner of educating their children to arms. I made no further reply than by saying, this kind of childish knighthood would not satisfy the king of England, and that he would create them in another mode. They asked, 'In what manner?' 'In church, with most solemn ceremonies;' and I believe they paid attention to what I said.

"About two days after, the king was desirous to create these kings knights; and the earl of Ormond, who understood and spoke Irish well, as his lands joined the territories of the kings, was sent to wait on them, that they might have more confidence in the message from the king and council. On his arrival, they showed him every respect, which he returned, as he knew well how to do, and they seemed happy at his coming. He began a most friendly conversation with them, and inquired if they were satisfied with my conduct and behaviour. They replied, 'Perfectly well: he has prudently and wisely taught us the manners and usages of his country, for which we ought to be obliged, and do thank him.' This answer was agreeable to the earl of Ormond, for it showed sense; and then, by degrees,

he began to talk of the order of knighthood they were to receive, explaining to them every article and ceremony of it, and how great a value should be set on it, and how those who were created knights behaved. The whole of the earl's conversation was very pleasing to the four kings, whom, however, as I have not yet named, I will now do: first, Aneel the great, king of Mecte*; secondly, Brun de Thomond, king of Thomond and of Aire†; the third, Arthur Macquemaire, king of Leinster; and the fourth, Contruo, king of Chenour and Erpe‡. They were made knights by the hand of the king of England, on the feast of our Lady in March, which that year fell on a Thursday, in the cathedral of Dublin, that was founded by Saint John the Baptist. The four kings watched all the Wednesday-night in the cathedral; and on the morrow, after mass, they were created knights, with much solemnity. There were knighted at the same time sir Thomas Orphem§, sir Joathas Pado, and his cousin sir John Pado. The four kings were very richly dressed, suitable to their rank, and that day dined at the table of king Richard, where they were much stared at by the lords and those present: not indeed without reason; for they were strange figures, and differently countenanced to the English or other nations. We are naturally inclined to gaze at anything strange, and it was certainly, sir John, at that time, a great novelty to see four Irish kings."

"Sir Henry, I readily believe you, and would have given a good deal if I could have been there. Last year I had made arrangements for coming to England, and should have done so, had I not heard of the death of queen Anne, which made me postpone my journey. But I wish to ask you one thing, which has much surprised me: I should like to know how these four Irish kings have so readily submitted to king Richard, when his valiant grandfather, who was so much redoubted everywhere, could never reduce them to obedience, and was always at war with them. You have said it was brought about by a treaty and the grace of God: the grace of God is good, and of infinite value to those who can obtain it; but we see few lords now-a-days augment their territories otherwise than by force. When I shall be returned to my native country of Hainault, and speak of these matters, I shall be strictly examined concerning them; for our lord duke Albert of Bavaria, earl of Holland, Hainault, and Zealand, and his son William of Hainault, style themselves lords of Friesland, an extensive country, over which they claim the government, as their predecessors have done before them; but the Frieslanders refuse to acknowledge their right, and will not by any means submit themselves to their obedience."

To this Henry Castide answered: "In truth, sir John, I cannot more fully explain how it was brought about; but it is generally believed by most of our party, that the Irish were exceedingly frightened at the great force the king landed in Ireland, where it remained for nine months. Their coasts were so surrounded, that neither provision nor merchandise could be landed; but the inland natives were indifferent to this, as they are unacquainted with commerce, nor do they wish to know anything of it, but simply to live like wild beasts. Those who reside on the coast opposite to England are better informed, and accustomed to traffic. King Edward, of happy memory, had in his reign so many wars to provide for, in France, Brittany, Gascony, and Scotland, that his forces were dispersed in different quarters, and he was unable to send any great armament to Ireland. When the Irish found so large a force was now come against them, they considered it most advisable to submit themselves to the king of England. Formerly, when Saint Edward, who had been canonised, and was worshipped with much solemnity by the English, was their king, he thrice defeated the Danes on sea and land. This Saint Edward, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine||, the Irish loved and feared more than any other king of England before or since. It was for this reason, that when our king went thither last year, he laid aside the leopards and flowers de luce, and bore the arms of Saint Edward emblazoned on all his banners: these were a cross patencé or, on a field gules, with four doves argent on the shield or banner, as

* "Aneel the great, king of Mecte." Q. O'Neale the great, king of Meath.

† "Thomond and Aire." Q. Ulster.

‡ "Contruo, king of Chenour and Erpe." Q. O'Connor, king of Connaught

§ "Sir Thomas Orphem." MSS. Ourghem and Gourghem.

|| This must be a mistake; for Aquitaine was brought to the crown of England by the marriage of Eleanora, the divorced queen of Louis le Jeune, king of France, with Henry II.

you please. This we heard was very pleasing to the Irish, and inclined them more to submission, for in truth the ancestors of these four kings had done homage and service to Saint Edward: they also considered king Richard as a prudent and conscientious man, and have therefore paid their homage in the like manner as was done to Saint Edward.

"Thus I have related to you how our king accomplished the object of his expedition to Ireland. Keep it in your memory, that when returned home you may insert it in your chronicle with other histories that are connected with it." "Henry," said I, "you have well spoken, and it shall be done." Upon this we separated; and meeting soon after the herald March, I said —"March, tell me what are the arms of Henry Castide; for I have found him very agreeable, and he has kindly related to me the history of the king's expedition to Ireland, and of the four Irish kings, who, as he says, were under his governance upwards of fifteen days." March replied, "He bears for arms a chevron gules on a field argent, with three besants gules, two above the chevron and one below."

All these things I retained in my memory, and put on paper, for I wished not to forget them.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS ORDERED BACK FROM AQUITAINE.—KING RICHARD RECEIVES A FRIENDLY ANSWER TO THE PROPOSALS HIS AMBASSADORS HAD MADE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR A MARRIAGE BETWEEN HIM AND THE LADY ISABELLA, PRINCESS OF FRANCE.

I REMAINED in the household of the king of England as long as I pleased: but I was not always in the same place, for the king frequently changed his abode. He went to Eltham, Leeds-castle, Kingston, Shene, Chertsey, and Windsor; none very far from London. I was told for truth, that the king and his council had written to the duke of Lancaster to return to England, for those from Aquitaine had boldly declared they would not submit to any other lord but the king of England. This had been determined on by so large a majority of the council that the duke of Gloucester, anxious as he was to keep his brother out of England, could not prevail that the gift the king had made him should be persevered in. The whole council were fearful of the consequences: they were perfectly aware of what the deputies from Gascony had meant by their speeches; for they declared, that should the duchy of Aquitaine be alienated from the crown of England, it would in times to come be very prejudicial to its interests. They were unwilling, therefore, to risk such a loss, as the the towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne had always strongly supported the cause of England. This was not forgotten to be urged in the council during the absence of the duke of Gloucester; but when he was present none dared to declare their real sentiments. The affair, therefore, was not further pressed.

I will now say something of the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, and the other English ambassadors, that had been sent to France to treat of a marriage between king Richard and the young daughter of the king of France, who was not then more than eight years old, and tell how they prospered. These ambassadors continued their journey from Calais, through Amiens, Clermont in Beauvoisis, to Paris: wherever they passed, they were most honourably received, according to orders that had been given by the king of France and his council. They were lodged at Paris near the Croix du Tiroir, and their attendants and horses, to the amount of five hundred, in the adjacent streets. The king of France resided at the Louvre, the queen and her children at the hôtel de Saint Pol, the duke of Berry at the hôtel de Nesle, the duke of Burgundy at the hôtel d'Artois: the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Orleans, the count de Saint Pol, and the lord de Coucy, were at their own hôtels; for the king had summoned the whole of his council, that he might be the better advised what answer to make to the English lords. He had ordered that two hundred crowns of France should be paid during their stay in Paris, for the expenses of them and their horses.

The principal lords, such as the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal, were frequently with the king, and staid dinner: the king, his brother and uncles, showed them every attention, from respect to the king of England. The ambassadors demanded an answer to

their proposals, but were some time put off with excuses; for it was matter of great surprise to every one that the English should be so forward to offer such an alliance after the bitter war that had been carried on between the two nations, for such a length of time. Some in the council said,—"How will it be possible for the king, our lord, to give his daughter in marriage to his adversary the king of England? We think, that before such a measure can take place, there ought to be a solid peace established between France, England, and their allies." This and many other points were agitated in the privy council of France.

There was at this period a very wise chancellor of France, called sir Arnaud de Corbie: he saw far into events likely to happen, and knew well the different interests that swayed the kingdom. He said to the king and his uncles,—"My lords, we ought to go straight forward in this business; for king Richard of England shows plainly that he wishes nothing but affection to France, since he is desirous to ally himself with us by marriage. We have had two conferences for peace at Amiens and at Leulinghen, but neither were brought to any better conclusion than a prolongation of the truce. We know for certain, that the duke of Gloucester is in opposition to the king of England and his two brothers of Lancaster and of York, in everything relative to a peace with France. Neither the king of England nor any others who wish for peace can make him change his sentiments, but in the end he will not be able to withstand the king. Let us therefore make the most of this overture, and give the ambassadors such an answer that they may return satisfied." The king of France and his uncles agreed with the chancellor, more especially the duke of Burgundy, who was so tired of war that he was anxious for peace on almost any terms. He was principally induced to this from his territories of Flanders, which he held in right of his duchess, being opposite to the shores of England; and the hearts of the Flemings were more inclined to the English than the French, from the commerce that was carried on between the two countries. It was determined in the privy council, that the hearty welcome which had been made to the English should be continued: the king particularly willed it so: and it was advised (whether through dissimulation or not) that the ambassadors from England should receive kind answers, and have hopes given them before their departure that the king of England's proposal would be complied with.

The queen of France resided at the hôtel of St. Pol on the banks of the Seine; and, the better to please the English lords, their request was granted, to visit the queen and children, and especially the princess whom they were soliciting for their queen, as they were impatient to see her. This had been at first refused, for the council excused themselves, by saying that she was but a child; and that, at her age of eight years, nothing could be judged of what she might turn out. She had, however, been well educated, as she showed the English lords when they waited upon her; for when the lord marshal had dropped on his knees, saying, "Madam, if it please God, you shall be our lady and queen," she replied instantly, and without any one advising her, "Sir, if it please God, and my lord and father, that I be queen of England, I shall be well pleased thereat; for I have been told I shall then be a great lady." She made the earl marshal rise, and, taking him by the hand, led him to the queen, who was much pleased at her answer, as were all who heard it. The appearance and manners of this young princess were very agreeable to the English ambassadors; and they thought among themselves that she would be a lady of high honour and great worth. When they had staid at Paris more than twenty days, having all their expenses defrayed by the king of France, they received favourable answers to their demands from the king and council, with great hopes that the object of their mission would be accomplished, but not immediately; for the princess was very young, and had likewise been betrothed to the son of the duke of Brittany. This obstacle they were told must be first got over, before any thing further could be done in the matter: it must therefore remain in this state the ensuing winter: during Lent the king of France would send information of what had been done to the king of England; and, when the days should be lengthened, the weather fine, and the sea calm, they might return, or any others whom the king of England should prefer to send, and they would be well received by the king and council of France.

This answer was satisfactory to the English ambassadors. They took leave of the queen, her daughter the lady Isabella, the brother and uncles of the king, and of all of whom it was

necessary to take leave, and left Paris, following the same road they had come from Calais. The earl of Rutland and earl marshal, who were the principals in this embassy, hastened, before any of their attendants, to carry the news of what they had done to the king of England. They landed at Sandwich, and in less than a day and a half arrived at Windsor, where the king then was. He was much rejoiced at their arrival, and with the answers they had brought back. He did not neglect this business; for his mind was so much occupied with it, that his whole thoughts were employed on the means of obtaining the daughter of France for his queen. If the king of England was thus busily employed, the king and council of France were not less so, in turning their thoughts how they could make the most of this marriage to the honour and advantage of their country.

Many spoke of it, saying,—"If our advice were asked on the matter, and listened to, we would say, that the king of England should never have a princess of France until a firm peace were made between the two kingdoms and their allies. What good can be looked to from this connexion to either country? for the moment the truces expire, and they have but three years to run, the war will recommence with as much inveteracy as before. These things ought to be well considered." The dukes of Berry and Orleans, with many of the great barons of France, were of this opinion, which was well known to the king, the duke of Burgundy, and to the chancellor, who were eager for any peace that should not be dishonourable to the crown of France.

CHAPTER LXVI.—A SQUIRE OF NORMANDY, CALLED ROBERT THE HERMIT, HAVING DECLARED HE HAD SEEN A VISION, WHILE AT SEA, ORDERING HIM TO INTERFERE IN MAKING A PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, IS SENT TO KING RICHARD AND HIS UNCLES TO THIS EFFECT.

At this period a valiant and prudent squire returned home to France: he had travelled much beyond sea, and his voyages and travels had gained him great renown, both at home and abroad, wherever they were known. This squire was from the country of Caux in Normandy, and his name was Robert Menuot*, but he as called Robert the Hermit. He was of a religious and holy life, of fair speech, and might be about fifty years old. He had attended the conferences at Leulinghen between the lords of France and England, where his discourses had been well listened to. When Robert left Syria to return home, he embarked at Baruth, but had when at sea a furious tempest, so that, for two days and a night, he and his companions were in such danger they thought they must be lost. Persons in such peril are generally very repentant and contrite, and have a greater fear of God. It happened, toward the end of the storm, when the weather and sea became somewhat calmer, that a figure as bright as crystal appeared to Robert, and said: "Robert, thou shalt escape from this peril, as well as thy companions for thy sake, for God has favourably heard thy prayers. He orders thee by me to return to France as speedily as thou canst, and instantly on thy arrival to wait on the king, and relate what has befallen thee. Thou wilt tell him to listen to peace with his adversary the king of England, for their wars have lasted too long. Do thou interfere boldly when conferences shall be holden to treat of peace between king Charles and king Richard, for thou shalt be heard; and all those who shall any way oppose or prevent peace from taking effect, shall dearly pay for their wickedness in their lifetime." Upon this, the voice ceased and the figure vanished, leaving Robert very pensive on what he had heard. He, however, believed that what he had seen came from Heaven: and from that moment they had wind and weather to their wishes, which brought them to Genoa.

Robert, on landing, took leave of his fellow-passengers, and made the best of his way to Avignon, where the first thing he did was to pay his devotions in the church of St. Peter. Finding there the grand penitentiary, he confessed himself duly and devoutly to him, relating the vision you have just read, and asked his advice how he should act on the occasion. The penitentiary strictly enjoined him not to mention the vision to any one before he had told it to the king of France, according to the orders given him, and that whatever the king

* "Robert Menuot." MSS. Mennot.



Ouemu estoit a ce
Robert lermitte q.
en retournant, ez-
espartiees de france et partis du
royaume de surie et montez a
baruth sur la haulte mer une

The vision of Robert l'Ermite.

should command he must do. Robert followed this advice, and dressing himself in plain grey cloth, with very simple attendance, left Avignon, and continued his journey to Paris, where he heard that the king was at Abbeville, to be near the conference at Amiens between the French and English. He immediately went to the abbey of St. Peter, where the king was lodged at Abbeville, and was introduced to the presence by a Norman knight, his nearest relation, called sir William Martel, who was of the king's chamber. Robert minutely related every thing that had happened to him, which the king listened to with great attention; but as the duke of Burgundy and sir Arnaud de Corbie, chancellor of France, the two most active commissioners for France, were absent at the conference, he said to Robert,—"Our council are at Leulinghen: you will remain here until they shall return, when I will talk with my uncle of Burgundy and the chancellor, and act according as they shall best advise me." "God assist them!" answered Robert.

This same week the commissioners returned to Abbeville from the conference, bringing with them a project for peace. The English had inserted articles of such importance as a preliminary, that they had refused to admit them without knowing first the king's will on the subject, and on their arrival they laid them before his majesty. The king took his uncle of Burgundy and the chancellor aside, to inform them of what Robert the hermit had told him, and to know if it ought to be believed and acted upon. They having looked at each other some time in silence, said they would examine this Robert themselves, and then would give him their opinion. Robert was sent for, and being not far from where these secret councils were held, soon arrived. On his admission, he paid the king and the duke of Burgundy much respect; and the king said, "Repeat once more, very minutely, all that you told me." "Willingly, sire," replied Robert. He then detailed all you have before heard of his adventures and vision, to which they attentively listened; and, when he had done, they desired him to leave the chamber, these three only remaining together. The king asked the duke of Burgundy what he thought of it: "My lord," said he, "the chancellor and myself will consider, of it, and give you our answer to-morrow." "Very well," answered the king.

The duke and the chancellor consulted a long time by themselves on this matter, and on their mode of acting; for they saw the king believed the whole, and was desirous that Robert should be added to them as a commissioner, for he was so eloquent he converted the hearts of all who heard him. They at last resolved, that if Robert should publicly declare the orders he had received in his vision, it would be advisable for him to come to Leulinghen and explain it to the lords of England, and all who wished to hear it; that it was lawful so to act; and this was the answer they made to the king on the ensuing day. When the duke of Burgundy and the chancellor returned to the conference, they carried Robert the hermit with them, who was ready enough to speak what you have heard. On the lords of France and England being assembled, Robert came in the midst of them, and eloquently told the vision he had had at sea, and maintained, by a long harangue, that what it said was by divine inspiration, and that God had sent it to him, because he willed it should be so. Some of the English lords, such as the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Salisbury, sir Thomas Percy, sir William Clanvow, the bishops of Saint David's and London, were inclined to credit what Robert related; but the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel paid not any regard to it, and, when at their lodgings, in the absence of the French lords, said it was only a cheat, and a story made up to laugh at and deceive them. They unanimously resolved to write to king Richard every particular of what Robert the hermit had said and seen. This was done, and the letters given to a knight of the king's chamber, called sir Richard Credon, who found the king at a handsome place in Kent, called Leeds castle. He presented the king letters from his commissioners at Leulinghen, which gave him a full detail of every thing relative to Robert the hermit. The king took much delight in perusing these letters at his leisure, and, when he came to the part that related to Robert the hermit, he said he should be glad to see and hear this Robert; for he was inclined to believe that what he said had happened to him might be true. He wrote back to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Salisbury, to press them to exert themselves, that a firm peace should be established between him, the king of France and his allies; for, as Robert the hermit had said, the wars had lasted too long, and it was full time to hit upon some means to procure peace.

I have before related the whole of this matter; and that as nothing was concluded, in regard to a peace, a truce had been agreed on by the commissioners on each side, before they separated, between the two kingdoms and their allies, to last for four years, while, in the mean time, they would study to promote a lasting peace. Such were the intentions of the English commissioners, with the exception of the duke of Gloucester; for he was resolved, on his return to England, to oppose any peace with France; but he dissembled then his real sentiments, to please the king and his brother of Lancaster. Thus did I become acquainted with what passed relative to Robert the hermit.

Shortly after the return of the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the archbishop of Dublin, sir Hugh Despencer, sir Lewis Clifford, and those who had been attached to the embassy to France bringing with them friendly answers relative to the marriage, the parliament assembled at Westminster. These parliaments last usually four days, when all business relative to the country is settled.

At the meeting of this parliament the duke of Lancaster returned from Bordeaux, whither he had been sent as duke of Aquitaine, for the inhabitants had refused to receive him in that quality. But I have mentioned these things before, and shall therefore say no more on the subject. The duke of Lancaster, on his return to England, was well received by the king and lords, as was right, and they discoursed on various business together. As soon as it was known in France that the duke of Lancaster was in England, the king and his council resolved to send thither Robert the hermit, with credential letters to the king of England, who was desirous of seeing him; and that, when he should come back to France, the count de Saint Pol would go thither. Robert the hermit would be well received by the king and lords of England, who would cheerfully attend to all he should relate of the affairs of Syria, Tartary, of Bajazet and Turkey, where he had resided a long time; for of such matters the English lords are very curious. Robert was ordered to make his preparations for going to England, which much pleased him, saying he would willingly go thither, as it was a country he had never seen.

Credential letters were given him from the king of France to king Richard and to his uncles. Robert left Paris with his array of only seven horses, (but all his expenses, as was just, were to be paid by the king of France,) and travelled to Boulogne, where he embarked and crossed to Dover. He then went to Eltham, a palace of the king of England, seven miles from London, and met there the king, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, and sir Thomas Percy, who showed him much attention, in honour to the king of France, as did their sovereign, from his desire to see him. He gave his letters to the king and the other lords, who perused them with pleasure; but the duke of Gloucester was, I believe, at this time at a castle of his called Pleshy, in Essex. When Robert had remained at Eltham with the king and his court five days, he took his leave, and departed to visit the duke of Gloucester. With this intention he rode to London, and, on the next day, continued his journey, and lay at a town, fifteen miles from London, called Brehonde*, and on the morrow arrived at Pleshy, where he was handsomely received by the duke and duchess and their children. Robert delivered his letters from the king of France to the duke, who, on finding that they were credential letters, took Robert aside and demanded the cause of his coming. Robert replied, that he would tell him at his leisure, for that he was not come to make a short visit. "Well," said the duke, "you are very welcome." Robert the hermit was well acquainted with the double character of the duke, and that he was violent against a peace with France, and in strong opposition to the king and his brother of Lancaster, who were well inclined to put an end to the war. He knew not well how to begin on this business, nor what means to urge to make him change his opinion; for he had witnessed his violence at Leulinghen, and knew that a war with France was uppermost in his thoughts. This, however, did not prevent Robert from talking to the duke of Gloucester, respecting a peace; but he found the duke cold and reserved in his answers. He said, "that he had two elder brothers, of Lancaster and York, and that it was to them such affairs ought to be addressed, in preference to him; besides, supposing he was willing to agree to a peace, perhaps the rest of the nation would not consent."

* "Brehonde." Q. Brentwood. Burntwood.

"My very dear lord," replied Robert, "for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ do not oppose a peace: you can do a great deal towards forming one; and you know how much your king and nephew is inclined to it, who, besides, is anxious to strengthen the love between the two kingdoms, by a marriage with the daughter of the king of France." To this the duke answered,—"Robert, although you are at this moment in high favour, and well listened to by the kings and lords of both countries, the matter of peace is of so much consideration, that persons of greater weight than you must interfere in it. I repeat to you, what I have frequently said at different places and times, that I shall never be against a peace that is honourable to my country. All that in a former peace was agreed upon with the king my father, and my brother the prince of Wales, and confirmed by the oath of king John, for himself and successors, under penalty of excommunication by the pope, has not been kept, and their oaths are of no value. The French have fraudulently broken the articles of this peace, and have even taken possession, by treachery and force, of those lands, castles and towns, that were given up at the peace to our late king and father, and to his successors. Besides, of the three millions of francs, which were to be paid as the ransom of king John, six hundred thousand are yet unpaid. These matters, Robert, being so fresh in our memory, trouble us greatly, and make us cautious; and we wonder (I speak not only of myself but of others who have a right to interfere in the government) how our king should be so thoughtless that he does not compare past times with the present; and how he can think of uniting himself with his enemies, and thereby disinheriting the crown of England of all future advantage."

"Dear lord," replied Robert, "our Lord Jesus Christ suffered on the cross for us sinners; but he forgave, at his death, those who had crucified him. It is necessary, therefore, that we in like manner forgive our enemies, if we expect to be admitted to the glories of paradise. All hatred, malice and ill will were put an end to, and mutually pardoned, the day the peace was signed by your ancestor at Calais. War was afterwards renewed with bitterness between the two countries, through faults and deceptions on each side; for, when the prince of Wales returned from Castille to Aquitaine, a set of people called Companions, the greater part of whom were English, or Gascons dependent on the king of England or the prince, collected together and entered France, without the smallest title of reason, and carried thither a more disastrous war than the preceding one. They called the kingdom of France their manor, and were so determined on mischief there was no resisting them: for this reason, when the realm was so oppressed, and the evils daily multiplying, king Charles, son to king John, was advised by his vassals to provide a remedy, and oppose such conduct by open war or otherwise. Many great barons of Gascony at this time allied themselves with the king of France, whom the prince of Wales, who ought to have been their lord, wanted to oppress and bring more under his power, as they said and wanted to prove by various facts, but which they would not longer suffer. They made war on the prince, in conformity to their appeal to the king of France, who, by the advice of his council, joined them in order to get rid of these free companies that ravaged France. Many lords, towns and castles turned to the king of France, from the oppressions they laboured under from the prince or those employed by him. Thus was the war renewed with more inveteracy than before, to the destruction of the people and country, as well as the weakening the faith of God. This last is so sensibly felt in Christendom that the enemies of our faith, much emboldened, have already conquered great part of Greece, and the empire of Constantinople, through fault of not resisting a Turk called Basant, surnamed Amorabaquin*. He has conquered the whole kingdom of Armenia, with the exception of the single town of Courch, situated on the sea-shore, like Southampton or Bristol in this country. The Genoese and Venetians hold this against the Turks; but they cannot long withstand the power of Bajazet, emperor of Constantinople, who is of your blood, for he is the son of Hugh de Lusignan, by the Lady Mary de Bourbon, cousin-german to the queen your mother. But should there be peace (as there will, if it please God) between France and England, all knights and squires desirous of glory, and of exalting their names, will hasten thither, and assist the king of Armenia to drive out the Turks from his kingdom. The war has continued

* This Amorabaquin, so much disfigured, was the sultan Bajazet, who ascended the throne 1391. He was surnamed, like his father, l'Amurath Bacquin, according to the MSS. in the British Museum.

too long between France and England, and all those who may any way oppose or delay the blessings of peace will severely be punished in this life for so doing."

"How do you know that?" said the duke of Gloucester. "Dear lord," answered Robert, "all I say comes from divine inspiration, and was given me in a vision as I was returning by sea from Baruth in Syria towards the island of Rhodes." He then related fully all he had seen and heard in this vision, the more effectually to move the heart of the duke of Gloucester to listen to terms of peace. But the heart of the duke was hardened against peace, and he always returned to his former opinions, holding in contempt, by his words, the French in all things, notwithstanding what Robert had said to him: however, as he was a foreigner, and seemed eager to do good, and knowing besides that the king of England wanted to conclude a peace, he dissembled his real sentiments as much as he could, and turned the conversation to other subjects.

Robert the hermit staid two days and as many nights at Pleshy with the duke and duchess of Gloucester and their children, who, in outward appearance, made him very welcome. On the third day he took leave of them, and departed for London; and went thence to Windsor, where the king then resided. He was handsomely entertained at Windsor, as well in honour to the king of France, who had sent him, as on account of his eloquence and good manners. It may be supposed that the king of England inquired of him secretly how he had succeeded with his uncle of Gloucester, and Robert told him truly all that had passed. The king knew well that the duke of Gloucester would never willingly agree to a peace with France, from his preference to war: he therefore paid much greater court, and showed more affection to his other uncles of Lancaster and York, and to other prelates and barons of England, who he thought would serve him.

Robert the hermit having been a month or more in England, began to make preparations for his departure. When he took leave of the king and lords, the king made him very rich presents, out of love to the king of France, as did the dukes of Lancaster and York, the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and sir Thomas Percy. The king had him escorted as far as Dover, where he embarked, and landed at Calais: he then journeyed on to Paris, where he found the king and queen of France, and his uncles, to whom he faithfully related the detail of his journey, and the good cheer the king of England had made him. Messengers were almost daily passing from one king to the other, with the most friendly letters from each. The king of England was very impatient to succeed in his marriage with the daughter of the king of France, who, on his side, had an affection for it, as he did not see how he could more nobly marry her.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE AND SIR JOHN LE MERCIER ARE DELIVERED OUT OF PRISON.

The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, after having been carried from prison to prison, and to different castles, were at last given up to the provost of the Châtelet, and in daily expectation of being put to death, through the hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy and their advisers. They had been in this melancholy state for more than two years, without the king being able to assist them. He, however, would not consent to their execution; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy perceived that the duke of Orleans strongly befriended them. The duchess of Berry was incessant in her entreaties with her lord in their favour, more particularly for the lord de la Riviere; but they could not condemn one without the other, for they were both implicated in the same accusation. The solicitations of many worthy persons, added to the justice of their cause, were of much weight; and several of the great barons of France thought they had now sufficiently suffered, and should be set at liberty; for that sir John le Mercier had wept so continually, when in prison, his sight was weakened so that he could scarcely see, and it was currently reported he was quite blind.

At length there was an end put to their sufferings; for the king, although he had consented to their imprisonment, for reasons which had been given him, granted them his pardon,



The liberation of the Lord de la Riviere.



The reconciliation of Sir Oliver de Clisson, and the Duke of Brittany.

deferring further inquiry into what had been laid to their charge until a future opportunity, and when he should be more fully informed. All his lands and castles were restored to the lord de la Riviere, and in the first instance, the beautiful castle of Auneau, near Chartres, on the borders of Beauce; but he was ordered thither, and never to recross the river Seine, unless recalled by the king's own mouth. Sir John le Mercier returned to his fine house of Noviant, of which he bore the title as lord, in the Laonnois; and he had similar orders not to repass the rivers Seine, Marne and Oise, unless specially commanded by the king. They also bound themselves to go to whatever prison they might hereafter be ordered by the king or by his commissioners. The two lords thankfully accepted this grace, and were rejoiced to be delivered from the Châtelet. On gaining their liberty, they thought they should be allowed to see the king, and thank him for his mercy, but it was not so: they were forced to quit Paris instantly, and set out for their different estates. They, however, obtained their liberty, to the great joy of all who were attached to them.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY AND SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON ARE RECONCILED.—THE DOWAGER QUEEN OF SICILY INSTITUTES A LAW-SUIT IN THE COURTS OF PARIS AGAINST SIR PETER DE CRAON.

You have often heard of the feuds between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson; and that, whenever the two parties met, a deadly engagement ensued, without either side showing mercy. In this warfare, however, sir Oliver had the advantage, for two-thirds of the country were in his favour. The barons of Brittany dissembled between both; and the citizens of the chief towns told the duke, that this war no way concerned them, and that they would not interfere in it, for that commerce was more essential to them than a war with the lord de Clisson. Sir Oliver held them excused in regard to him, as they would be mediators in a peace, which the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Léon, and the lord de Dignan, were pressing on the duke of Brittany, who had declared to these three lords, that if he could obtain a meeting with the lord de Clisson, he would comply with such terms as they should think honourable to propose.

These three barons went to the castle where sir Oliver resided, and told him how far they had succeeded with the duke, who would at any time grant him and his company passports for coming and going; and that they imagined, if once they could meet, all their quarrels would be put an end to. The lord de Clisson replied,—"You are all my friends and relations, and I put my whole confidence in you: I verily believe what you say from the duke that he would willingly have me in his presence; but, as God and my lord St. Yves may help me, I will never on such words or promise quit my castle. Tell him, since he has deputed you here, to send me his eldest son, who shall remain as my pledge; and, when he shall be arrived, I will wait on him when and where he pleases. As my end shall be, so will be that of his son; if I return, he shall return; but, if I be detained, so shall he. Such are my conditions." The three barons, seeing they could gain no other answer, were satisfied with it, and, taking their leave in a friendly manner, departed for Vannes, where the duke was waiting for them, and related to him the proposal from sir Oliver de Clisson. The duke could not obtain other terms; and the lord de Clisson had greatly the advantage in this war: the duke conquered nothing from him, while sir Oliver won several places from the duke, besides having twice captured all his gold and silver plate, with many precious jewels, all of which he turned to his own profit.

The end, however, of this quarrel was as follows: the duke of Brittany, as great a prince as he was, saw plainly he could no way bend the lord de Clisson to his will, for he had too many friends in Brittany. With the exception of the great barons in the duchy, all the knights, squires, and inhabitants of the principal towns, inclined to the lord de Clisson. The barons dissembled their sentiments, and told the duke, they would not interfere in the matter unless it should be to mediate a peace, if any means could be found out for so doing. The duke of Orleans, in particular, supported sir Oliver underhand in various ways, and he was well pleased whenever he received news of the good success of his enterprises. The

duke of Brittany, who was of a subtle imagination, and had laboured hard with many difficulties in his time, weighed all these circumstances; and also that he was not beloved by his subjects, who would show it, if they dared, without infringing their homage, as well as the children of sir Charles de Blois slain at the battle of Auray; namely, John of Brittany, count de Penthievre and Limoges, married to the daughter of the lord de Clisson; sir Henry of Brittany * his brother, and their sister the queen of Naples and Jerusalem. He felt likewise that he was growing old, that his children were young, and except the duke and duchess of Burgundy, he had not a friend in France who would take care of them, in case of his decease; for, by the mother's side, they came from the branch of Navarre, which was not a family well beloved in France from the remembrance of the many wicked acts, in former times, of king Charles of Navarre, the duchess of Brittany's father. He was therefore afraid, should he die during the subsisting hatred of sir Oliver de Clisson and the count de Penthievre, his children would have too many enemies He perceived also that the English, who had certainly raised him to the honours he now possessed, were becoming indifferent to his welfare, and would probably increase in coolness, if the information he had received of the approaching connexion between the kings of France and England were true. He had learnt that the treaty of marriage was far advanced between the king of England and the daughter of the king of France, who had been promised to his eldest son.

All these things alarmed the duke, but especially what has been last mentioned troubled him more than all the rest. Having fully considered them, he resolved to throw aside all dissembling, and openly and honestly make peace with sir Oliver de Clisson and John of Brittany; leaving them to say what amends, if any, he should make for the damages done them during the war, and for what had happened in former times, reserving to himself the duchy of Brittany, which was to descend after him to his children, according to the treaty that had been signed, with the approbation of all parties, by the children of sir Charles de Blois. This treaty he was not desirous to have broken: on the contrary, he would that every article should be observed, and that it should again be sworn to and loyally maintained in its whole extent. Should John of Blois, count de Penthievre, not be satisfied with his inheritance in Brittany, he would fairly leave it to the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Dignan, de Laval, de Léon, de Beaumont, and sir John de Harpedane, to settle the matter between them. The duke of Brittany, having maturely arranged this in his own mind, without asking advice from any one of his council, called a secretary, to whom, on entering his chamber, he gave a large sheet of paper, and said, "Write down as I shall dictate." The secretary being ready, the duke repeated to him every word he was to write. The letter was indited in the most friendly terms to sir Oliver de Clisson, desiring him to devise some means for them to have an interview, when everything should be settled in the most agreeable manner.

When the letter was folded up, in the presence only of the duke and his secretary, he sealed it with his signet, and, calling his most trusty varlet into the chamber, said,—"Hasten to castle Josselin, and say boldly that I have sent thee to speak with my cousin sir Oliver de Clisson. Thou wilt be introduced to him: salute him from me: if he return the salute, give him this letter, and bring me back his answer; but on thy life tell no man, woman, or child whither thou art going, nor who has sent thee." The varlet, having promised obedience, set out, and on his arrival at château-Josselin, the guard was greatly surprised when they heard that the duke of Brittany had sent him to speak with their lord. Nevertheless, they informed sir Oliver of his coming, who ordered him into his presence: on his entrance, he delivered his message and the letter. The lord de Clisson examined the private signet of the duke, which he knew well, opened the letter, and read it two or three times over, and was much astonished, during the perusal, at the affectionate and friendly terms it was written in. After musing some time, he told the varlet he would consider his answer, and ordered him to be conducted to an apartment by himself.

* Denys Sauvage says in a marginal note, that he never heard of this personage before, and supposes that at that period the count de Penthievre had not any brother.

In Anderson's Royal Genealogies, the lord Charles de Blois had issue Guido count de Penthievre, died S. P.,—John, married to Margaret de Clisson,—N. N. married to Charles of Spain, constable of France, murdered by the king of Navarre,—Mary, wife of Lewis duke of Anjou, son of John, king of France.

The attendants of the lord de Clisson were confounded at what they saw and heard; for never before had any one come from the duke of Brittany who had not been instantly put to death, or confined in the deepest dungeon. When sir Oliver had retired to his chamber, his thoughts were occupied with the contents of the letter, and his hatred to the duke was extinguished, from the submissive and affectionate manner in which he had written to him: he said to himself that he would prove him, and see if he were really in earnest; for he could not venture to go to him merely on the faith of this letter, and, if any accident happened to him, he would be pitied by none. He determined, therefore, that if the duke would send his son as an hostage, he would come to him when and where he pleased, but not otherwise. He wrote a very friendly answer, and the conclusion was, that if he wished to see him, he must send his son as his pledge, who would be taken the greatest care of until his return. This letter was sealed and given to the varlet, who hastened back to the duke at Vannes, where he was impatiently expecting him. On receiving the letter from sir Oliver, he instantly read it: having paused a moment, he said, "I will do it; for, since I mean to treat amicably with him, every cause of distrust must be removed." He wrote to the viscount de Rohan, who resided at his castle of Caire, in the neighbourhood of Vannes, to come to him. The viscount, on the receipt of the duke's letter, waited on him, and he then explained his intentions, by saying, "Viscount, you and the lord de Monboucher shall carry my son to château-Josselin, and bring back with you the lord de Clisson, for I am determined to make up our quarrel." The viscount replied, that with joy he would obey him.

It was not many days after, that the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Monboucher, and sir Yves de Tegre, carried the boy, who might be about seven years old, to château-Josselin, where they were handsomely and honourably received by sir Oliver de Clisson. When he saw the boy, and this proof of confidence from the duke, he was much affected. The three knights also said, "You see, sir, how well inclined the duke is to you: he now bears you nothing but the sincerest affection." "I am at present convinced of it," replied sir Oliver; "and, since he makes such advances, I will not be behindhand, but put myself under his obedience. I know not if to you, who are so nearly related to him, and in whom he has such trust as to confide his son and heir, to bring and leave here as an hostage until my return, he has told the contents of the letter he sent me under his private signet." "Sir," answered the knights, "he has assured us of the earnest and sincere desire he has to make peace with you; and you may believe us, for we are your relations." "I firmly do believe you," said sir Oliver, as he went out to fetch the duke's letter. Having read it to them, they replied, "He certainly has spoken to us in the very same terms in which he has written to you, and in consequence has sent us hither" "So much the better," answered sir Oliver.

It was not long after the arrival of the three knights, with the heir of Brittany, before the lord de Clisson had made his preparations. They all set out together from château-Josselin, carrying the boy with them; for sir Oliver said he would give him back to his father, as henceforward he should never distrust the duke, after the trial he had made of him. Such generosity was shown on both sides, that it was no wonder a firm peace was the consequence.

They continued their journey to Vannes, where, according to the duke's orders, sir Oliver dismounted at a convent of the Dominicans, which is situated without the town, where the duke had fixed the meeting to take place. When he heard that the lord de Clisson had brought back his son, he was highly delighted with his generosity and courtesy. The duke set out from his castle of la Motte, for the convent, where he and sir Oliver shut themselves up in a chamber: having conversed some time, they went privately into the garden, and thence to the banks of a river, and entered a small boat that conveyed them to a large vessel that lay at anchor at the mouth of the river, which they boarded, and, when at a distance from their people, continued for a long time in conference. I cannot pretend to say what passed between them, but I will relate the consequences. Their friends thought they were all the time in the convent, when they were on ship-board, arranging all things on the footing they wished them to remain. They were upwards of two hours together, if

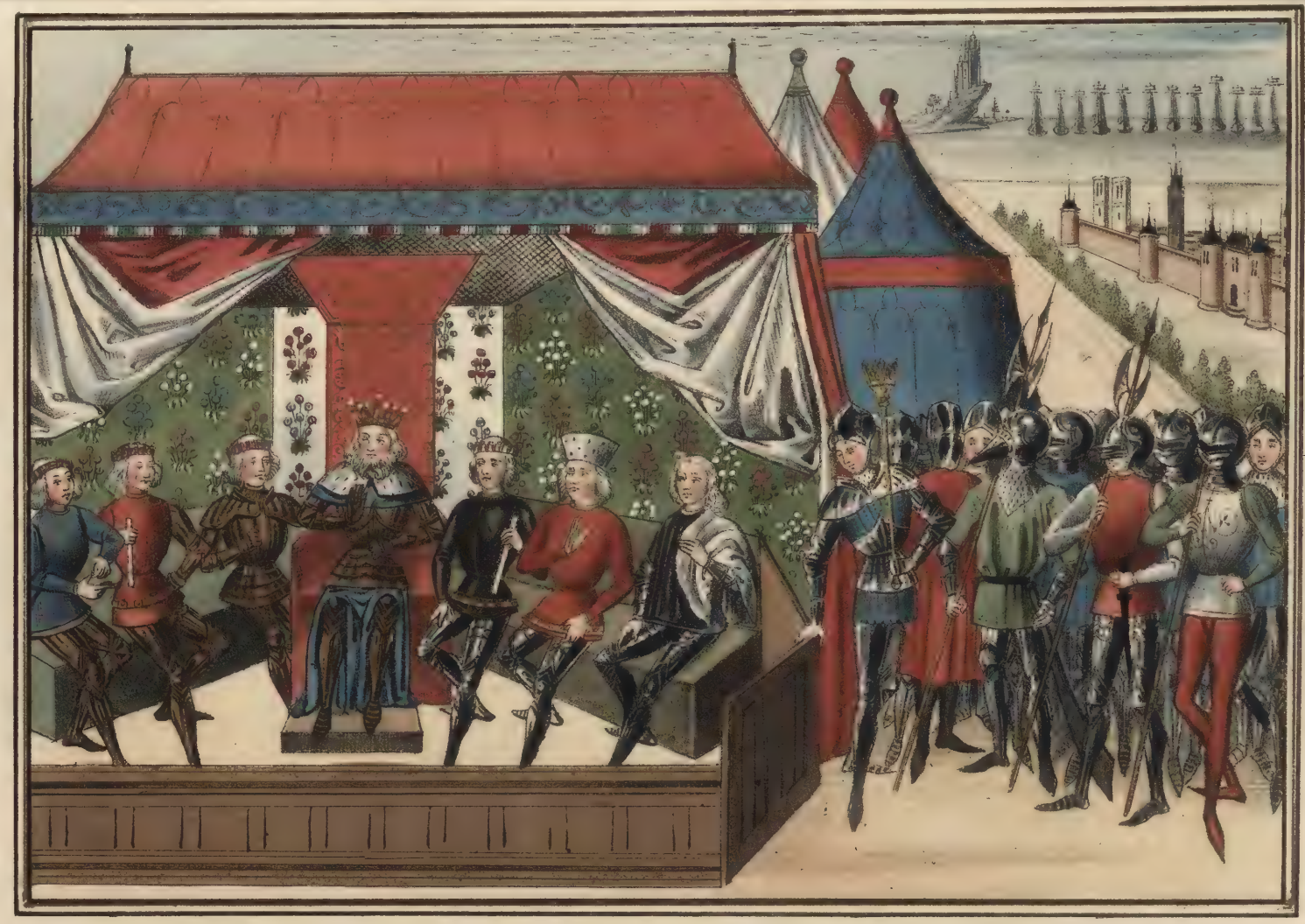
not longer, according to what I heard, and made a firm peace, which they mutually swore to observe most religiously. When they were about to return, they called their boatman, who rowed them back to the place he had brought them from, and they entered the church by a private door, through the garden and cloisters of the convent, whence they soon departed for the castle of la Motte, the duke holding sir Oliver by the hand. All who thus saw them were pleased: indeed, the whole of Brittany was very happy when the news of this reconciliation was made public; but greatly were they surprised on hearing how it had been brought about.

John of Blois, count de Penthievre, was no loser by this peace: on the contrary, his revenue was augmented twenty thousand golden crowns of France, well and legally assigned to him and his heirs. To confirm and strengthen this peace, a marriage was concluded between the son of John of Blois and a daughter of the duke of Brittany; so that those who looked for a continuance of war were disappointed. When intelligence of these transactions reached France and England, it caused very great surprise *.

You have before had it related how sir Peter de Craon incurred the indignation of the king of France and the duke of Touraine, for his attempt to murder the constable of France, sir Oliver de Clisson, as he was returning to his hôtel in the night-time from the king's palace; and that, from the duke of Brittany having supported and given him an asylum, the king of France had declared war against him, which he would have carried into effect had he not been suddenly taken ill between Mans and Angers, when on his march to Brittany: but this melancholy event caused the expedition to be put an end to, the army to be disbanded, and every man to return to his own home. You have also heard how the dukes of Berry and Burgundy took up this business, and showed great hatred to those who had advised the king to this expedition against Brittany, such as the lord de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, and others, whom they made suffer severely for it; for these two dukes had the sovereign government of the kingdom during the illness of the king. You have likewise heard of the inveterate war that was carried on between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson, and of their reconciliation; as well as of the deliverance of the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, and Montagu, from their confinements. Montagu had not so many difficulties to encounter as the other two; for, the instant the king recovered his health, he would have Montagu near his person, and assisted to make his excuses for several charges that had been laid against him. You must know, however, that this disorder of the king, and many of the like kind that followed, (for he had several relapses, to the great sorrow and alarm of France,) greatly weakened his power; and his will was so little attended to, that the three above-named persons, or two of them at least, very narrowly escaped death.

Sir Peter de Craon hearing of the miserable state of the king and kingdom of France, far from being sorry, was much rejoiced, and made the strongest entreaties that he might be restored to the king's favour, and allowed to return to the court of France. His negotiators were the duke of Burgundy and sir Guy de la Trémouille, who would too easily have succeeded had not the duke of Orleans strenuously opposed it. He prevented any treaty being made in favour of sir Peter de Craon as long as the war continued between the duke of Brittany and the lord de Clisson; but, when they were reconciled, his hatred against sir Peter was much softened. At this period, the queen of Naples and Jerusalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, was prosecuting sir Peter de Craon in the courts of justice

* When the duke of Brittany and the lord de Clisson were reconciled, they named commissioners to put their agreement into a legal form; and, according to the historian of Brittany often quoted, these lawyers met at Aucfer, near Redon, the 19th October, 1395. The principal articles of the treaty were, that the duke should assign over to the count de Penthievre the lordships of Châteauneuf du Fose, Vhelgouet, Gourien, Duault, Châteaulin in Cornuaille, Lannnion and Châuteaulin sur Trieuc, for the yearly payment of eight thousand livres; that the duke might take back these lands when he pleased, on giving others of like value in Brittany or France; that the count should pay obedience to the duke, notwithstanding the demolition of the castle of Tonguedoc, the restoration of which he could never insist on; that the lord de Clisson would acknowledge the duke for his lord, but to have liberty, during four years, to appear personally or by proxy; that all lands that had been seized by each side during the war should be restored to their respective owners. This treaty was sealed and sworn to by the lord de Clisson, at Rieux, the 20th October. The count de Penthievre swore to it five days after at Guingamp, in the presence of the viscount de Fou and Henri de Juck, chamberlains to the duke.



The King of Hungary in council with his own Lords and those of France before crossing the Danube to invade Turkey.

at Paris, for the restitution of one hundred thousand francs, a sum she claimed as due to her late lord; and for that reason, and to attend the more to her affairs, she resided privately in Paris. Sir Peter found himself very disagreeably situated: he was fearful of the decision of the parliament, for the lady was of great personal weight, and had proved from whom, during the life of the duke of Anjou, he had received this sum, and for which, as she maintained, he had never accounted. He was ill at ease on this account, and besides knew he had incurred the disgrace of the king and the duke of Orleans. The duke and duchess of Burgundy comforted him as well as they could; and he was allowed to come to Paris privately, where he remained, during the greater part of his residence, at the hôtel d'Artois, under the protection of the duchess of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE KING OF HUNGARY WRITES TO THE KING OF FRANCE HIS SITUATION IN RESPECT TO THE SULTAN BAJAZET.—JOHN OF BURGUNDY, ELDEST SON TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MARCHES, AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, AN ARMY TO THE SUCCOUR OF THE HUNGARIANS.

About this time, Sigismond king of Hungary wrote very affectionate letters to the king of France, which he sent by a bishop and two of his knights. The contents of these letters related to the threats of Bajazet, and his boastings to the king of Hungary, of carrying the war into the midst of his realm, and thence to Rome, where his horse should eat his oats on the altar of Saint Peter. He said he would establish that place for the seat of his imperial government, and be attended by the emperor of Constantinople and all the principal barons of Greece: each of whom should follow their own laws, for that he would only reserve to himself his authority as their lord paramount. The king of Hungary entreated the king of France to listen to his distress; and make it public throughout France and other countries, that all knights and squires might be moved to provide themselves with every necessary for a journey to Hungary, to oppose the sultan Bajazet, and prevent holy Christendom from being oppressed or violated by him, and that his vain boastings might be annihilated. Many affectionate expressions were contained in these letters, such as kings and cousins are accustomed to write to each other in cases of necessity. Those who brought them were men of rank and understanding, and acquitted themselves so well, that king Charles was much inclined to their request; and the propositions from king Richard for the marriage of his daughter prospered the more, and were sooner agreed to, than if this intelligence from Hungary had not arrived in France; for, as king of France and eldest son of the church, he was very desirous of providing a remedy for the evils that threatened it. The subject of these letters was soon made public, both at home and abroad, to move the hearts of gentlemen, knights, and squires, who were desirous to travel in search of glory.

At the time this news came to Paris, there were with the king the duke and duchess of Burgundy, their eldest son, John of Burgundy count de Nevers, who was not then a knight, sir Guy, and sir William de la Trémouille, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, with other great barons. It was proposed, therefore, at the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy, who was eager to send assistance to Hungary, that his son, the count de Nevers, should undertake an expedition thither, as commander in chief of the French and other chivalry. John of Burgundy was a courteous and amiable youth of twenty-two years old, greatly beloved by the knights and squires of Burgundy, and indeed by all who were acquainted with him. He had married a prudent and devout lady, the daughter of duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, who had brought him two children, whom, in due season, he looked to ally nobly. It was hinted to him, to know what he would say, that perhaps the king of France might select him, to lead a body of men at arms to the assistance of the king of Hungary. He replied, "that if it were agreeable to his lord the king, and his lord and father, he would cheerfully accept of this command, which came very opportunely, as he had a great desire to gain renown." "Sir," answered those to whom he had addressed himself, "speak first to your father, and learn whether he be willing that you go, and if he will talk to the king on the subject; for without their consent nothing could be done."

It was not long after this, that John of Burgundy spoke to the duke his father, requesting humbly his consent to go on the expedition to Hungary, as he had a strong wish for it. When he made this request, there were with the duke sir Guy and sir William de la Trémouille, sir James de Vergy, and other knights, who, taking part in the conversation, said,—"My lord, what John of Burgundy asks is very reasonable, for it is time he should receive the order of knighthood; and he cannot more honourably receive it, than when marching against the enemies of God and of our faith. In case the king intend to send assistance to Hungary, whom can he so properly appoint as a leader as his cousin-german, your son? and you will see that many knights will join his company to advance their name." The duke replied,—"You speak to the purpose, and we have no inclination to check the ardour of our son; but we must first talk to the king, and hear what he shall say." The subject then dropped; but it was not long before the duke mentioned it to the king, who instantly complied, saying, he would do well to go thither; and, if he was in earnest, he not only gave his consent, but would appoint him commander-in-chief of the expedition.

It was published in Paris and elsewhere, that John of Burgundy was to lead a large body of men at arms into Hungary, to oppose the force of Bajazet*; that, when this was done, he was to advance to Constantinople, cross the Hellespont, enter Syria, gain the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, and the bondage of the sultan. Knights and squires began now to collect together, with other gentlemen who were desirous of renown. The duke of Burgundy, on the appointment of his son to the chief command, paid greater attention than before to the Hungarian ambassadors, who, perceiving the good-will of the king of France and the nation, were well pleased, and took leave of the king, the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu and constable of France, the count de la Marche, and the other barons, on their departure for their own country, where the king of Hungary was greatly delighted with the news they brought. In consequence of this, he gave orders for large stores of provision to be provided against the arrival of the French; and sent messengers to his brother, the king of Germany, and his cousin, the duke of Austria, for all the passes in their territories to be thrown open, as it would be necessary for them to march that way: he likewise ordered plenty of provision to be ready prepared, on the road they were to come. He sent also information of the expected assistance from France to the great master of the Teutonic order, and to the knights of Rhodes, that they might be ready to meet John of Burgundy, who, in the course of this summer, would lead a thousand knights and squires, all men of valour, into Hungary, on their way to Turkey, to oppose the menaces of the sultan Bajazet.

While the news of this expedition was the matter of conversation everywhere, the lord de Coucy returned from the frontiers of Genoa, where he had been upwards of a year negotiating with the Genoese. Some of the leading men in that city had informed the duke of Orleans that persons composing the government of Genoa were desirous of having for their duke one of the blood-royal of France, and, as he had married the daughter of the duke of Milan, it would be very suitable for him. In consequence of this, the lord de Coucy had passed through Savoy and Piedmont, with the consent of the count de Savoye and the Savoyards, accompanied by three hundred lances and five hundred cross-bows. Having obtained leave from the duke of Milan, he continued his journey from Asti in Piedmont to a town called Alexandria, and thence to the frontiers of Genoa, to enter into negotiations with the Genoese, and learn more plainly their intentions. By force he could do nothing, unless he were very superior to the Genoese, which was not the case. When the lord de Coucy had entered the territories of Genoa, which are not easy to conquer, if the inhabitants have any disposition to defend them, some of those lords who had sent the information to the duke of Orleans, and had been the cause of his coming, waited on him, and with many friendly expressions welcomed him to their country and offered him their castles. But the lord de Coucy was as prudent as valiant, and being well acquainted with the character of the Lombards and Genoese, was unwilling to trust too much to their offers and promises. However, he received them kindly, and treated them fairly by words; for although there were many conferences between them, they were held in the open fields, and not in any house or castle; but the more he negotiated the less he gained. The Genoese showed him

* The Turks were already in possession of some parts of Greece.

every token of affection, and invited him repeatedly to come to Genoa, or to Porto Venere, but the lord de Coucy would never put himself in their power. The issue of his negotiation was unsuccessful; and when it was found he could not do any thing, having regularly written to the duke of Orleans respecting the state of affairs, he was remanded to Paris, at the time when the expedition to Hungary was in agitation.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy were happy at his return, and, sending for him to the hôtel d'Artois, addressed him in the most amicable manner as follows: "Lord de Coucy, we have the highest opinion of your understanding, valour, and prudence; and as we have made John our son and heir undertake the command of an expedition, which we hope will turn out to the honour of God and Christendom, knowing that you of all the knights of France are the best informed of warlike affairs, we beg and entreat most earnestly that you would be the counsellor and companion of our son in this expedition; for which we shall be so greatly obliged, that we will return it by serving you or yours to the utmost of our power." The lord de Coucy replied,—"My lord, and you Madam, what you request is to me an order. I will surely be of this expedition, if it please God, for two reasons: first, from devotion, and to defend the faith of Jesus Christ; secondly, from the honour you do me, by giving me the charge of advising my lord John your son. I shall therefore obey, and acquit myself in all respects to the best of my abilities. But, my dear lord, and you my very dear lady, you may readily excuse me from this weight, and lay it on the lord Philip d'Artois, constable of France, and on the count de la Marche; for they are nearly related to him, and intend to form a part of the expedition." The duke answered,—"Lord de Coucy, you have seen much more than either of them, and know more of war than our cousins of Eu and de la Marche; and we entreat you to comply with our request." "My lord," said the lord de Coucy, "your words are commands; and I will do as you require, since it is your pleasure, with the aid of sir Guy de la Trémouille, his brother sir William, and sir John de Vienne admiral of France." The duke and duchess were well pleased with this answer.

The lords of France made vast preparations for their expedition to Hungary, and solicited the company and service of different barons, knights, and squires. Such as were not asked, and had a wish to go thither, made application to the count d'Eu, constable of France, the count de la Marche or the lord de Coucy, that they would take them in their company. Some were accepted: but those who were not, considering the great distance Hungary and Turkey were from France, greatly cooled in their ardour; for, as they were not retained, they were not sufficiently wealthy to perform the journey with credit to themselves. Nothing was spared in the preparations for the young John of Burgundy with regard to horses, armour, emblazonments, dresses, silver and gold plate, and the duke's officers were fully employed in the business. Large sums of florins were given to the servants of John of Burgundy, who paid them to the different workmen as they finished and brought home their works. The barons, knights, and squires, to do him honour, exerted themselves to make their equipments as handsome as possible.

The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, made magnificent preparations; for he was determined to march thither as constable of France; and the king, who much loved him, assisted him with money, and he acted in the same manner with respect to the lord Boucicaut, marshal of France. The duke of Burgundy, considering that this expedition would cost him very large sums, and that the state of his wife, himself, and his son Anthony, ought not to be any way diminished, bethought himself of a tax he had in reserve, in order to find a supply of money for these expenses. He had received from cities and towns in Burgundy, as the usual tax on his eldest son receiving the order of knighthood, six score thousand golden crowns: but his additional tax was laid on all knights who held fiefs from him, to attend his son into Hungary, or one pound in money. Some were taxed at one thousand livres, others at two thousand; some at five hundred; each according to his wealth, or the value of the lands. Ladies and ancient knights, who were unfit or disabled to undertake such an expedition, paid compositions at the duke's pleasure. The young knights and squires were exempted paying, for they were told,—"My lord does not want your money: you must accompany the lord John at your own costs and charges." Of this last tax, the duke of Burgundy received from the gentlemen of his duchy sixty thousand crowns, for none were exempted.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT, BROTHER-IN-LAW TO JOHN OF BURGUNDY, BEING DESIROUS TO MARCH TO HUNGARY, IS ADVISED BY HIS FATHER TO ATTEMPT, IN PREFERENCE, THE RE-CONQUEST OF FRIESLAND, WHICH BELONGED TO THEM.

News of this expedition to Hungary was spread far and near. On its being announced in Hainault, knights and squires, eager for renown, assembled together, and said,—"It would not be amiss if our lord of Hainault, who is young and promising, were to accompany his brother-in-law, the count de Nevers, in this expedition; and, should it take place, we must not fail to attend him." The count d'Ostrevant resided in Quesnoy at the time such conversations were held, and was informed what his knights and squires said. This made him the more willing to accompany his brother-in-law, having before had such intentions. Whenever the subject was mentioned in his presence, he dissembled his real thoughts, by saying little about it, meaning to consult his lord and father, duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, how he would advise him to act.

It was not many days before he set out to visit the duke and duchess of Bavaria at the Hague, where they lived. He addressed his father,—"My lord, it is currently reported that my brother-in-law of Nevers has undertaken an expedition to Hungary, and thence to Turkey, against the sultan Bajazet. There must be grand deeds of arms performed; and at this moment I am perfectly idle, knowing not whither to bear arms: I wish to learn your intentions, if it would be agreeable to you that I should accompany my brother-in-law on this honourable expedition, with one hundred of our chivalry. My lord and lady of Burgundy will thank me for so doing; and there are many knights and squires in Hainault who will eagerly go with me." Duke Albert replied, like one who had well weighed the subject,—"William, since thou hast so great a desire to travel, and to seek for deeds of arms in Hungary and Turkey, against a people and country who have never done us any wrong, it must be caused by vain-glory alone, for thou hast not a shadow of reason to induce thee to go thither. Let John of Burgundy and our cousins of France perform their enterprise, and do thou undertake one that more nearly touches us. March to Friesland, and conquer back that country, which was our inheritance; for the Frieslanders have, by rebellion, withdrawn themselves from our obedience; and, if thou undertake this, I will assist thee." This speech from his father was very agreeable to the count d'Ostrevant, and raised his spirit: he answered, "My lord, you say well, and, if it be your opinion I should undertake such an expedition, I will do so heartily." By little and little, the matter was so long talked over between the father and son, that the invasion of Friesland was agreed upon; and a circumstance I shall relate greatly helped him in this matter.

The count d'Ostrevant had at that time, for his principal adviser, a squire of Hainault, called Fier-à-bras, or the bastard of Vertain. He was equal in prudence as in arms, so that when the count told him what his father had said, he replied,—"Sir, my lord your father gives you excellent advice. It will be more for your honour to undertake this expedition than to join that to Hungary; and, when you begin your preparations for it, you will find plenty of knights and squires in Hainault and elsewhere, ready to accompany and assist you. But if you really are in earnest to undertake it, I would recommend that you first go to England, to make known your intentions to the knights and squires of that country; and to entreat the king of England, your cousin, that he would permit you to retain knights, squires, and archers, and allow them to accept of your pay, and to accompany you from England. The English are men of valour: if you succeed in obtaining their assistance, you will go far to be successful; and if you can prevail on your cousin, the earl of Derby, to take part and come with you, there will be still greater chances of success, and your enterprise will gain more renown." The count d'Ostrevant inclined to the council of Fier-à-bras de Vertain, for he thought it good; and, when he spoke of it to the lord de Gomegines, he likewise agreed to it, as did all who were friends to the count. News of this was whispered throughout Hainault, and a proclamation soon after issued, to prohibit all knights and squires from quitting the country, to form part of any expedition to

Hungary or elsewhere, for that the count d'Ostrevant needed their services, and would, this summer, lead them against Friesland.

We will, for a while, leave this matter, and speak of others that were in greater forwardness.

CHAPTER LXXI.—JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS, LEADS AN ARMY INTO HUNGARY AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE MARRIAGE OF KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND WITH THE ELDEST PRINCESS OF FRANCE ARE CONTINUED.

The knights and squires in different countries were all alive at the wars that seemed likely to take place in opposite quarters: some made themselves ready for the expedition to Hungary; others for that to Friesland: and whenever they met they conversed on these subjects. The count de Nevers was prepared; and all those knights had been enrolled who were to be under his charges, and to accompany him. The purveyances were very considerable and well arranged; and, as the honour of the expedition was given to him, he made handsome presents to his knights and squires, and gave them many stores; for, as the journey was long and expensive, it was but proper the men at arms should be aided to support them. In like manner did other lords act; such as the constable of France, the count de la Marche, the lords Philip and Henry de Bar, the lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Trémouille, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, Boucicaut marshal of France, sir Reginald de Roye, the lords de St. Pol, de Montmorel, de Saint Py, the haze de Flandres, sir Louis de Brézé, his brother, and the borgne de Monquel, with many more; for they amounted to one thousand knights and as many squires, all men of tried courage and enterprise.

They left their homes about the middle of March, and advanced in good array by companies. They found all the roads open to them, for the king of Germany had commanded that his country and Bohemia should afford them every friendly assistance to supply their wants, and that the prices of provision should on no account be raised. Thus did these lords of France march to the assistance of the king of Hungary, whose army was to have a pitched battle against that of Bajazet, on the 20th day of the ensuing month of May*. They passed Lorrain, the counties of Bar and Montbelliard, the duchy of Burgundy, and entering Aussais†, traversed that whole country, and, having crossed the Rhine in many places, marched through the county of Ferrette, and entered Austria. This is an extensive and wild country, with difficult passes; but they advanced with so good an inclination, that they did not suffer from the labour and fatigue. The chief conversation of the French lords was concerning the power of the Turks, which they seemed to make very light of.

The duke of Austria gave the French lords a handsome reception; but he was particularly attentive to John of Burgundy, for the lord Otho, eldest son to the duke, had espoused Mary of Burgundy, his sister‡. All these French lords were to assemble at a city called Buda, in Hungary. Let us return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard that the king of England had sent as ambassadors to the king of France, to conclude a marriage between him and his eldest daughter Isabella, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of St. David's, the earl marshal, the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, sir Henry Clifford, the lord Beaumont, the lord Despencer, sir John de Robesart, and several more. They had succeeded well in the business, and the French king made them welcome, as did his uncles and council. The ambassadors returned to England in high spirits, and gave the king great hopes that his wishes would be gratified. King Richard was not idle in the business, but during the following winter, frequently reminded the king and council of France of it, who were far from being adverse, for they considered it as one of the surest means to put an end to the wars which had lasted so long between France and England. The treaty was carried on with eagerness and friendship on both

* In the year 1396.—Ed.

† Alsace.—Ed.

‡ There is a mistake here. *Leopold* IV., duke of Austria, married Catherine, not Mary, daughter of Philippe le Hardi, and sister of Jean-sans-peur, the leader of this expedition.—Ed.

sides; and the king of England promised, from the power he had over his subjects, that there should be peace between the two countries. To conclude the business, the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal, with the other ambassadors, were again sent to Paris. They were lodged at the Croix du Tiroir, and, with their attendants, occupied the whole of that street, and part of another: they were full six hundred horse *, and remained in Paris upwards of three weeks, supplied with everything from the king of France.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE QUEEN OF NAPLES, WIDOW TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, OBTAINS JUDGMENT IN PARLIAMENT AGAINST SIR PETER DE CRAON.

During the time these ambassadors were at Paris negotiating the marriage of the king of England, the dowager queen of Naples was also there, busily employed in her own concerns, for she was a lady of great activity. Her business at that time was before the parliament, where she was pleading two causes: one for the inheritance of the county of Roussy against the count de Brianne; for the late duke of Anjou, her lord, had bought and paid for it to a lady who was countess de Roussy, some time wife to sir Louis de Namur, from whom she was divorced. The other was against sir Peter de Craon, from whom she claimed the sum of one hundred thousand francs, and which she proved he had received for and in the name of her late lord the king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, on condition to pay the same to him in la Puglia; but, when he was informed of the king of Naples' death, he no longer continued his journey but returned to France, making use of the above-mentioned sum to his own profit, without rendering any account of it to the queen of Naples, nor to her two children Lewis and Charles, but dissipating it in folly and extravagance. This was the cause, as the queen of Naples said, of the loss of that kingdom, which was regained by Margaret Durazzo and the heirs of sir Charles Durazzo; for the soldiers of her late lord, who were aiding her to continue the war in Calabria and la Puglia, deserted her for want of pay: many had turned to the count de St. Severino and to Margaret Durazzo, and others had retired from the war.

All these matters were pleaded in the courts of the parliament at Paris, for upwards of three years: although sir Peter de Craon was absent, his advocates defended him well. They said, that in regard to the sum of one hundred thousand francs which he was charged with having received in the name of the king of Naples, that king was indebted to him as much, if not more, for the great and noble services he had rendered him.—Notwithstanding the length of time this cause lasted, it was impossible to put off for ever its conclusion; and the lady was very urgent that judgment should be given by the parliament. The judges, having considered the matter well, declared they would give no judgment until both parties were personally before them. This was then difficult to accomplish, from the disgrace sir Peter de Craon was in with the king and the duke of Orleans, for his attempt to assassinate the constable. The lady, finding nothing would be done until sir Peter was before the court, perfectly free from every other charge except what she accused him of, and with full liberty to go anywhere in France, exerted herself greatly to obtain this for him, that an end might be put to her suit. Her solicitations with the king, the duke of Orleans, the count de Penthievre, sir John Harpedane and others, who had any complaints against him, were successful, and he was acquitted of all other charges. I know not whether it happened through dissimulation or otherwise, but he was shown great attention and kindness by the nobles and ladies of France until the time when judgment was to be given. He kept up as great state at Paris as ever he had done, and was appointed to receive the English ambassadors, and to introduce them to the king, his brother, and uncles, for he was a knight perfectly well versed in all such ceremonies.

The day was fixed for the parliament to decide on the queen of Naples' complaints: the sentence had before been determined upon, and waited solely for the appearance of all parties

* The Monk of St. Denis says that their numbers were more than twelve hundred. Six hundred horsemen, with their attendants on *foot* (as was customary), would amount to that number.—Ed.

concerned. A great number of the nobility attended, that it might have more authenticity; among whom were the queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, duchess of Anjou and countess of Provence, her son Charles, prince of Tarentum, and John of Blois, more commonly called John of Brittany, count de Penthievre and Limoges, the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the count de Brianne and the bishop of Laon, whom the queen had brought before the court on the subject of her claim on the county of Roussy. Sir Peter de Craon was likewise there, attended by many of his relations and friends.

The matter of the county of Roussy was first disposed of; and the judgment of the court was solemnly pronounced, that the county should belong to the count de Brianne and to his heirs, who was to have immediate possession given him; but the queen of Naples was to be repaid in money the full amount of what her late lord, the duke of Anjou, had given to the countess of Roussy, lately deceased. The heirs of the countess of Roussy, to whom the lands belonged, thanked the court for the judgment they had given. The president, who was to declare the sentence in the second cause, now rose, and said, "the parliament had determined that sir Peter de Craon was indebted to the queen of Naples in the sum of one hundred thousand francs, which he must pay to her, or be committed to prison until it was done completely to her satisfaction." The queen thanked the court for their judgment, and, instantly, on her request, sir Peter de Craon was arrested, in the king's name, and carried to the prison of the Louvre, where he was confined and well guarded. Upon this, the parliament broke up, and every one returned to his home. Thus were these two sentences given, through the activity of the duchess of Anjou.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE MARRIAGE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND AND THE LADY ISABELLA, ELDEST DAUGHTER TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARRIES AGAIN.—SIR PETER DE CRAON IS, AFTER SOME TIME, DELIVERED FROM PRISON, AT THE ENTREATY OF THE YOUNG QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

The earl marshal, the earl of Rutland, and the English ambassadors remained for twenty-two days in Paris, where they were excellently well entertained by the king and his court: their negotiations were successful, and the marriage between the king of England and the princess Isabella was agreed on. She was betrothed and espoused by the earl marshal, as proxy for the king of England, and the lady, ever after, was styled queen of England. I was at the time told it was pleasant to see that, young as she was, she knew well how to act the queen. When this business was completed, and the different treaties signed and sealed, the ambassadors took their leave of the king and his court, and departed from Paris to Calais, on their return to England, where they were joyfully received by the king, the duke of Lancaster, and the lords attached to the king's person and pleasures.

However much others might be pleased, it was not so with the duke of Gloucester; for he saw plainly that by this marriage peace would be established between the two kingdoms, which sorely displeased him, unless it should be such a peace as would redound to the honour of England, and every thing were placed on the same footing as when the war broke out in Gascony. He frequently conversed on this subject with his brother the duke of York, and, whenever the occasion was favourable, endeavoured to draw him over to his way of thinking, for he was but of weak understanding. He dared not speak so freely to his elder brother of Lancaster, who was of the king's party, and well satisfied with this marriage, on account of his two daughters the queens of Castille and Portugal. At this period, the duke of Lancaster married his third wife, the daughter of a Hainault knight, called sir Paon de Ruet: he had formerly been one of the knights to the good and noble queen Philippa of England, who much loved the Hainaulters, as she was herself of that country.

This lady whom the duke of Lancaster married was called Catherine*, and in her youth had been of the household of the duchess Blanche of Lancaster. Before the lady Blanche's death, and even when the duke was married to his second wife Constance, the daughter of

* Catherine Swynford.—Ed.

don Pedro, he cohabited with the lady Catherine de Ruet, who was then married to an English knight now dead*.

The duke of Lancaster had three children † by her, previous to his marriage, two sons and a daughter: the eldest son was named John lord Beaufort of Lancaster; the other Thomas, whom the duke kept at the schools in Oxford, and made a great churchman and civilian. He was afterward bishop of Lincoln, which is the richest bishopric in the kingdom: from affection to these children, the duke married their mother, to the great astonishment of France and England, for Catherine Swynford was of base extraction in comparison to his two former duchesses Blanche and Constance. When this marriage was announced to the ladies of high rank in England, such as the duchess of Gloucester, the countess of Derby, the countess of Arundel, and others connected with the royal family, they were greatly shocked, and thought the duke much to blame. They said, "he had sadly disgraced himself by thus marrying his concubine;" and added, that, "since it was so, she would be the second lady in the kingdom, and the queen would be dishonourably accompanied by her; but that, for their parts, they would leave her to do the honours alone, for they would never enter any place where she was. They themselves would be disgraced if they suffered such a base-born duchess, who had been the duke's concubine a long time before and during his marriages, to take precedence, and their hearts would burst with grief were it to happen." Those who were the most outrageous on the subject were the duke and duchess of Gloucester. They considered the duke of Lancaster as a doating fool for thus marrying his concubine, and declared they would never honour his lady by calling her sister. The duke of York made light of the matter, for he lived chiefly with the king and his brother of Lancaster. The duke of Gloucester was of a different way of thinking: although the youngest of the three brothers, he yielded to no man's opinion, was naturally very proud and overbearing, and in opposition to the king's ministers, unless he could turn them as he willed. Catherine Ruet, however, remained duchess of Lancaster, and the second lady in England, as long as she lived. She was a lady accustomed to honours, for she had been brought up at court during her youth, and the duke fondly loved the children he had by her, as he showed during his life and at his death.

I must mention, that when the sentence of the court of parliament at Paris had been pronounced against sir Peter de Craon in favour of the queen of Naples, he was confounded. Finding that he must refund the one hundred thousand francs or remain his whole life in prison, he listened to the counsel that was given him from the duke and duchess of Burgundy. They advised him to solicit the young queen of England to intercede with the queen of Naples to obtain his liberty for fifteen days only, that he might seek out his friends in Paris to pay this money, or to become his sureties until he had procured it in Brittany or elsewhere, engaging to return with the sum he was condemned to pay. The queen of Naples complied with the request of the queen of England, but on condition that sir Peter de Craon should every night sleep in his prison at the Louvre. Sir Peter sought for aid among his relatives in vain; for the sum was too great for them to advance, and they refused being his sureties. At the end of the fifteen days, he was forced to return to his prison, where he was strictly guarded day and night, and at his own proper costs.

We will now speak of what actions and enterprises the count de Nevers and the lords of France performed this summer in Hungary; and then say something of the expedition the earl of Hainault and earl of Ostrevant made into Friesland.

* Sir Hugh Swynford.

† Froissart mistakes in the number, and Thomas for Henry. According to Sandford, he had four children by Catherine Swynford:—John Beaufort, earl of Somerset,—Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and cardinal of Beaufort,—Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset,—Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmoreland. For further particulars, see Sandford and Dugdale.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS, PASSES THE DANUBE WITH HIS ARMY.—AFTER THE CAPTURE OF SEVERAL PLACES, THE TOWN OF NICOPOLI IS BESIEGED *.

On the arrival of the count de Nevers with his army, which was composed of numbers of valiant men from France and other countries, at Buda in Hungary, the king gave them a most hearty reception, as indeed he ought, for to serve him they were come. It was the intention of the king of Hungary, before he took the field, to obtain some certain intelligence of the movements of Bajazet, who had given him notice since last February to increase his forces, as he would in the course of the month of May lead an immense army to cross the Danube and offer combat to the Hungarians. Many wondered how this could be done; but others replied,—"Nothing was impossible to man; that as Bajazet was of great valour and enterprise, and had said he would do so, he would surely accomplish it; but, if he failed in his threat, and did not cross the Danube, we ought to cross it, and enter his kingdom of Turkey. The king of Hungary could lead thither one hundred thousand men, including foreigners, which was sufficient to conquer all Turkey, and even to advance to the kingdom of Persia. If we gain a victory over Bajazet, we shall so far succeed, that we may conquer Syria and the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem out of the hands of the Sultan and the enemies of our God. In the ensuing summer, the kings of France and England will jointly raise a large force of men at arms and archers; and, when they shall be united to us, nothing will be able to withstand so powerful an army."

Such were the conversations of the French in Hungary. When the month of May arrived, being disappointed in their expectations of hearing of the march of Bajazet, the king of Hungary sent scouts across the Danube to seek intelligence, and, at the same time, issued his summons for his power to assemble. The knights of Rhodes came thither in numbers during the month of May, looking for the arrival of the Saracens, but no news was heard of them. The king of Hungary, on this, sent some Hungarians who were used to arms, and well acquainted with the country, beyond the Danube, but they were as unsuccessful as his former scouts, in not meeting Bajazet: they heard that he was still in Asia, at Damascus, Antioch, or Alexandria. The king, on receiving this information, called a council of his lords, and those who were come from France, who were eager to signalise themselves, to consider how they should act in this emergency. The king told them that he had sent some expert men at arms to seek Bajazet, who had advanced far into Turkey; and that there was no appearance Bajazet would this summer put the menace into execution, of crossing the Danube to offer him battle. The king wished to have advice on this matter, more especially from the French lords. The lord de Coucy having consulted with the other barons, answered for them, that if Bajazet should have told lies, and deceived them by not keeping his word, they ought not for that to remain idle, but attempt some deeds of arms, since they were come thither to that effect; that all the French, Germans, and other foreigners, were willing to meet the Turks; and if under the command of Bajazet so much the better, as it would redound more to their honour. What the lord de Coucy said was approved of by the French, Germans, Bohemians, and others, as the most advantageous manner of employing the season.

Orders were, in consequence, issued by the king and marshals, that every one be prepared by a certain day, which was appointed on the octave of Saint John the Baptist, to march for Turkey. These orders were punctually obeyed; and you would have seen servants busily employed in preparing all things for their masters' wants. The lords of France were desirous of making a handsome figure, and examined well their armour and equipages, sparing no money to have them as complete as possible. Their appearance was grandly magnificent, when they took the field from Buda, the principal city of Hungary. The constable of Hungary had the command of the van division, because he knew the country

* "Nicopoli,"—on the Danube, in Bulgaria, sixty leagues N.W. from Adrianople. It is famous for the battle, in 1393, between Sigismond, king of Hungary, and Bajazet. Sigismond lost the battle and twenty thousand men; but it cost Bajazet sixty thousand, who were left dead on the field.

well, and led with him a large body of Hungarians and Germans. Next to him marched the French lords, the constable of France, the count de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, the lords Henry and Philip de Bar, and many more.

With the king of Hungary rode the greatest barons of his realm, as was proper, and by his side John of Burgundy, who often conversed with him. They were full sixty thousand horse: the infantry were few in number, indeed none but the followers of the army. The array of the Christians was noble and handsome; and among the Hungarians were many cross-bow men on horseback. This army advanced until it came to the banks of the Danube, which it crossed in barges, boats, and pontoons, prepared some time since for this purpose. It was more than eight days before all had passed over; and as they landed on the opposite shore, they lodged themselves to wait for their companions. The Danube divides the kingdoms of Hungary and Turkey. When the whole army had crossed, they were delighted to find themselves on Turkish ground, for they were impatient to try the courage of the Turks. After a council, they resolved to besiege a town in Turkey called Comecte *, and made preparations to invest it on all sides. This could easily be done; for



King of Hungary holding a Council with the French Knights. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

it is situated in an open plain, with a river deep enough to bear vessels, called the Mecte †, which rises in Turkey, and falls into the Danube near the sea. This river Danube is very wide, and has more than four hundred leagues of course from its spring to the sea; it would be the most profitable of rivers to Hungary and the adjoining countries, if the vessels it carries could have a free passage to the sea, but that is impossible; for, right at its mouth, there is a mountain which divides it into two parts, and chokes the passage: the noise of the water is so tremendous, no vessel dares approach it, and it may be heard seven leagues off. On both sides of the river Mecte are fertile meads, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, and vineyards, which in favourable seasons produce good wines. The Turks vintage them, and, when made, they are put into goat-skins, and sold to the Christians, for, according to their religion, they are forbidden to taste wine under pain of death; at least when discovered so doing, they are punished: they make pleasant beverages of many other excellent fruits and spices, and are accustomed to drink much of goat's milk, during the hot weather, to refresh and cool them.

The king of Hungary encamped his army before this town without opposition, for no one

* "Comecte." Q. Nissa. † "Mecte." Q. Morava.

made any attempt to prevent the siege; nor was there any person or army in the place, from Bajazet, to guard or defend it. On their arrival, they found the fruits ripe, which was a great comfort to them. Many attacks were made on the town, but they were valiantly opposed by the inhabitants, in the expectation of daily receiving reinforcements from Bajazet, their lord, to raise the siege. None, however, came, and the city was taken by storm, with great slaughter of men, women, and children; for the Christians on entering it spared none. When Comecte had thus been destroyed, the king of Hungary decamped with his army, and advanced farther into Turkey towards the large city of Nicopoli; but, before he arrived there, he came to a town called Laquaire, where he encamped fifteen days, for it was so long before he could conquer it. This was also taken by storm, and destroyed. They then marched to another town and castle called Brehappe, governed by a Turkish knight, the lord of the place, who had with him a strong garrison.

The king of Hungary encamped his Hungarians about a league distant from it on account of water, for there was none nearer Brehappe; but the counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de la Marche, and the lords de Coucy, Boucicaut, de Saimpi, de Roye, Henry and Philip de Bar, with more than a thousand French knights and squires, made their approaches close to the town. The count de Nevers had been created a knight by the king of Hungary, on his entering Turkey; and, the day he displayed his banner, upwards of three hundred were knighted. Those who had advanced to the town won it, within four days, by assault; but the castle was too strong, and resisted all their attacks. The lord of Brehappe, whose name was, I believe, Corbadas, a very valiant man, saved many of his people within the castle. He had three brothers, called Maladius, Balachius, and Ruffin. After the capture of the town, the Christians were seven days before the castle, and attacked it many times, but they lost more than they gained. These four brothers showed they were men of valour by the defence they made. The French lords having well considered the strength of the castle, and that they lost more than they won, saw plainly their attempts would be vain, and decamped, for they had heard the king of Hungary was desirous to lay siege to Nicopoli. Thus was the siege of Brehappe Castle broken up, and the garrison left in peace, but the town was burnt. The count de Nevers and the lords of France joined the king of Hungary, who instantly prepared to march to Nicopoli.

Corbadas de Brehappe was well pleased to observe the Christians marching away, and said,—"We shall now be undisturbed for some time: if my town be burnt, it will be rebuilt and recover itself: but I am surprised that we have no news from our sultan Bajazet; for he told me, the last time I spoke with him in the city of Nicopoli, that he would return to this country the beginning of May. His intentions were to cross the Hellespont, and march to Hungary to offer battle to the Christians, as he had sent to inform the king of Hungary. But this he has not done; and the Hungarians, greatly strengthened and emboldened by succours from France, have crossed the Danube and entered Turkey, where they will destroy all the possessions of Bajazet, for we have no force to oppose them. They will now for certain besiege Nicopoli, which, although sufficiently strong to hold out for some time, must be well defended. We are four brothers, knights, and relations to Bajazet: we ought, therefore, to attend to his concerns; and, in consequence, I propose the following plan: I and my brother Maladius will go to Nicopoli to assist in its defence; Balachius shall remain here to guard Brehappe, and Ruffin shall cross the sea and hasten to find Bajazet, and inform him of everything that has happened, and the great army that has invaded Turkey, that he may take instant measures to prevent the dishonourable loss of his possessions, and march such a force against the Christians as may conquer them; otherwise he will not only lose Armenia that he has won, but his own territories also; for, according to appearances, the king of Hungary and the Christians are determined to attempt his complete destruction." The three Turks approved of what their brother had said, and promised obedience. They made preparations accordingly; and, in the mean time, the siege was laid before Nicopoli by the Christian army, amounting to nearly one hundred thousand men. Corbadas de Brehappe and his brother Maladius gained admittance into the town, to the joy of the inhabitants. Balachius remained in the castle of Brehappe, and Ruffin took the first opportunity of setting out, passing the Christian army in the night, for he was

well acquainted with the country, and crossed the Hellespont to learn intelligence where Bajazet was.

In truth, Bajazet was at Cairo with the sultan of Babylon, to solicit his aid, and there the Turk found him. When Bajazet saw him, he was much surprised, and imagined something extraordinary had happened. He called to him, and asked how things were going on in Turkey. "My lord," replied he, "they are very anxious to see you there, for the king of Hungary, with an immense force, has crossed the Danube, and invaded the country. They have committed great destruction, and burnt five or six of your inclosed towns: when I left Brehappe, they were marching to Nicopoli. My brothers Corbadas and Maladius have thrown themselves, with some men at arms, into the town to assist in the defence. You must know, that in this army of the king of Hungary, there is a body of Frenchmen, the most gallant and best appointed that can be seen. It behoves you, therefore, to summon your friends and vassals, and hasten to Turkey with an army powerful enough to drive these Christians across the Danube; but if your force is not very considerable, you will not be able to accomplish it."

"How many are they?" asked Bajazet. "Upwards of one hundred thousand," said the Turk, "and all on horseback, armed in the best possible manner." Bajazet made no reply to this, but entered the chamber of the sultan of Babylon, leaving the Turk, who had brought this intelligence, among his people. He related what you have just heard to the sultan of Babylon, who answered,—"You must provide yourself accordingly, and shall have men enough to oppose them, for we must, by all means, defend our religion and possessions." "That is true," replied Bajazet, "and my wishes are now accomplished; for I was desirous that the king of Hungary would cross the Danube with his army and enter Turkey. At present, I shall let him have full scope, but in the end he shall repay me fully for what he has done. It is four months since I heard of this expedition, from my good friend the duke of Milan, who at the same time sent me twelve hawks and gerfalcons, the finest I ever saw. With these presents, he wrote me the names and surnames of the barons of France who were coming to carry the war into Turkey; adding, that if I could capture those named in his letter, their ransoms would be worth to me more than a million of florins. Besides the barons he mentioned, there ought to be with them from France, or the neighbouring countries, five hundred gallant squires. The duke of Milan advised me, if we had a battle (which will infallibly be the case, for I shall march to meet them), to draw up my men with prudence, and to take every advantage in the combat; for they were all men of such ability and resolution, that the meanest would not fly, to avoid death. They have undertaken this expedition, as the duke writes me, solely through valour, to do some deeds of arms that may gain them renown. For this I feel myself thankful to them; and their desire for arms shall be gratified within three months from this time, when, perhaps, they may have more than sufficient."

CHAPTER LXXV.—A DIGRESSION FROM THE PRINCIPAL HISTORY, TO EXPLAIN WHY JOHN GALEAS OF MILAN WAS MOVED TO GIVE THE TURK INFORMATION OF THE EXPEDITION INTENDED AGAINST HIM.

What Bajazet had told the sultan of Babylon respecting the information he had received from the lord of Milan must surprise every one. It was supposed he had been baptised and was regenerated in our faith, and yet he had sought the friendship and alliance of an infidel king, an enemy to our religion, and had every year sent him presents of hounds and hawks, or the finest linen cloth that could be procured at Rheims, Cambray, or in Holland, which is very agreeable to the Saracens, who have none but what comes from our country. Bajazet, in return, made him rich gifts of cloth of gold and precious stones, of which they have abundance; and we cannot obtain them without great risk, unless by means of the Venetians or Genoese, who traffic with those parts. With regard to the count de Vertus, duke of Milan, and the lord Galeas, his father, who reigned over the Milanese as tyrants, it is marvellous to think of their fortunes, and how they first gained possession of that country.

There were three brothers of the house of Visconti, sir Matthew, sir Galeas, and sir Bernabo. These three brothers had an uncle * who was archbishop of Milan during the time the lord Charles de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia and Germany, was elected emperor in the room of Lewis of Bavaria, who had obtained that dignity by force. He was never acknowledged emperor by the church, but, on the contrary, was excommunicated by pope Innocent VI., who then reigned. The cause of his excommunication was, that after being crowned at Rome, by a pope and twelve cardinals of his creation, he gave liberty to his German soldiers to plunder Rome, to make them amends for the pay that was due. This was the recompense the Romans received for the reception they gave him; and for this cause he died under sentence of excommunication. The pope and cardinals whom he had made came of their free will to Avignon, and submitted themselves to pope Innocent, who absolved them of their error.

To return to the lords of Milan: I will say how they first obtained possession of the Milanese. This archbishop, their uncle, received in Milan the new emperor on his return from Aix-la-Chapelle (where he had performed the usual ceremonies for forty days) with so much magnificence and splendour that, in return for this good cheer and for a loan of one hundred thousand ducats, the emperor created him viscount of Milan, and gave to him the territory of the Milanese, and to his nephews after him, to hold during pleasure, and until the hundred thousand ducats were repaid in one sum. When the archbishop died, his nephew, sir Matthew, was acknowledged by the emperor as viscount of Milan. His two brothers, sir Galeas and sir Bernabo, who then were far from rich, took counsel together, and determined to seize the government and rule over Lombardy: to accomplish this, they resolved on their brother's death, by poison or otherwise †, and then to unite themselves so strongly by marriage that no one would dare to anger them. After the death of sir Matthew, they reigned with great power, and were on the best terms during their lives. They divided the country of Lombardy between them: sir Galeas had ten towns, being the eldest brother, and sir Bernabo nine; and Milan was governed alternately by them for one year. To maintain their government, and supply their expenses, they laid heavy taxes and gabelles on the people, and, by various means, extorted great wealth from their subjects. They had their towns garrisoned with foreign mercenaries, Germans, French, Bretons, English, and from every nation except Lombardy, for in the Lombards they had no confidence. These soldiers were regularly paid every month, and were much dreaded by the people, for none dared to oppose them. When any of the neighbouring lords ventured to resist their encroachments, they took a severe revenge, and destroyed several, that others might take warning.

The inhabitants of their towns were under such awe, that they possessed nothing but through the good pleasure of sir Galeas and sir Bernabo, and those who were rich they taxed three or four times a year. They said the Lombards were too proud of their riches, and good for nothing unless kept under subjection. They were indeed so by them, for none dared murmur or say a word against any of their commands. The two brothers married nobly, but they bought their wives from the wealth of their people. Sir Galeas espoused Blanche, sister to the good count of Savoy: before he had his consent, he gave him one hundred thousand ducats. Sir Bernabo married in Germany a sister to the duke of Brunswick, and did not pay a less sum than his brother had done‡. They had many children, whom they married to powerful families, to add to their strength. Sir Galeas had a son called John Galeas, and when he heard that king John of France had obtained his liberty from England, and that he was in great difficulty to procure the first payment of his ransom, of three millions of francs, he negotiated with the king and his council to have one of the daughters of France for wife to his son John Galeas. His proposals were listened to, because they knew he was rich, and the king was distressed for money. He bought, therefore, the daughter of

* Giovanni Visconti.—Ed.

† Although they might have intended the crime, they had no necessity for its perpetration. Matthew died from the effects of his intemperance.—Ed.

‡ Galeas Visconti married Blanche of Savoy, 10th September, 1350.
Bernabo Visconti married Beatrix Scaligera, through pride called Regina. 27th September, 1350.
Anderson's Royal Genealogies.

king John for six hundred thousand francs, which being paid to the king of England, his son married her. She brought him as her dower the county of Vertus in Champagne. They had a son and daughter, and the last was married, by dint of money, to the second son of the late king Charles V. called Lewis, who is at this moment duke of Orleans, count of Blois and of Valois. This marriage cost the count de Vertus, father of the lady, one million of francs, with part of which was bought the county of Blois, as you have heard related in this history. The two brothers lived in great friendship with each other, which increased their power; and neither pope nor cardinal, who made war against them, could gain any advantage, nor any prince, except the marquis of Montferrat, who succeeded through the aid of sir John Hawkwood and the English companies, whom he sought in Provence, and led into Lombardy.

After the death of Galeas, his son John Galeas, count de Vertus, reigned with great power, and at the beginning was much beloved in Lombardy for his prudent and wise conduct. He abolished the most oppressive taxes his father had imposed, and was so popular that all spoke well of him; but when he had so far succeeded, he showed his natural disposition, which he had long restrained. He laid an ambuscade for his uncle, sir Bernabo, who thought himself on the best terms with him; and, when he was taken, he was told that one lord was sufficient for Lombardy. He could not obtain any favour, for the power was against him, and, being carried to a castle, was put to death, but how I know not. Sir Bernabo had many fine children; and the queen of France is the daughter of one that was married to the duke of Austria and Bavaria. Sir Galeas seized all the children of his uncle he could lay hands on, as well as his possessions, which he annexed to his own, and reigned in great splendour and wealth. He shortly after renewed the taxes he had taken off, and extorted money from his subjects by every means of imposition, which made him more feared than loved. He followed the errors of his father, declaring and maintaining, that he would never believe in, nor adore God: in consequence, he deprived the monasteries of great part of their revenues, which he appropriated to himself, saying, the monks lived too delicately on rich food and choice wines; that such superfluities prevented them rising at midnight to perform their church duties, and that Saint Benedict had not thus framed his laws for their conduct, but he would bring them back to eggs and thin wine, that their voices might be louder and clearer to chaunt in the church.

Thus did sir Galeas, father, and son, and sir Bernabo, act like popes in their dominions as long as they lived: they did much injustice to churchmen, without fearing anything the popes might say or do against them; and when the schism happened, and the two popes of Rome and Avignon were excommunicating each other, these lords of Milan laughed at both, as indeed did many other great lords. The daughter of this sir John Galeas, duchess of Orleans, inherited more of the dispositions of her father than of her mother, who was a princess of France; for she was envious, and covetous of the pomp of this world, and would gladly have seen her lord king of France, no matter how. A scandalous report was very current, that the disorder of the king, which had so much distressed the kingdom, and baffled all the skill of the physicians, was owing to her. I will say what gave rise to these suspicions, and made them the more readily believed.

Valentina, duchess of Orleans, had a handsome son of the age of the dauphin of France, and while these two children were playing together in the chamber of the duchess, a poisoned apple was thrown on the floor, near the dauphin, in hopes he would take it, but, through God's providence, he did not. The son of the duchess, thinking no harm, ran and ate it, but he had no sooner put it into his mouth than death followed, in spite of every care to prevent it. Those who had the government of the dauphin carried him away, and never allowed him afterward to enter the apartments of the duchess. This story caused great murmurings in Paris and elsewhere, and the people were so enraged against her, as to occasion the duke to hear of it: they publicly said in Paris, that if she was not prevented from being near the king, they would come and take her away by force and put her to death, for that she intended to poison the king and all his family, having already made him suffer by her enchantments. What gave additional weight to this, was the king's refusal, during his illness, to see the queen, whom he would not recollect, nor any other person than the duchess of Orleans. The duke of Orleans, to put an end to these scandalous reports, took her away from the hôtel de

Saint Pol himself, and sent her to one of his castles called Asnieres, on the road to Beauvais, where she remained some time without ever passing the gates of the castle. She was removed thence to Neufchâtel on the Loire, and the duke hated her much for the accident which had happened to his son: his other fine children, however, softened his resentment to her.

Intelligence of this was carried to Milan, and sir Galeas heard with fear the great danger his daughter was in. He was very wroth with the king of France and his ministers, and sent sir James de la Berme, with other noble persons, ambassadors to France, to excuse his daughter, and to say, that if any knight should accuse her of treason, he would provide a person to challenge him to mortal combat. At the time these ambassadors came to Paris, the king was in tolerable health; but very little attention was paid them, or to the excuses they made for the duchess of Orleans, and they received a short answer. When they saw this, they returned to Milan to relate to the duke what they had seen and heard. The duke was more angered than before, and sent his defiance to the king and kingdom of France; but, when it was brought, the most gallant part of the French chivalry had already set out for Hungary, and were now entered into Turkey. From spite to the king of France, the duke of Milan had formed an alliance with Bajazet; and by his means was the sultan regularly informed of all that was passing in Christendom, and the secret history of France.

We will now leave this matter, and say how the sultan Bajazet and the Christian barons and knights in Turkey prospered.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—WHILE BAJAZET IS RAISING A GREAT ARMY TO OPPOSE THE HUNGARIANS AND FRENCH, THE LORD DE COUCY, DURING THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLI, DEFEATS A LARGE BODY OF TURKS WITH AN INFERIOR FORCE.

Bajazet made no long stay at Cairo with the sultan of Babylon, who promised to send a great army to his aid under the command of his best men at arms, that he might successfully oppose the barons and knights of France. They despatched messengers on all sides to all who they imagined could assist, begging they would exert themselves in this affair, which was become of the greatest consequence; for, should the French conquer Turkey, all the surrounding kingdoms would tremble, their religion be destroyed, and themselves reduced to slavery under the Christians, and it were far better to die before such events should happen.

Many Saracen kings obeyed the summons which Bajazet and the sultan of Babylon had sent as far as Persia, Media, and Tartary, and to the north to the kingdom of Lecto *, beyond the frontiers of Prussia. The Saracen monarchs, having heard the army of the Christians was composed of the flower of their chivalry, selected from their own sect those of the greatest ability, and who had been longest trained to arms; so that their armament was not soon ready to march, nor their purveyances prepared. It was the intention of Bajazet to raise a force sufficient to withstand the Christians: he therefore began his march towards Turkey, followed by large companies from various parts. Tartary, Persia, and Media, sent him many valiant Saracens, who were impatient for the combat, and to try their force against the Christians.

We will now leave Bajazet, and return to the Christians, who were besieging the strong city of Nicopoli. The garrison was very numerous, and defended the place valiantly against the attacks of their enemies, but expressed themselves much surprised that they heard nothing of Bajazet. The emperor of Constantinople had indeed written to say, that he was still in the country about Alexandria. The besieging army lay before Nicopoli, having provision in abundance which came to them from Hungary and the surrounding countries. During the siege, the lord de Coucy and some other French knights took a fancy to make an expedition farther into Turkey, for they were tired of remaining so long inactive, while the king of Hungary should continue his approaches to the town. The lord de Coucy, as commander in chief, left the camp with about five hundred lances and as many cross-bows, on horseback, accompanied by the lords de Roye, de Saint Py, the governor of Beauvoir, the lord de Montcaurel, the borgne de Montquel, and several more. They selected as guides some of the

* "Lecto." MS. Locco. Qy. Lithuania.

best mounted Hungarian scouts, well acquainted with the country, to lead them where they thought was probable to meet the enemy. This same week, the Turks likewise took the field to the amount of twenty thousand men; for, having heard the Christians were destroying and burning their country, they determined to put an end to it. They collected in the force I have said, and advanced to a pass through which it was necessary the Christians should march to enter the open country, for there was no other entrance. Having remained there for two days without hearing anything of the enemy, they were on the point of returning the third day, when the Hungarian scouts came galloping* to the place where the Turks lay in ambush. When they thus saw them, they kept quiet to observe the Christians, without making any sally or throwing a lance. The Christians advanced near to the Turks, and, although they could not see the whole, found they were very numerous. After a short stay, they returned to inform the lord de Coucy and the other lords what they had seen. The Christians were rejoiced on hearing it, and the lord de Coucy said,—"We must advance, and see what kind of people they are; for, since we are come thus far, we must not return without offering them combat, otherwise we may be blamed." "You are in the right," answered such lords as heard him.

They then tightened their armour, regirthed their horses, and advanced at a gentle pace to where the Turks lay. There was a small wood between the two parties: when the French knights came to it, they halted, and the lord de Coucy said to sir Reginald de Roye and the lord de Saint Py,—"I would advise, in order to draw the Turks out of their ambush, that you two advance with one hundred of our men, while we post the remainder in this wood. The Turks, seeing so small a party, will quit their ambush: do you suffer yourselves to be pursued, and, when past this wood, wheel round on them: we will instantly sally forth, and thus inclose and conquer them at our pleasure." This plan was adopted, and the two knights set off with about one hundred of the best mounted: the main body, to the amount of eight hundred men of tried courage, entered the wood, where they hid themselves. The others



Battle of Nicopoli. Designed from Contemporary MSS.; an oriental MS. Hist. of Tamerlane furnishing the Costume of the Turks.

galloped towards the Turks, who were much pleased, thinking what they saw was the whole force of the enemy: they quitted their ambuscade and advanced on the plain. The Christian

* It is in D. Sauvage "came to Brechaut;" but the MS. in the Museum has it as in the text, and my MS. "brochant" (spurring) instead of "courant."

lords, observing this, turned about, and suffered themselves to be pursued, but, as they were so well mounted, the Turks could not come up with them. Both parties passed the wood without the ambush being noticed, when the lord de Coucy sallied forth with his men, shouting, "Our Lady for the lord de Coucy!" and, falling on the rear of the Turks, struck down many.

The Turks halted, on finding themselves thus surrounded, and made the best defence they could; but it little availed, for, not suspecting any forces behind, they were thunderstruck when they were attacked on all sides. The French displayed great valour, and overthrew all that opposed them: they slew heaps on the field, and killed all they overtook in their flight like wild beasts. They showed mercy to none, and happy were they who could save themselves. After this defeat, the French returned in the evening to the camp before Nicopoli.

News was spread throughout the army that the lord de Coucy had, by his valour, overthrown more than fifteen thousand Turks. Very many were loud in his praise for this action, but not so the count d'Eu; for he said, "the expedition had been undertaken through vanity, and that he saw nothing praise-worthy in it, as it had put the detachment under his command in great risk, by attacking so very superior a force. It was, beside, his duty (since he was so eager to perform some deeds of arms, and had met the Turks in the field) to have sent information of his intention to the commander in chief, the count de Nevers, who was anxious to gain renown." Thus, through envy as it may be supposed, did the count d'Eu speak of the lord de Coucy. During the whole expedition, he never had any friendship for him, notwithstanding he saw that he was beloved and respected by all the French and foreign knights, which, he imagined, should have been his due; for he was very nearly connected by blood with the king of France, and bore for arms the flower de luces with a bar, and was besides constable of France. Such was the beginning of the hatred of the count d'Eu to the gallant lord de Coucy, which at last broke out, and caused the destruction of the Christian army, as you will soon have related.

We will now leave this subject, and return to what was passing between the kings of France and England.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES PREVENTS THE EARL OF DERBY JOINING THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT AND OF OSTREVANT IN THEIR EXPEDITION AGAINST FRIESLAND.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND ARE CONTINUED UNTIL KING RICHARD CROSSES OVER TO CALAIS, TO CONCLUDE THEM WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

You have before heard in this history that the marriage of the king of England with a princess of France was nearly approaching; that the two kings showed great affection to each other, as did the relatives on either side, excepting the duke of Gloucester. But he had no joy in it; for he knew that, by this connection, peace would be established between the two kingdoms, which he would unwillingly see, for he only wished for war, and excited all whom he thought so inclined, to throw every obstacle in the way. At that time, there was a knight in his service called sir John Baquigay*, a reserved man, who knew all the secrets of the duke, and who, by encouraging his warlike dispositions, followed the natural bent of his own inclinations.

At this period, the duke of Gueldres came to England to visit the king and his uncles, and to offer his loyal services, for he was so bounden by faith and homage. The duke would gladly have seen the king making preparations for war, for he disliked peace. The duke of Gueldres had many conversations with the duke of Lancaster respecting the intended expedition of the counts of Hainault and of Ostrevant against Friesland; for at this moment Fier-a-bras de Vertain was in England, having been sent thither by the count d'Ostrevant to seek men at arms and archers. The earl of Derby had been requested to accompany his

* "Baquigay."—Museum MS. Hacquingay.—Hafod MS. Laquingay.

cousins of Hainault and Ostrevant, to which he was well inclined, and had told Fier-a-bras that he should be well pleased to go to Friesland, if it met the approbation of the king and his father. When, therefore, the duke of Gueldres came to England, the duke of Lancaster spoke to him on this subject, and desired him to say what he thought of it. He replied, "that the expedition would be attended with much danger; that Friesland was not a country easily conquered, and that many counts of Holland and Hainault, who in former times claimed it as their inheritance, had marched thither with great force, to bring it under their subjection, but had never returned. The Frieslanders are a people void of honour and understanding, and show mercy to none who fall in their way. They pay no respect to any lord, however great his rank; and their country is very strong, surrounded by the sea, and full of bogs, islands, and marshes, so that no persons can find their way through it but the natives. I have been much pressed to join this expedition, but I will never enter such a country; and I would not advise that my cousin of Derby go thither, for it is not suitable to him. I am satisfied my brother-in-law d'Ostrevant will undertake the expedition, for he is very eager to do so, and will lead many Hainaulters with him, but there is a chance if any of them ever come home again."

This speech of the duke of Gueldres had such an effect on the duke of Lancaster, that he resolved in his own mind the earl of Derby should not go to Friesland. He signified to him secretly his intentions, for his son did not live with him, and that, notwithstanding the engagements he had entered into, he must break them off, for neither the king nor himself would consent that he should go on this expedition. Thus did the duke of Gueldres prevent the count of Hainault and his son from having the company of the earl of Derby, in which respect he was not well advised, nor was he thanked by either; but he was by nature all his life proud and envious.

Fier-a-bras de Vertain, notwithstanding this disappointment, was not the less diligent in collecting forces, and had engaged many knights and squires, with more than two hundred archers. But the earl of Derby excused himself, for the reasons above-mentioned. His excuses were accepted, for they plainly saw, that had not the king forbidden his going, at the request of the duke of Lancaster, he would have been of the party. The king of England, to do honour to his cousin of Hainault, ordered vessels to be prepared in the Thames to carry, at his cost, such knights as went on this expedition to Encuse*, a sea-port belonging to the earl of Hainault, at the extremity of Holland, and twelve leagues by water from Friesland.

About this time, the king of France sent Waleran count de Saint Pol to England to press forward the treaty for peace, and to urge secretly the king of England to its conclusion. Robert the hermit, who had been before in England on this subject, and willingly listened to by the king, accompanied the count de Saint Pol. On the count's arrival in England, he found the king at his palace of Eltham, with his brothers the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, and his uncle the duke of Lancaster. The king received him with pleasure and kindness, and, having patiently heard all he had to say, took him aside, and replied,—"Fair brother of Saint Pol, with regard to this treaty of peace with my father-in-law the king of France, I am heartily inclined to it; but I cannot accomplish it alone, nor do everything myself. True it is, that my two brothers, and two uncles of Lancaster and York, are equally desirous for it as myself; but my other uncle of Gloucester is violently against it, and he leads the Londoners as he wills, and may attempt to stir up a rebellion in the country, and raise the people against me. Now, consider the danger I should run if there were a second rebellion, headed by the duke of Gloucester and other great barons and knights who are, as I know, of his way of thinking. I am puzzled how to act, for my uncle of Gloucester is of so reserved a nature, no one knows his real thoughts." "My lord," answered the count de St. Pol, "you must gain him over by fair and kind speeches. Make him handsome presents, and, should he demand anything, however unreasonable, grant it him instantly. This is the only means to gain him; and, if you continue such conduct until your marriage be completed, your queen brought hither, and all affairs concluded, you may then follow a different method; for you will be powerful enough to crush all your enemies or rebellious subjects, as the king of

* "Encuse." Q. Enchuysen. D. Sauvage, in a marginal note, calls it Neuse. My MS. has Emaise,—"la ville d'Emaise."

France will at all times be ready to assist you, and this you may securely depend upon." "In God's name, brother-in-law," said the king, "you speak to the purpose, and it shall be as you advise."

The count de Saint Pol was lodged in London during his stay in England; but he had frequent conferences with the king at Eltham, and with the duke of Lancaster on the subject of the marriage. It had been ordered at Paris, as the count told the king, that the king of France and his uncles would come to Saint Omer, and bring the young princess with them who was to be queen of England. It was therefore their wish that the king of England should come to Calais, and that, between the towns of Saint Omer and Calais, an interview should take place between the two kings, who from personal knowledge would have their affections much strengthened; and then there might be some secret treaties made respecting a peace between them and their uncles, without employing too many persons in the business, before the king carried his queen to England. If a peace could not be concluded, the truce was then to be prolonged for the term of thirty or forty years, between France, England, and their allies. This proposal seemed so fair and honourable to the king of England and his council, that orders were instantly issued for purveyances of every kind to be made ready for the king's voyage and residence at Calais. Many lords did the same. The duke and duchess of Gloucester, with their children, were invited by the king to be of the party, as were the dukes and duchesses of York and Lancaster: this last lady, being with her lord at Eltham, had already been asked. The king and the count de Saint Pol travelled together through Canterbury to Dover, followed by all the lords who had been invited to accompany him. In truth, the count de Saint Pol, from his impatience to carry the news to the king of France, crossed the sea on his arrival at Dover to Boulogne, and hastened thence to Paris, and related to the king and his uncles every thing which had passed with the king of England. This gave general satisfaction, and the king and court set out from Paris, and by short days' journeys came to Amiens.

In the mean time, the king of England, his uncles, and a large train of lords and ladies, had crossed the sea to Calais, where they were lodged. The duke of Burgundy came to St. Omer to press forward the treaties, which were carried on through the mediation of the count de St. Pol and Robert the hermit. The duke of Burgundy was conducted by the count de St. Pol to Calais on the Eve of Our Lady the middle of August, to wait on the king of England and his uncles. He was welcomed with joy by the king and his lords; and they conferred together for some time on the articles for a peace, to which the king inclined: indeed, to say the truth, he was indifferent what might be agreed on, provided he had his wife. When the duke of Burgundy had staid at Calais two days negotiating a peace, the king told him that he would lay all the articles on his return to England before the parliament; for that neither himself nor his lords could agree to anything conclusive without the assent of the people of England, and it must be deferred until their will were known. He added, that he himself would go over, and return, and so make one journey for the conclusion of all things. "That will be well done," replied the duke of Burgundy and the count de Saint Pol; who returned to St. Omer, and thence to Amiens, where they expected to meet the king and queen of France with their daughter, the future queen of England. The dukes of Berry and Brittany were also there; for the king of France had sent for the last-mentioned duke, who came thither in grand array.

The king of England and his lords returned to London; but their ladies remained until they should come back, which was speedily done. During this period, the expedition from Hainault against the Frieslanders took place, commanded by the earl of Hainault and his son the count d'Ostrevant. We will relate the arrangement of it, for it is now time.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT AND OF OSTREVANT RAISE A LARGE ARMY OF MEN AT ARMS, KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES, TO INVADE FRIESLAND.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THEM ASSISTANCE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF COUNT WALERAN DE ST. POL AND THE LORD CHARLES D'ALBRET.

You have before heard the great desire duke Albert of Bavaria and his son William count d'Ostrevant had to invade Friesland, and to employ their arms in the conquest of it. The knights and squires of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, were willing to second them, because they thought it was their lawful inheritance. To gain assistance, the count d'Ostrevant had sent one of his squires, a renowned man at arms, called Fier-a-bras de Vertain, to England, where he had been successful: king Richard, out of affection to his cousin, had sent him some men at arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of three English lords; one was named Cornewall, another Colleville, but the name of the third, who was a squire, I have forgotten. It was told me, and likewise that he was a gallant man at arms, and had long been used to war: a short time before, he had in a riot had his chin cut off, which was replaced by one of silver that was fastened by a silken cord tied round his head. This force arrived at Enchuysen in proper time. To be more particular in this matter, I must say that I was informed duke Albert held many consultations with his son, the count d'Ostrevant, and they called into their councils a noble and valiant squire, named William de Croembourg*, who earnestly exhorted them to the war, for he mortally hated the Frieslanders. He had done them some mischief, and did them much more, as you shall hear.

Duke Albert of Bavaria set out from the Hague in company with his son, the count d'Ostrevant, for Hainault, and convened the states of that country at Mons, who readily obeyed the summons of their lord. He laid before them his wish to invade Friesland, and remonstrated on his right to do so, and the lawful claim he had on it. In proof of this, he had read to them certain letters patent, apostolical and imperial, authentically sealed with lead and gold, which evidently showed his right over that country. The duke addressed the meeting,—"My lords, and valiant men our subjects, you know that every one ought to guard and defend his inheritance, and that man, in the defence of himself or country, has a right to make war. You know also, that the Frieslanders ought to acknowledge themselves our subjects, but they are rebellious against us, and against our rights, like men without law or religion. Notwithstanding the justice of our claim, we cannot, my very dear lords, without your personal and pecuniary aid, attempt to make these people listen to reason. We therefore entreat your assistance in this necessity, both personal and pecuniary, that we may subjugate these disobedient Frieslanders to our will."

To this remonstrance the three estates unanimously assented; and, as they were always inclined to comply with the desires of their lord, they presented duke Albert, from the country of Hainault, the sum of thirty thousand francs in ready money, without including the town of Valenciennes. This town performed equally well its duty, for duke Albert, attended by his son, went thither, and made a similar request, to what he had done so successfully at Mons. These two valiant princes were very joyful to see their subjects so forward to assist their war, as it assured them they were well-beloved by them. Since they had now a sufficiency of money, they resolved to inform the king of France of their intended expedition, and to request aid from him. Two prudent and valiant knights, the lord de Ligne and the lord de Jumont, were sent thither, and acquitted themselves well, for they were much in favour with the French, especially the lord de Ligne, whom the king, from his partiality to him, had made one of his chamberlains. He proposed to the king of France the request of his lord, duke Albert of Bavaria, so eloquently, that he and his council promised the assistance he required. The duke of Burgundy was urgent for its being granted, because his daughter having married the duke's son, he thought, if the expedition were successful, it would be for the advantage of the count d'Ostrevant.

Many of the great barons disapproved of it, and spoke against it, saying,—"How can these Hainaulters come hither to solicit aid from our king, when they have already been to

* "Croembourg."—In my MS. Croembourc. Museum MS. Curembourch.



William of Hainault Count d'Ostrevant setting out on his expedition against Friesland.

ask the same from the English ? Have we not lately seen that the count d'Ostrevant has accepted of the order of the Garter, which is the English device ? Has he shown, by so doing, any very great affection for France ?" But others, who were better informed, replied, —" My fair sirs, you are wrong to talk thus; if the count d'Ostrevant has accepted the Garter, it was not to ally himself with England; for he is too strongly connected with the French. Is it not true that he has married the lady Catherine, daughter to the duke of Burgundy ? and is not this a better and more valuable alliance than the blue Garter ? Never, therefore, say that he will not prefer doing services to the French rather than to the English. The king will honour himself and exalt the French name, if he give him the aid he has been wisely advised to afford." Thus did the French converse on these matters, which made a great noise in France, for nothing was talked of but the deeds of arms that were to be performed in Hungary or Turkey against Bajazet, and in Friesland against the Frieslanders. The king of France did not delay raising an army of five hundred lances, composed of Picards and French, and gave the command of them to the count Waleran de St. Pol and the lord Charles d'Albret, two knights that were well qualified for the business. They were to lead this body of men to the town of Enchuysen in lower Friesland, as that was the place of assembly for the whole army, and they were to embark there for upper Friesland, which they did.

When the two valiant knights, the lord de Ligne and the lord de Jumont, saw the good inclination of the king, and were assured that every order had been given, and the pay issued for the men at arms who were to be sent to assist the count of Hainault, they took leave of the king of France, and, thanking him for his friendship to their lords, returned to Hainault, to relate to the duke of Bavaria and the count d'Ostrevant how successful they had been. They were received with the honours they had deserved, and detailed the courteous answers they received from the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, who had feasted them grandly, and the rich presents that were given them, for which they thanked the duke and his son, as it was from affection to them they had been shown such courtesy. The whole would be too long to relate: we will therefore pass it over, and come to the principal matter.

Duke Albert, on hearing that the king of France was to send to his assistance five hundred lances, assembled all his barons and vassals of Hainault. The assembly consisted of the lord de Vertain, séneschal of Hainault, a very valiant man and renowned in arms; the lords de Ligne and de Gomegines, whom he appointed marshals of his army; the lords de Havreth, Michelet de Ligne, de Lalain, de Hordaing, de Chin, de Cautain, du Quesnoy, de Fleron, his brother John, the lords de Bousset, de Jumont (who were knights always eager to meet their enemies, but at this time they had bleared eyes, red as crimson), Robert le Roux; the lords de Monthiaux, de Fontaines, de Seulles, the lords James de Sars, William de Hermes, and Pinchart his brother; the lords de Lens, de Verlammont, Anseaux de Trasseigines, Octes de Seaussines and his brother Gerard; the lord de Ictre, his brother John: sir Anseaux de Sars, Bridaux de Montigny, Daniaux de la Poulle, Guy de la Poulle; the lord de Masting; sir Floridas de Villiers, who was a most valiant knight, and had gained great renown for his gallant deeds of arms against the Turks and Saracens in the Holy Land; sir Eustace de Vertain, sir Fier-a-bras de Vertain, who was but just returned from England, and rejoiced his lord with the success of his mission there; the lord de Osteven, sir Rasse de Montigny, Thuq de Merse; the lord de Rorsin, sir John d'Andregines, Persant his brother, and great numbers of other gentlemen and squires, whom, having assembled in his hall at Mons, he addressed, saying, " That he hoped they would all arm, and provide themselves with followers and every necessary, each according to his power, to assist him in his intended expedition against Friesland; and that, out of affection to him, and regard to their own honour and renown, they would accompany him to his town of Enchuysen, in lower Friesland, and to Meemelie*, and thence embark with him for upper Friesland, where he proposed being, if it pleased God, by the middle of August ensuing, and that he would wait for them in one or other of the two before-mentioned towns; that it was his intention to go thither

* " Meemelie."—British Museum MS. Metenelich. Hafod MS. Metmelic. Q. if not Medendric, which is not far from Enchuysen.

beforehand to make the necessary preparations, and to receive his men at arms, and such Hollanders and Zealanders as would be induced to enter his service, and aid him to the accomplishment of his purposes. All the knights, squires and lords in Hainault instantly complied with his request, and promised him their services like loyal vassals. Duke Albert and the count d'Ostrevant found them punctual in the performance of their promises, and they made themselves speedily ready, so that about the beginning of August of the year 1396, they assembled and marched off in companies, handsomely arrayed, towards Antwerp, where they were to embark for Enchuysen, the general rendezvous.



William of Hainault on his Expedition against Friesland. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

You may suppose, that when all these preparations were making for the departure of so many knights and squires, the ladies and damsels were not in high spirits. We must allow they were very much cast down, for they saw their fathers, brothers, uncles, husbands and lovers, going on a dangerous expedition, not having forgotten how, in former times, the Hainaulters with count William had remained on the field of battle in Friesland. They were therefore fearful that what had happened to their predecessors might befal them, and loudly praised the duchess of Brabant for having forbidden any gentleman or others of her country to take part in this expedition. The ladies frequently pressed their lovers and friends to decline going, and many meetings were holden, but to little purpose. They were particularly angry with Fier-a-bras, bastard de Vertain, for they said he was the principal promoter of this expedition. Duke Albert and his son, on leaving Mons after the promise of the Hainaulters to assist them, returned to Zealand, and made similar requests to the Zealanders, who in like manner complied; and the lord de la Vere, sir Floris de Boessel, Floris d'Abel, the lord de Zenemberge, sir Clais de Boysel and Philip de Cortein, were very instrumental in forwarding the business. They, as well as many other gentlemen, instantly armed, and put themselves in handsome array, plainly showing they were desirous to gain renown.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE EARL OF HAINAULT LANDS WITH HIS ARMY IN FRIESLAND.—HE DEFEATS THE FRIESLANDERS IN BATTLE, BUT IS NEVERTHELESS FORCED TO RETIRE TO HOLLAND, TO PASS THE WINTER, WITHOUT HAVING GAINED ANY THING IN FRIESLAND.

THE duke of Bavaria and his son, having been so successful in Hainault and Zealand, made the same requests to the Hollanders, especially to the barons and chief towns. To say the truth, the Hollanders were much pleased to hear war was about to be made on the Frieslanders: they hated them, particularly the knights and squires, for there was a continual warfare carried on, and they mutually plundered each other on the frontiers of the two countries. When the great lords in Holland, such as the lord d'Atrel, and other gallant knights and squires, heard the supplications of their princes, duke Albert and his son count William, they immediately offered their services, and promised them every assistance. They were speedily armed, and the principal towns supplied them with a large body of cross-bows, pikemen and men at arms. It was not long before they were all assembled at Enchuysen, where vessels had been provided to carry them to Friesland. They were so numerous, they were said to be thirty thousand sailors, and that the town of Haarlem alone had supplied twelve hundred. These vessels were amply freighted with warlike stores and other necessaries. You may imagine the grief of the ladies and damsels in Holland and Zealand was not less than those of Hainault, when they found their lovers and relations were engaged in this war. Their anger fell chiefly on the lord de Cruembourg, because they thought he had been the great adviser of duke Albert in the matter, and on the lord de Merebbede. This last was eager for revenge on the Frieslanders for the injuries they had done him: in the before mentioned battle, when count William was unfortunately slain, he had lost three-and-thirty of his relations, bearing his arms on their coats, with sir Daniel de Merebbede their leader, none of whom would the Frieslanders ransom. These two lords, therefore, were afraid to appear before the princesses and ladies of duke Albert's court.

In a short time, the whole army was assembled: the English came first, next the Hainaulters in very handsome array, under the command of the lord séneschal de Jumont, and the lord de Gomegines, who was marshal; then the Hollanders and Zealanders; but the French did not come so soon as expected, which delayed the embarkation eleven days. During this interval, there arose a quarrel between the English and Hollanders; and, had it not been for the count d'Ostrevant, the English would have been slain. The quarrel was made up; and the French arrived, to the joy of all, for they consisted of a well-appointed body of men at arms. Every one was now ordered instantly to embark, which being done, they hoisted sail, recommended themselves to God, and put to sea. The water was smooth, and seemed to take pleasure in bearing them. There were such numbers of vessels that, had they been arranged in a line from Enchuysen to Kuynder (which is in upper Friesland, and where they intended to land), though twelve leagues distant, the whole sea would have been covered; but they sailed in one body.

We will for a while leave them, and speak of the Frieslanders, who, as I was informed, had been long acquainted with duke Albert's intention of marching against them with a powerful army. They held many councils on the subject, and determined to combat their enemies at the very moment of their landing; for they said they should prefer death with liberty, to being slaves; and would never quit the battle while alive. They also resolved not to accept of ransoms for any person, however high his rank, but to put their prisoners to death, or keep them in banishment from their own countries. Among these was a Frieslander of high birth and renown: he was of great strength and stature, for he was taller by a head than all his countrymen. His name was Yves Jouvere; but the Hollanders, Zealanders and Hainaulters called him "The great Frieslander." This valiant man had gained much reputation in Prussia, Hungary, Turkey, Rhodes and Cyprus, where he had performed such deeds of valour that he was much spoken of. When he heard his countrymen thus readily resolve on battle, he addressed them,—"O ye noble men, and free Frieslanders, know that there is no fortune stable. If in former times you have, by your prowess, conquered the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, those who are now about to invade us are men expert in war, and be assured they will act otherwise than their predecessors:

you will see they will not fly, but fight with the utmost prudence. I would therefore advise that we suffer them to land and make what progress they can into the country: let us guard our towns and fortresses, and give up to them the plains, where they will waste themselves. Our country will not long support them. It is beside cut up with ditches and dykes, so that they cannot advance far into the interior, and they will be forced to return after having burnt ten or twelve villages. This they will the more speedily do, for they cannot ride, nor indeed without difficulty march on foot, through the country, which will wear them out. The damage they can do will be trifling, and we can soon repair it; but, if we offer them battle, I very much fear we shall be overpowered, for I have been credibly informed they are one hundred thousand men under arms." He said truly, for they were at least as many, if not more.

Three valiant Friesland knights, sir Feu de Dorekerque, sir Gerard Cavin and sir Tiny de Walturg, seconded this proposal; but the people would not listen to it, and they were supported by several of those noble men called Elins, who are gentlemen and judges of causes. They opposed what the great Frieslander had offered with such success, as to occasion it to be determined that, as soon as they should hear of the enemy landing, they were to march and offer them combat. This being resolved on, the assembly broke up, that every one might make his preparations. To say the truth, they were in general very poorly armed: many had no other defensive covering than their waistcoats made of coarse thick cloth, scarcely better than horse-cloths. Some were armed in leather, others with rusty jackets of mail, which seemed unfit for service; but there were some perfectly well armed. When the Frieslanders were ready to march, they took from their churches the crosses and banners, and divided themselves into three battalions, each consisting of about ten thousand men: they halted, on arriving at a pass defended by a ditch, very near to where the Hainault army was to land, and plainly saw the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, for they were close to the shore, and preparing to disembark. It was on Saint Bartholomew's day, which this year fell on a Sunday, that duke Albert and his army landed in Friesland.

The Frieslanders, noticing the movements of their enemies, sallied forth, to the amount of about six thousand, and mounted the dykes to see if they could any way prevent their landing. Among the Frieslanders, there was a sort of mad woman dressed in blue cloth, who, quitting her countrymen, rushed forward towards the Hainaulters and Hollanders, making ready for battle. When she had approached the army within bow-shot, she turned her back, and, raising up her petticoats and shift, showed her bare rump to all who wished to see it, bawling out some words in her own language, which meant, "Take this for your welcome." Those on ship-board, seeing the wickedness of this woman, let fly such a shower of arrows and bolts that her legs and thighs were larded with them; for it seemed a shower of snow, so many were the arrows shot at her. Several leaped into the water, and, pursuing this wretched woman with drawn swords, soon overtook her, and cut her into a thousand pieces. In the mean time, the debarkation was taking effect; and the Hainaulters marched to the enemy, who received them courageously, with long pikes, and staves shod with iron, and repulsed them vigorously. The landing was strongly contested, and numbers were killed and wounded; but from the advantages of their bows and cross-bows, and by their superior mode of fighting, the Hainaulters gained the dyke, and remained victors on the field at this first attack. When they were all disembarked, they ranged themselves along the dyke, each under his banner, and, when thus drawn up, their line extended more than half a league. The Frieslanders, on their loss of the dyke, retreated to another pass, where they had cast up the earth in their front, and the ditch was very deep: they amounted to about thirty thousand, and as they were at no great distance, were plainly seen by the Hainaulters and their allies, from their position on the dyke. Each party remained on the ground: in the mean time, the whole army was landed, with their baggage, and some tents were pitched, under which they reposed themselves during the Sunday and Monday, observing the Frieslanders, with whom on these two days there were many skirmishes and deeds of arms.

Both armies were ready prepared for battle on the Tuesday morning: and many new knights were made of the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, when it was resolved to

attack the enemy. They drew up in handsome array, placing their archers in front, intermixed with the ranks, and, with trumpets sounding, marched to pass the ditch. The Frieslanders guarded themselves from the arrows by means of the mound of earth thrown from the ditch, which was as high as their heads; but the Hollanders leaped into the ditch, and made bridges of their pikes and lances. The enemy defended themselves valiantly, and gave such rude blows on those who attempted to mount the bank, that they drove them on their backs into the ditch. In short so many valorous deeds were done, it is impossible to recount them all; but the Hainaulters and their allies were too strongly armed, and the Frieslanders could not otherwise hurt them than by knocking them down. The new knights acquitted themselves honourably, but the enemy displayed great courage: they are a lusty race, though very badly armed, and some of them without shoes or stockings; notwithstanding which, they made an obstinate defence. During this skirmish, the lord de Ligne, the séneschal of Hainault and the lord de Jumont, with other Hainault knights, following the course of the ditch found a passage for their horses, and fell upon the rear of the Frieslanders, to their utter dismay. They quitted the defence of the ditch to repel this last attack; but the Hainaulters charged them so vigorously, that the enemy were broken and dispersed, and the Hollanders and Zealanders crossed the ditch and joined in the fray. The battle was now very murderous; and the Frieslanders gave destructive blows with the axes they had armed themselves with, which served them to fell timber; but the great Frieslander, Yves Jouvere, lost his life. Not long after this, the Frieslanders yielded the field, and took to flight as fast as they could. The carnage in the pursuit was horrible, for none were spared: the Hollanders, in particular, killed all they could overtake: even such as had been made prisoners by the English, French and Hainaulters, they killed while in their hands.

The lord William de Cruembourg, and his two sons, John and Henry, who had that morning been knighted, acquitted themselves gallantly, and were the most active in slaying the Frieslanders, showing clearly they loved them not. To conclude, the Frieslanders were completely defeated and the greater part killed: some few were made prisoners, and about fifty carried to the Hague, where they remained a long time. The lord of Kuynder, who was the lord of the town where duke Albert had landed, had surrendered himself to the duke on the Monday, and himself and two sons were in the battle against the Frieslanders. They lived afterwards under the protection of duke Albert and his son count William.

After this defeat, the Hainaulters, Hollanders, Zealanders, French and English, quartered themselves about Kuynder, and took several towns and castles; but their captures were inconsiderable, for the Frieslanders did them much harm by ambuscades and skirmishes. If they made any prisoners, they had no ransom to offer; and it was seldom they would surrender, but fought until they were slain, saying they preferred death and liberty to being under the subjection of any lord whatever. Their friends or relations never brought any ransoms for those who were taken, but left them to die in prison. The Frieslanders offered their prisoners in exchange, man for man; but, when their enemies had none to give in return, they put them to death. When the Hainault army had been in the country about five weeks, and had destroyed and burnt many towns and villages, of little value indeed, the weather began to be very cold and to rain almost daily: there were also great tempests at sea. Duke Albert and his son, in consequence, proposed the return of the army to lower Friesland, whence they had come, and to march into Holland, the more comfortably to pass the winter, which had set in very hard. This was done; and, on their arrival at Enchuysen, the lords dismissed their men, particularly the strangers, with whom they were well contented, and paid them their full pay, thanking them at the same time for the services they had rendered. Thus was this great army disbanded, without having made any conquest; but, two years after, these noble princes, duke Albert and his son count William, returned thither a second time, and made great conquests by their excellent prowess, which, if it please God, shall be fully recounted. But for the moment we will not say more, and relate the magnificent marriage of the king of England with the princess Isabella of France.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE CEREMONY OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF ENGLAND WITH A PRINCESS OF FRANCE.—THE KING OF FRANCE DELIVERS HER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN HIS TENT BETWEEN ARDRES AND CALAIS.

You have before heard of the journey of the king of England to Calais, where he resided with his uncles, prelates, and barons of his council, during which time he had held a conference with the duke of Burgundy respecting the articles of peace. The king had returned to London to wait the meeting of his parliament at Michaelmas; but in the mean time great purveyances were made for him and for his barons, and sent to Calais and Guines. The larger part were forwarded down the river Thames, but a good deal was collected in Flanders, at Damme, Bruges, and Sluys, which were sent by sea to Calais. In like manner, great preparations were made for the king of France, the duke of Orleans, their uncles, and the barons and prelates of France, at Saint Omer, Aire, Therouenne, Ardres, la Montoire, Leulinghen, and in all the monasteries and houses round about. No expense was spared on either side; and the lords of each country were emulous to outshine one another. In the abbey of Saint Bertin *, great were the preparations to receive the royal visiters.

The session of parliament, which usually lasts forty days, and is held in the king's palace at Westminster, was now abridged, for the king attended it only five days: when the business of the nation, and what particularly interested the king, and had caused his return from Calais, was settled, he and his two uncles of Lancaster and Gloucester, and the members of his council, set out from London, and crossed the sea to Calais. The duke of York and the earl of Derby did not attend the king, but remained behind to guard England in his absence. Information was instantly sent to the French lords in Picardy of the king of England's return to Calais; and the duke and duchess of Burgundy came to Saint Omer, and fixed their residence in the abbey of Saint Bertin. The king of France sent the count de Saint Pol to king Richard, as soon as he heard of his arrival at Calais, to compliment him in his name, and to lay before him the orders which had been given for the ceremony of his marriage. The king of England eagerly listened to this, for he took much pleasure in the business. The count de Saint Pol, on his return to Saint Omer, was accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, his son Beaufort of Lancaster, the duke of Gloucester, with his son Humphrey, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the earl of Huntingdon, chamberlain of England, and many other barons and knights, who were handsomely received by the duke and duchess of Burgundy. The duke of Brittany came thither also, having left the king of France and the young queen of England at Aire.

You must know that every honour and respect that could be imagined were paid to the English lords. The duchess of Burgundy entertained them splendidly at dinner; at which was present the duchess of Lancaster, with her son and two daughters. There was an immense variety of different dishes and decorations on the tables, and very rich presents made of gold and silver plate: nothing, in short, was spared, so that the English were astonished where such riches could come from, and especially the duke of Gloucester, who told his friends that the kingdom of France abounded in wealth and power. To soften the temper of the duke of Gloucester, whom the French lords knew to be proud, and their bitter enemy, they paid him the most flattering attentions. Notwithstanding this, and the handsome presents they offered, which he accepted, the same rancour remained in his breast, and, in spite of everything the French could say or do, whenever the subject of peace was mentioned, his answers were as harsh and severe as ever. The French are very subtle; but, with regard to him, they could never gain his affections; and his conversation was so reserved, it was not possible to discover his real sentiments. When the duke of Burgundy saw this, he said to his council,—"We shall never succeed until we gain over this duke of Gloucester: as long as he lives, there will not be any solid peace with England, for he will ever find some cause of quarrel, and renew the hatred of the people of both countries: his whole thoughts are on this subject; and were it not for the amiable qualities of the king of Ergland, which we hope may produce in time more favourable effects, in good truth he

* "Saint Bertin,"—an abbey in the city of Saint Omer.

should never have our cousin as his wife." After the duchess of Burgundy, the countess of Nevers, the countess of Saint Pol, and the lords and ladies of France, had, as you have heard, magnificently entertained the English lords and ladies (at which time it was determined when and where the two kings should meet, and the king of England receive his wife), the company took leave of each other, and the two dukes, with their duchesses and children, returned with the other barons and knights to Calais, and related to king Richard how grandly they had been received, and the rich presents that had been made them. Their praises pleased the king; for he was delighted whenever he heard the king of France or the French well spoken of, so much was he already enamoured with them, on account of the king's daughter whom he was to marry.

Shortly after this, the king of France, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, came to Saint Omer, and was lodged in the abbey of Saint Bertin: all who had before occupied it were forced to dislodge. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, having been ordered to confer with the king of England at Calais, set out from Saint Omer, and, on their arrival at Calais, were received with every honour and kindness by the king and his lords. They were entertained with splendour; and the three dukes concluded certain treaties with the king of England and his uncles. Many in France and England thought a peace had been concluded, for at that time the duke of Gloucester was well inclined to it, in consideration of the kind promises of the king, who had engaged, if a peace were made, to create his son Humphrey earl of Rochester, and make the annual revenue of it equal to two thousand pounds sterling, and to present the duke of Gloucester with fifty thousand nobles on his return to England. Thus, through his avaricious disposition, was the duke of Gloucester softened in his opinions respecting a peace with France. It was so visible, that the French dukes observed it, for they had never before found him so tractable or moderate in his conversation. When the French lords had concluded the business they had come upon, they took leave of the king, and returned to the king of France and the duke of Orleans at Saint Omer, who were impatient to hear the success of their journey. The king of France departed from St. Omer, and resided in the fort of Ardres: the duke of Burgundy went to la Montoire, the duke of Brittany to the town of Esque, and the duke of Berry to Tournehem. The plain was covered with tents and pavilions full of French and English. The king of England and the duke of Lancaster were lodged in Guines, and the duke of Gloucester at Hamme.

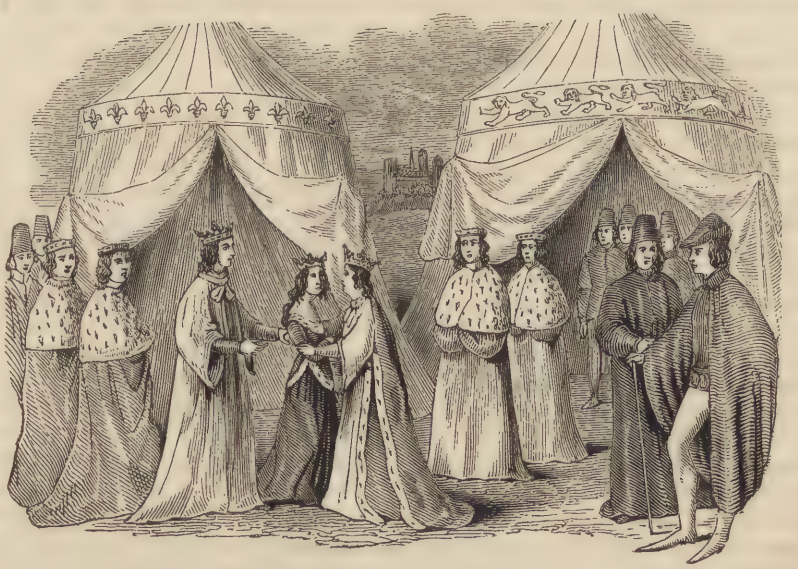
On the vigil of the feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude*, which fell on a Friday, in the year of grace 1396, the two kings left their lodgings on the point of ten o'clock, and, accompanied by their attendants, went to the tents that had respectively been prepared for them. Thence they advanced on foot to a certain spot which had been fixed on for their meeting, and which was surrounded by four hundred French and as many English knights, brilliantly armed, with swords in hand. These eight hundred knights were so drawn up, that the two kings passed between their ranks, conducted in the following order: the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester supported the king of France, as did the dukes of Berry and Burgundy the king of England, and thus they advanced slowly through the ranks of the knights: when the two kings were on the point of meeting, the eight hundred knights fell on their knees and wept for joy. The two kings met bareheaded, and having saluted, took each other by the hand, when the king of France led the king of England to his tent, which was handsome and richly adorned: the four dukes took each other by the hand, and followed them. The English and French knights remained at their post, looking at their opponents with good humour, and never stirred until the whole ceremony was over. The spot where the two kings had met was marked, and a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary was proposed to be erected on it, but I know not if it were ever put into execution. On the entrance of the two kings holding each other by the hand into the tent, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon came forward and cast themselves on their knees: the kings stopped and made them rise. The six dukes then assembled in front and conversed together: the kings passed on, and had some conversation, while the wine and spices were preparing. The duke of Berry served the king of France with the comfit-box, and the duke of Burgundy with the cup of

* The feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude is on the 28th October.

wine. In like manner was the king of England served by the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. After the kings had been served, the knights of France and England took the wine and spices, and served the prelates, dukes, princes, and counts; and, after them, squires and other officers of the household did the same to all within the tent, until every one had partaken of the spices and wine; during which time, the two kings freely conversed.

After a short space, the two monarchs took leave of each other, as did the different lords. The king of England and his uncles retired to their tents, while the horses were made ready: they then mounted, and took the road towards Calais; the king to Guines, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester to Hamme, and the others to their lodgings at Calais. In like manner did the king of France return to Ardres, accompanied by the duke of Orleans; the duke of Berry to Tournehem, and the duke of Burgundy to la Montoire; for nothing more was done that day, although the tents and pavilions of the king of France and other lords were left standing.

At eleven o'clock of the Saturday morning, the feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, the king of England, attended by his uncles and all the noblemen who had accompanied him from England, waited on the king of France in his tent. They were received by the king, his brother, and uncles, with great pomp and the most affectionate words. The dinner-tables were there laid out: that for the kings was long and handsome, and the side-board covered with the most magnificent plate. The two kings were seated by themselves; the king of France at the top of the table, and the king of England below him, but at a good distance from each other. They were served by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon: the last entertained the two monarchs with many gay remarks, to make them laugh, and those about the table, for he had much drollery, and, addressing the king of England, said,—"My lord king of England, you ought to make good cheer, for you have had all your wishes gratified. You have a wife, or shall have one, for she will be speedily delivered to you." "Bourbonnois," replied the king of France, "we wish our daughter were as old as our cousin of Saint Pol, though we were to double her



ISABELLA AND THE KING OF ENGLAND TAKING LEAVE OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AT THE CAMP BETWEEN ARDRES AND CALAIS. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

dower, for then she would love our son of England much more." The king of England heard well these words, and replied, bowing to the king of France (for he did not address himself to the duke of Bourbon, since the king had compared his daughter with the countess

of Saint Pol's), "Good father-in-law, the age of our wife pleases us right well: we pay not so much attention concerning her age, as we value your love, and that of our subjects, for we shall now be so strongly united that no king in Christendom can any way hurt us."

When dinner was over, which lasted not long, the cloth was removed, the tables carried away, and wine and spices brought. After this, the young queen of England entered the tent, attended by a great number of ladies and damsels. The king led her by the hand, and gave her to the king of England, who instantly after took his leave. The queen was placed in a very rich litter which had been prepared for her; but, of all the French ladies who were there, only the lady of Coucy went with her, for there were many of the principal ladies of England, such as the duchesses of Lancaster, York, Gloucester, Ireland, the lady of Namur, the lady Poinings, and others of the nobility, who received queen Isabella with great joy. When the ladies were ready, the king of England and his lords departed, and, riding at a good pace, arrived at Calais. The king of France and his court returned to Saint Omer, where he had left the queen and duchess of Burgundy, and staid there the Sunday and Monday following. On the Tuesday, which was All-saints-day, the king of England was married by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of Saint Nicholas at Calais, to the lady Isabella of France. Great were the feastings on the occasion, and the heralds and minstrels were so liberally paid they were satisfied.

On the ensuing Thursday, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon came to Calais, to visit the king and queen of England: they staid that day, and on the following went back to dinner at Saint Omer, where the king and queen of France waited for them. This same morning, the king and queen of England, having heard an early mass and drank some wine, embarked on board the vessels which had been prepared for them, with a favourable wind. They weighed anchor, set their sails, and in less than three hours landed at Dover. The king dined at the castle, and lay the next night at Rochester: passing through Dartford, he arrived at his palace of Eltham, where the lords and ladies took leave of the king and queen, and went to their homes.

Fifteen days after, the queen made her entry into London, grandly attended by lords, ladies, and damsels. She lay one night in the Tower, seated on the banks of the Thames, and the next day was conducted in great pomp, through the streets, to Westminster, where the king was waiting in his palace to receive her. This day, the Londoners made very rich presents to the queen, which were graciously accepted. During the time the court was at Westminster, a tournament was ordered to be held at Candlemas in Smithfield, between forty knights and as many squires; and notices of it were given to the heralds, that they might publish it beyond sea, and as far as Scotland.

When the king of France was returned to Paris after the marriage of his daughter, and his lords were gone to their residences, there were great rumours of war. It was said to have been settled that, at the beginning of March, the king was to lead a large army into Lombardy to destroy the duke of Milan; and that the king was so bent on this expedition, he would not listen to anything that was said against it. The king of England was to send his father-in-law six thousand archers; and the duke of Brittany, who had been constantly with the king, offered his services on the expedition, with two thousand Breton spears. Purveyances were already making for the king and lords in Dauphiny and in Savoy. When the duke of Brittany took leave of the king of France and his lords, to return to his duchy, I believe the duke of Burgundy made such earnest intercession with the king, and those immediately concerned, that the duke of Brittany carried with him his cousin sir Peter de Craon, who was confined a prisoner at his own charges, in the tower of the Louvre, for the debt he had been sentenced to pay of one hundred thousand francs to the queen of Jerusalem. I imagine he engaged to pay the queen the above sum by instalments; but I will, for the present, leave speaking of these matters, and return to what was passing in Turkey.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—THE CHRISTIANS ARE FORCED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLI, BY THE ARRIVAL OF BAJAZET IN TURKEY.—THEY ARE DEFEATED AND THE HUNGARIANS PUT TO FLIGHT, THROUGH THE PRESUMPTUOUS FOLLY OF THE FRENCH.

You have before read in our history how the king of Hungary, and the lords from France who had gone to Hungary in search of deeds of arms, had valiantly crossed the Danube, and entered Turkey; where during the summer, from the month of July, they had conquered a large tract of country, having mercifully spared the inhabitants and many towns and castles, for none could withstand their power. They had besieged the city of Nicopoli, and so hardly pressed it by their attacks, that it was on the point of surrendering without hearing any intelligence of Bajazet. The king of Hungary had even addressed the French lords, such as the count de Nevers, the count d'Eu, the count de la Marche, the count de Soissons, the lord de Coucy, and the barons and knights of Burgundy, saying,—"My fair sirs, thanks to God, we have made a successful campaign; for we have performed many brilliant deeds of arms, and have conquered Turkey. I look on the town of Nicopoli as our own, for it is so undermined it can hold out no longer than we please. I therefore would propose, that after we shall have gained and shown mercy to this town, we attempt nothing more this season, but recross the Danube, and return to Hungary, where I have many handsome towns and castles prepared to receive you, since you have so gallantly assisted me against the Turks, my bitter enemies. During the winter, we will provide stores for the ensuing summer, each according to his pleasure, and send information of our situation, and what we have done, to the king of France, who, before that time, will send us large reinforcements; and I hope, when he shall know the success we have had, he may be inclined to come hither in person, for he is young and fond of arms. But whether he come or not, if it please God, we will next summer cross the Hellespont, regain Armenia, thence march to Syria, with the towns of Jaffa and Baruth, and conquer Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Should the sultan oppose us, we will offer him battle, and never return without having combated him." Such was the speech of the king of Hungary to the French lords: they considered Nicopoli as won, but it fell out otherwise.

During the whole summer, Bajazet had been busily employed in raising an army of Saracens and infidels: he had even sent to Persia for succour, and the great lords of his religion had joined him against Christendom. They had crossed the Hellespont to the amount of two hundred thousand; but the Christians were not only ignorant of their numbers, but of their approach; and, they advanced so secretly, they were close to Nicopoli before the besiegers knew of their having begun their march. Bajazet was as well acquainted with the stratagems of war as most, and of great valour and enterprise. He considered maturely the power of the Christians, and said they were a valiant race. Bajazet marched to raise the siege of Nicopoli in the following order. His army was drawn up in the form of a harrow, and occupied about a league of ground: in front of this main body, and a league in advance, were eight thousand Turks, to mask the body of the army, which was divided into two wings. Bajazet was in the midst of his main body, who thus quietly advanced, with their van-guard of eight thousand in front: they were thus ordered, to make an appearance as if they were the whole army; but whenever they met the Christians, they were to fall back gently towards the main body, which was then to extend itself as much as possible, and endeavour to enclose the Christians, whom they should then conquer at pleasure. Such was the order of battle of Bajazet.

It happened, that on the Monday preceding Michaelmas-day, in the year 1396, about ten o'clock, as the king of Hungary and the lords, who were lying before Nicopoli, were seated at dinner, news was brought them that their enemies, the Turks, were near at hand; but, as I heard, the scouts did not inform them of the whole truth: they had not noticed the main body of the Turks, for the moment they saw the van-guard they dared not advance farther, as they were not men at arms fearless of such an enterprise. The Hungarians and French had each scouts of their own, and both parties arrived nearly at the same time with this intelligence. The greater part of the army were at dinner when the news was carried to the count de Nevers and the other French lords, the messenger bawling out, "Come! quickly

arm yourselves, that you be not surprised, for the Turks are on full march to meet you." This information was agreeable to many who were desirous of arms: they instantly arose, pushed the tables aside, and demanded their horses and armour. They were somewhat heated with wine, and hastened to the field as well as they could. Banners and pennons were displayed, under which every one ranged himself in his proper post. The banner of the Virgin Mary was unfurled, and the guard of it given to that valiant knight sir John de Vienne, admiral of France. The French were so eager to arm themselves that they were the first in the field, drawn up in handsome array, and seemingly fearless of the Turks; for they were ignorant of their immense numbers, and that Bajazet commanded in person. As the French lords were hastening from their tents to the field, the marshal of the king of Hungary, named sir Henry d'Ostenlemhalle*, mounted on a handsome courser, came to them with few attendants. He was a valiant and experienced knight, and had borne before him a pennon of his arms, which were a cross anchored sable on a field argent, which in heraldry is called cross moline. He stopped, when opposite the banner of Our Lady, where the principal lords were assembled, and said aloud,—"I am sent hither by my lord, the king of Hungary, who entreats you by me, that you will not begin the battle before you shall again hear from him; for he much suspects and fears that the scouts have not brought exact intelligence of the numbers of the Turks. Within two hours you shall have more certain intelligence, for we have sent other scouts, who will advance farther than the former ones, and bring us better information. Be assured the Turks will never attack you, unless you force them to it, or until they have collected all their forces together. You will act as you shall think best, but such are my lord the king's orders. I must now return, for I cannot longer stay."

On saying this, the Hungarian marshal left them; and the lords assembled together to consider what was to be done. The lord de Coucy was asked his opinion, and replied, that the king of Hungary had a right to order them, and that what he had requested was perfectly just. It was mentioned to me that the count d'Eu, constable of France, was vexed that his opinion had not been first asked before the lord de Coucy's, and, through spite and malice, instantly opposed what he had said, adding: "Yes, yes, the king of Hungary wishes to gain all the honour of the day: he has given us the van-guard, and now wants to take it away, that he may have the first blow: let those who will believe what he sends to us, for my part I never will:" then addressing the knight who bore his banner, he said,—"In the name of God and Saint George, you shall see me this day prove myself a good knight." The lord de Coucy thought this a very vain speech of the constable, and, turning to sir John de Vienne, who had the banner of Our Lady under his guard, and by whom all the others were to rally, asked what ought to be done. "Lord de Coucy," he replied, "when truth and reason are not heard, folly and presumption must reign; and, since the count d'Eu is determined to fight the enemy, we must follow him; but we should have greater advantage, if we waited the king of Hungary's orders, and were all united." While they thus conversed, the infidels were fast approaching: the two wings of their army, which consisted of sixty thousand men each, were already closing round them. The Christians, observing this, would have retreated, but that was impossible, as they were completely surrounded. Many knights and squires, who had been used to arms, now knew the day must be lost; notwithstanding which they advanced, following the banner of Our Lady, that was borne by that gallant knight sir John de Vienne.

The lords of France were so richly dressed out, in their emblazoned surcoats, as to look like little kings; but, as I was told, when they met the Turks, they were not more than seven hundred, which sufficiently showed the folly of the measure; for, had they waited for the Hungarian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, they might, perhaps, have gained a victory, but, to their pride and presumption, was the whole loss owing; and it was so great, that never since the defeat at Roncesvalles, where the twelve peers of France were slain, did the French suffer so considerably. However, before they were overcome, they made great slaughter of the Turks; though several knights and squires saw they were marching to destruction, through their own folly. The French defeated the van battalion, and put it to flight, pursuing it into a valley where Bajazet was posted with the main army. The

* MSS. Steulemchalle.

French would have returned, as they were mounted on barbed horses, but could not, for they were now inclosed on all sides. The battle, therefore, raged with fury, and lasted a considerable time. News was carried to the king of Hungary, that the French, English, and Germans were engaged with the Turks, not having obeyed his orders sent them by the marshal. He was very wroth on hearing it, as indeed he had reason to be, and foresaw they would all be cut off. He said to the grand master of Rhodes, who was beside him, "We shall lose the day, from the vanity of the French: if they had believed me, and waited for our joining, we should have had sufficient strength to cope with the enemy." As he thus spoke, looking behind him, he perceived that his men were flying panic-struck, and the Turks pursuing them. He then saw the day was irrecoverably lost, and those near his person cried out, "Sire, save yourself! for should you be killed or taken, Hungary will be completely ruined. We must be defeated, through French pride; and their valour will prove in vain, for every one of them will be taken or slain; not one can possibly escape. Fly, therefore, from the danger, before it be too late." The king of Hungary was in the utmost rage to be thus defeated through the arrogance of the French, and obliged to fly, if he would avoid captivity or death. It was a most unfortunate day for the Hungarians and French; whoever runs away from battle is pursued, and, as the Hungarians fled in the greatest confusion, the Turks followed, killing them or making prisoners at pleasure. God, however, assisted the king of Hungary and the grand master of Rhodes; for, on their arrival on the banks of the Danube, they found a small vessel belonging to the grand master, into which they entered, with only five more, and crossed to the opposite shore. Had they delayed, they must have been killed or taken; for the Turks came to the river as they were passing it, and made a great slaughter of those who had followed the king thinking to escape.

We will return to the French and Germans, who were fighting most valiantly. The lord de Montcaurel, a gallant knight from Artois, seeing the defeat inevitable, and wishing to save his son, who was very young, said to his squire,—"Carry off my son: thou mayest escape by that wing which is open: save my son, and I will abide the event with my companions." The youth, on hearing his father thus speak, declared he would not go nor leave him in such danger; but the father forced him away, and the squire brought him safely to the Danube: the youth, who was very melancholy at the situation of his father, was unfortunately drowned by falling between two barges, without a possibility of being saved. Sir William de la Trémouille and his son displayed great feats of valour before they were slain. Sir John de Vienne, who bore the banner of Our Lady, in spite of his deeds of arms was killed grasping the banner in his hands, and thus was he found after the battle. The whole of the French force that had been engaged at this battle of Nicopoli were defeated and slain, by the means I have related.

The lord John of Burgundy, count of Nevers, was wondrous richly arrayed, as were the lord Guy de la Riviere, and many barons and knights from Burgundy in compliment to him. Two squires from Picardy, William d'Eu and the borgne de Montquel, who had displayed their courage in many former battles, did the same at Nicopoli. These two squires by their vigorous courage, twice forced through the Turkish army, and returned to the fight, but were at length slain. To say the truth, the whole of the French chivalry and those from other countries acquitted themselves most gallantly; and had they been assisted by the Hungarians with equal courage, the day would have turned out differently. But the whole of the mischief was caused by the French, and their presumption was their ruin. There was a knight from Picardy, called sir James de Helly, who had resided some time in Turkey, and had served in arms under Amurat, father of the sultan Bajazet, of whom we are now speaking, and who knew a little of the Turkish language. When he saw the day was lost, he thought of saving his life; and as he knew the Saracens to be a covetous race, he surrendered himself to them, on their granting him his life. Thus did he escape; and also another squire from the Tournaisis, called James du Fay, who had formerly served Tamerlane king of Tartary, but when he learnt that the French were marching to Turkey, he quitted Tamerlane, and joined his countrymen. He was at this battle, and saved by Tamerlane's men, who had been ordered thither in compliance with the request made to him for assistance by Bajazet. Tamerlane had sent him a considerable body of men, as Saracen and Pagan kings always do to the aid of each other.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE TURKS, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI, PUT TO DEATH ALL THEIR PRISONERS, EXCEPT THE COUNT DE NEVERS AND SOME OTHER GREAT LORDS.

At this battle of Nicopoli, which was so fatal to the French, very many were saved, from the extreme richness of their armour: they were dressed like kings; and the Saracens and Turks, who are avaricious, thought, by saving their lives, they should gain large ransoms; for they believed them much greater lords, from their appearance, than they really were. The count de Nevers was made prisoner, as were the counts d'Eu and de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, the lord Henry de Bar, sir Guy de la Tremouille, Boucicaut and others. The lord Philip de Bar, sir John de Vienne, sir William de la Tremouille and his son, were killed. This battle lasted for three hours; and the king of Hungary lost his whole baggage, his gold and silver plate, jewels, and everything else. He had escaped by fortunately finding a vessel from Rhodes on the Danube, that had brought provisions, in which he crossed the river with six others: had he not done so, he must have been slain or taken. There were more killed in the pursuit than in the battle, and numbers were drowned. Happy was he who could escape from such danger by any means.

When the business was over, and the Turks, Persians, and others sent thither by different infidel kings, had retired to their lodgings, (that is to say, to the tents and pavilions they had conquered from the Christians, in which they found wines, meats, and every other necessary) they enjoyed themselves, and made merry, like men who have gained a victory over their enemies. Bajazet dismounted, at the sound of many minstrels, according to their custom, at the principal tent that had belonged to the king of Hungary, which was very large, and richly adorned. Bajazet took pleasure in viewing it, and glorified himself internally for the victory he had obtained over the Christians, and thanked his God for it, according to the manner of their religion. When he was disarmed, to cool and refresh himself, he sat on a silken carpet in the middle of the tent, and sent for his principal friends, to chat and joke with them. He began the conversation, by saying he would now march a great force into Hungary, to conquer that country and the rest of Christendom, which he would put under his obedience, but that each kingdom might follow its own religion and laws, owning him for their lord: that he would reign like Alexander of Macedon, who for twelve years governed the whole world, as he was descended from his blood. All assented to what Bajazet said, and agreed to his proposal. He gave out three orders: the first that every one who had made prisoners should produce them before him the next day; the second, that the dead should be carefully examined, and the nobles and great lords be set apart, and left untouched until he had seen them; the third, that exact inquiries should be made among the slain and prisoners after the king of Hungary, that he might know whether he was dead or alive. These orders were fulfilled, for none dared disobey them.

When Bajazet had refreshed himself, and changed his dress, he resolved to visit the dead on the field of battle; for he had been told the victory had cost him dear, and that he had lost great numbers of men. He was much surprised to hear this, and would not believe it. He mounted his horse, attended by his vizier, nobles and bashaws: some said his principal officers were his brothers, whom he would not acknowledge as such, declaring he had no brothers. On his coming to the field of battle, he found what had been told him was true; for where one Christian lay dead there were thirty of their enemies. The sight vexed him much, and he said aloud,—"This has been a cruel battle for our people: the Christians have defended themselves desperately; but I will have this slaughter well revenged on those who are prisoners." He now left the field and returned to his tent, comforting himself for the loss he had suffered by the victory and defeat of the Christians; but, notwithstanding this, he passed the night in great fury. On the morrow, before he was risen or had shown himself, great numbers came before his tent, to learn his will respecting the prisoners; for it had been rumoured that he intended having them all put to death without mercy. Bajazet, however, in spite of his rage against the Christians, had given orders that all the principal lords who had been made prisoners should be separated from the others, for he had been told they would pay him large ransoms, and on that account he was inclined

to spare them. He had also learnt that many of the Tartars, Arabs, Bedouins and Syrians, had made prisoners, from whom they expected to gain large fortunes, as indeed they did, by concealing their prisoners from Bajazet. Sir James de Helly, whom I mentioned before, was, luckily for him, brought this Tuesday morning before the tent of the sultan, with many other prisoners, for he who had taken him was afraid of keeping him hid. As they were waiting the coming of Bajazet, some of the knights of his household, standing round the tent, recollected sir James, and delivered him from the hands of those who had taken him He remained with the attendants of the sultan, who had been formerly acquainted with him; and fortunate it was for him, as you will hear related, for to the greater part of the Christians it was a disastrous day.

Before Bajazet appeared, inquiries had been made who were the greatest lords among the prisoners, and his interpreters had been very strict in their examinations, putting such aside not to be killed. The first was John of Burgundy commander-in-chief, then the count d'Eu, the count de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, lord Henry de Bar, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and two more, amounting in all to eight. Bajazet would see and talk with them. He eyed them long in silence, and these lords were conjured on their faith to avow if they were the persons who had been so named. He also resolved to send for sir James de Helly, that he might assure him of the truth. On his coming, he was remembered by the sultan whom he had served, and was now perfectly secure from danger. He was asked if he knew those French lords who were prisoners at the bottom of the tent. "I cannot say," he replied; "but, if I saw their faces, I should know them all." He was then ordered to go near and examine them, and report truly their names to the sultan, for that his determination would be according to what he should say. He went near the prisoners, and, bowing to them, knew them all. He told them his fortunate escape, and that he had been sent by the sultan to see if they were the persons answering to the names they had given themselves. "Ah, sir James," said they, "you are well acquainted with us all: you see how fortune has turned against us, and what great danger we are in when we depend on the mercy of this sultan. If it may any how save our lives, tell him we are of even greater rank than we have said, and able to pay him large sums for our ransoms." "My lords," replied sir James, "this I will most cheerfully do, for it is my duty." The knight then returned to Bajazet, and said, "Those lords who are prisoners, and with whom I have been talking, are of the noblest blood in France, nearly related to the king, and willing to pay for their liberty a great sum of money." This answer was very agreeable to the sultan, who would not listen to more, but said, "Let those alone be spared, and all the other prisoners put to death, to free the country from them, and that others may take example from their fate."

The sultan now made his appearance to his people before the tent, who, bowing down, made him their obeisance. The army was drawn up in two wings on each side; the sultan with his nobles, the count de Nevers and those who were to be spared, were in the centre; for he would they should witness the execution of their companions, which the Saracens were eager to perform. Many excellent knights and squires of France and other nations, who had been taken in battle or in the pursuit, were now brought forth in their shirts, one after another, before Bajazet, who eyeing them a little, they were led on; and, as he made a signal, were instantly cut to pieces by those waiting for them with drawn swords. Such was the cruel justice of Bajazet this day, when upwards of three hundred gentlemen of different nations were thus pitilessly murdered. It was a cruel case for them to suffer for the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may he receive their souls!

Among the murdered of that day was the gallant knight sir Henry d'Antoing: may God show gracious mercy to his soul! The lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, was led naked like the others, before Bajazet, and would have suffered the same cruel death, had not the count de Nevers left his companions, who were motionless at the sad sight, and flung himself on his knees to the sultan, entreating him to spare the lord Boucicaut, who was much beloved by the king of France, and well able to pay a considerable ransom; and the count made signs, as paying from one hand to the other, that he would give a large sum of money, to soften the anger of the sultan. Bajazet consented to the request of the count de Nevers, and the lord Boucicaut was put aside with those who were not to be killed. Others were brought

forward, until the number I have mentioned was completed: such was the cruel revenge the infidels had on the Christians. It seems, according to what I heard, that Bajazet took delight that the victory he had gained over the Christians, and the capture of the count de Nevers, should be known in France, and carried thither by a French knight. Three knights, of whom sir James de Helly was one, were brought before Bajazet and the count de Nevers, who was asked which of the three he wished should go to the king of France and to his father the duke of Burgundy. Sir James de Helly had the good fortune to be made choice of, because the count de Nevers was before acquainted with him: he therefore said to the sultan,—" Sir, I wish that this person may go to France from you and from me." This was accepted by Bajazet, and sir James de Helly remained with him and the other French lords; but the two unsuccessful knights were delivered over to the soldiery, who massacred them without pity.

After all these things were done, every thing was quiet. Bajazet, having learnt that the king of Hungary was escaped, resolved to march more into the interior of Turkey towards the city of Bursa, whither he would carry his prisoners, for he had done enough this campaign. He therefore disbanded his army, more especially that part of it which had come from distant countries. Thus was it done, and the army broke up, which had been composed of men from Tartary, Persia, Media, Syria, Alexandria and Egypt, and from other distant countries of infidels. Bajazet gave particular orders to sir James de Helly, that when he went to France, he should take his road through Lombardy, and salute from him the duke of Milan; and it was the sultan's intention that sir James should publish, wherever he passed, the great victory he had gained over the Christians. The count de Nevers wrote by him, as well for himself as for his fellow-prisoners, to the king of France, and to the duke and duchess of Burgundy. On receiving these letters and other verbal messages, the knight departed from the sultan and the lords of France; but before he set out, Bajazet made him promise, on oath, that as soon as he should have performed the journey, and delivered all he had been charged with to the king of France and the other lords, he would return, which the knight swore he would do, and kept his oath. We will now leave Bajazet, and the French lords who remained prisoners during his pleasure, and speak of other things.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—THE FRENCH AND OTHERS WHO HAD BEEN IN TURKEY SUFFER GREAT HARDSHIPS ON THEIR RETURN HOME, AFTER HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI.—SIR JAMES DE HELLY BRINGS CERTAIN INTELLIGENCE OF THIS DEFEAT TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

After this memorable victory which the Turks and their allies gained over the Christians, as has been related in this history, such knights as could escape saved themselves. On the Monday morning, the day of the battle, more than three hundred knights and squires, being out foraging, were not present at it. When they heard from the runaways that a defeat was inevitable, they gave over all thoughts of returning to their camp, but took different roads to make their escape from Turkey as speedily as they could. French, Germans, and others, made for a country adjoining to Hungary, called Wallachia, which is well inhabited, and had been conquered from the Turks, and turned by force to the Christian faith. The guards of the passes and castles in Wallachia, allowed the Christians who came from Turkey free entrance, and gave them lodging; but, on the morrow, when they were about to depart, they took from the knights their armour and all they had, and gave them in return a miserable jacket, and some little money, just enough to bear the day's expenses. This favour was only shown to gentlemen; for those who were not of that rank were stripped naked, and scourged villanously with rods. The French and their companions suffered most exceedingly in poverty and distress, during their passage through Wallachia and Hungary; and with difficulty could they meet with any, who, for the love of God, would give a morsel of bread, or lodge them for the night. They endured this misery until they came to Vienna in Austria, where they were kindly received by the good people, who clothed such as were naked, and shared with

them their food. They were treated with the same kindness in Bohemia: had they found the Germans as hardhearted as the Hungarians, they would never have been able to have returned home, but must have perished with cold and hunger on the road. Thus, wherever they came, whether alone or in companies, they brought most melancholy news, which excited pity for them in every breast that heard their sad tale.

Those of the French nation, who had fled from Turkey, arrived at last at Paris, and told the melancholy event of the battle at Nicopoli; but they were not believed nor listened to: the Parisians said it was a pity that such rascally liars were not hanged or drowned, for daily spreading abroad so many falsehoods. This news was, however, confirmed by others who arrived after them, and told the same tale, some one way, and others differently, but all agreeing as to the complete overthrow of the Hungarians and their allies. The king of France was very much vexed on hearing such melancholy news talked of, for there were too many of his relations implicated in the loss, besides other excellent knights and squires of France. He therefore forbade anything to be said on the subject, until he should receive more positive information, to confirm the truth or falsehood of these reports; and those who had divulged such news, saying they were come from Turkey and Hungary, were arrested, and confined in the Châtelet of Paris. They consisted of great numbers, and were told, that if what they had said should be found false, orders had been given for all of them to be drowned; for the king was very wroth they should have published such disastrous news.

It happened that, on Christmas-day about noon, sir James de Helly arrived in Paris, and the moment he had dismounted at his inn, he inquired where the king was. They told him at the hôtel de Saint Pol, on the banks of the Seine, whither he went. There was with the king this day, as is usual on such solemn festivals, the duke of Orleans, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the count de Saint Pol, and many of the nobility. Sir James de Helly entered the hôtel in the same dress he had rode in, booted and spurred, so that he was not known; for he had, for a long time, been seeking adventures in foreign parts, in preference to living with his relations and friends. By fair speeches he got at last to the king's apartment, and made himself known, saying he was come immediately from Bajazet and Turkey, and that he had been present at the battle of Nicopoli, where the Christians had lost the day; and that he had brought certain intelligence from the count de Nevers, and from the other French lords with whom he had marched through Hungary. The knights of the king's chamber were pleased to hear this; for they knew the king, the duke of Burgundy, and many lords, were very anxious to learn true intelligence from those countries. They therefore made way for him to approach the king: when near, he fell on his knees, as was right, and told all he had been charged with, as well by Bajazet, as by the count de Nevers and the French lords his fellow-prisoners. The king and lords listened attentively to all he said, for they believed he was speaking the truth. Many questions were asked, in order to hear a more detailed account, to all of which he answered very pertinently, and to the satisfaction of the king, who was greatly affected at the loss the king of Hungary and his chivalry had suffered. He was somewhat comforted that the king of Hungary had escaped death and prison; for he supposed that he would renew the war against Turkey with vigour, and have ample revenge on Bajazet.

The king of France and his lords were rejoiced that the count de Nevers and his few companions were free from danger of being murdered; and, as they were now prisoners, the lords debated on the means of paying their ransom. Sir James de Helly said that he hoped Bajazet would, within a year or two, sell them their liberty, for he was very avaricious. This he personally knew, having resided a long time in Turkey, and for three years served Amurat, father to the present sultan. The king made the knight rise, and treated him kindly, as did the lords present. They said, he had been very fortunate to have had a friend in so great a monarch as this infidel Bajazet, after such a severe battle, and to be sent by him with his message to the king of France. He and his family ought to pride themselves on such good fortune. The king ordered all who had been confined in the Châtelet, for having first spread abroad this intelligence, to be set at liberty. They were happy to hear this, for many of them had repented they had talked so much.

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CHAPTER LXXXIV.—SIR JAMES DE HELLY, HAVING RECEIVED HIS DESPATCHES FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, ARRIVES IN HUNGARY, IN HIS WAY TO TURKEY.—THE KING SENDS SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT, WITH PRESENTS TO BAJAZET, AND HIS RECOMMENDATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS.—THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY ARE TREATED.

When the intelligence sir James de Helly had brought was made public, all who had lost husband, brother, father, or child, were in the utmost consternation, as may easily be supposed. The high nobility of France, such as the duchess of Burgundy and the lady Margaret of Hainault, were greatly afflicted on account of their son and husband the count de Nevers, for he was much beloved by them. The countess of Eu lamented her lord the constable, as did the countess de la Marche: the ladies of Coucy, of Bar, and Sully, in like manner bewailed the melancholy situation of their lords. They were fortunate in having only their lords' captivity to lament, and were somewhat comforted thereat; but the relations and friends of those who had been massacred were inconsolable, and the grief of France lasted a long time. The duke of Burgundy treated most kindly sir James de Helly for having brought him intelligence of his son: he made him many rich gifts, and retained him for one of his knights, with a pension of two hundred livres a-year during his life. The king of France also, and the lords of the court, gave him handsome presents. He informed them he was bound to return to Bajazet, after he should have delivered his letters, as the sultan's prisoner; for he was sent solely with a view to publish Bajazet's victory, and to say what lords had perished or been made prisoners at the battle of Nicopoli. This seemed reasonable, and the king, the duke of Burgundy, and such lords as were at Paris, prepared to write to their friends and relations who were prisoners. It was determined in council, that the king should send some knight of renown, prudence, and valour to Bajazet, who, having delivered his message, was to return with more detailed accounts of the state of the prisoners, in case sir James de Helly were not permitted so to do by the sultan, whose prisoner he was. Sir John de Châteaumorant was selected for this embassy, as being every way qualified for it.

Sir James de Helly was asked what jewels or presents would be most acceptable to the sultan, that the count de Nevers and the other prisoners might fare the better. The knight said, that Bajazet took great pleasure in viewing fine tapestry from Arras or Picardy, which represented ancient histories: he was also fond of gerfalcons: but he thought that fine linen from Rheims, and scarlet cloths, would be most acceptable to the sultan and his lords. There was plenty of cloths of gold and silks in Turkey, with which they were amply provided, and consequently would like things they could not get at home. The king and the duke of Burgundy, therefore, resolved what to send, for they were anxious to please Bajazet on account of the count of Nevers. Sir James de Helly remained at Paris, with the king and lords, about twelve days, and was well listened to by all; for he entertained them with his adventures in Hungary and Turkey, and with descriptions of the manners of Bajazet. On his departure, he was told,—"Sir James, you may now set out on your return to the sultan, at your leisure. We suppose you will go through Lombardy, to the duke of Milan; for he and Bajazet are great friends, although they have never seen each other: but, whatever road you take, we entreat and order you to wait in Hungary for sir John de Châteaumorant, who will be sent by the king with presents to the sultan, as it is our intent that he pursue his journey from Hungary in your company to Turkey, or until you shall meet the sultan, that he may behave the more kindly to the count de Nevers and his fellow-prisoners, who are now in his power." Sir James promised obedience, and, having received his despatches, took leave of the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the other lords, and left Paris, following the same road by which he had come. He continued his journey, firmly resolved never to return to France until he had obtained his liberty. After his departure, the duke of Burgundy was constantly employed in preparing the presents for the sultan; and, by the time they were provided, sir John de Châteaumorant was ready to set out, for he had begun his preparations for the journey on his being first nominated to

go thither. They made great haste to have the presents from the king to Bajazet in time for sir John de Châteaumorant to overtake sir James de Helly. These presents consisted of pieces of the best-worked tapestry from Arras, representing the history of Alexander the Great and his conquests, which was a delightful sight for all men of honour, the finest linens from Rheims, and scarlet and crimson cloths, which were packed on six sumpter-horses. All these things were easily to be had for money; but there was great difficulty in procuring white gerfalcons. At last, however, they were got, either in Paris or from Germany; and sir John de Châteaumorant, having received his final instructions, left Paris, and began his journey fifteen days after sir James de Helly.

In the interval during which these knights were on their journey, the king of Hungary returned to his kingdom. On his arrival being known, his subjects were greatly rejoiced, and flocked to him, for he was much beloved. They comforted him by saying, that if in this campaign he had been unfortunate, in another he would be more successful. The king bore his misfortunes as well as he could. Immediately after the battle, Bajazet disbanded his army and marched to the city of Bursa, carrying with him his prisoners. They were put under strict confinement, and very little comfort allowed them. They suffered much from the change of diet, as they had always been accustomed to have their own cooks, and their tables served with every delicacy; but of all this they were deprived, and forced to live on coarse meat, and that badly or not thoroughly dressed. They had plenty of spices, and millet bread, which is disagreeable to a French palate. They had great difficulty in procuring wine: although they were great princes, there was not any attention paid them, for the Turks were indifferent whether they were sick or in health; and, if the advice of several had been adopted, they would all have been put to death.

These lords of France comforted each other, and thankfully received whatever was given them, for they could no way better themselves. At the beginning of their captivity, several of them were very unwell: the count de Nevers bore his misfortune the best, and kept up his spirits to comfort the others. He was assisted in this by the lord Boucicaut, the count de la Marche, and lord Henry de Bar, who said, that the honours and glories of arms could not be gained without meeting with unfortunate reverses; and that no man, however valiant or lucky, or accustomed to war, had everything according to his wish; and that they ought to thank God, for having had their lives saved from the furious rage of Bajazet and his followers, for it had been determined by the army to put every one to death. Boucicaut said, "I ought to be more thankful than any one to God for my life being spared, for I was brought out to be massacred as my companions had been, and should have lost my head, had not my lord of Nevers cast himself on his knees to Bajazet, who, at his request, granted me his pardon. I hold this a most fortunate escape; and since it was the good pleasure of our lord that I should live, I have no doubt but that God, who has delivered us from this peril, will continue his mercy to us, for we are his soldiers; and that we shall soon obtain our liberty, for we are now suffering in his cause. Beside, sir James de Helly is on his road to France, who will relate to the king and barons our distress; and I expect, within the year, we shall receive comfort and our liberty. Things will not remain long as they are. There is much good sense in the king and the duke of Burgundy, who will never forget us; and, by some means or other, we shall receive sufficient sums for our ransoms."

Thus the gallant knight, the lord Boucicaut, comforted himself, and bore his captivity with patience, as did likewise the young count de Nevers; but the lord de Coucy was sorely afflicted, which is not to be wondered at. Before this event, he had been a lord of such high spirit as nothing could cast down: this captivity in Turkey, however, preyed on his mind more than it did on the spirits of the others, and he became quite melancholy. He complained of great oppression at his heart, and said he should never return to France; that he had escaped many perils and dangerous adventures, but this would be his last. The lord Henry de Bar consoled him, and blamed him for being so disconsolate without cause; and told him it was folly to be thus cast down, when he ought to find more satisfaction in his own mind than any other. Notwithstanding the advice he was giving, he himself severely felt his own situation, and bitterly regretted his wife. The count

d'Eu, constable of France, suffered from similar regrets. Sir Guy de la Tremouille and the count de la Marche kept up their spirits very tolerably. Bajazet was desirous they should have some amusements in their captivity, and at times visited and conversed with them most graciously: he was likewise anxious they should witness his state and power.

We will now leave them, and return to sir James de Helly and sir John de Châteaumorant, who were both journeying towards Hungary.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—SIR JAMES DE HELLY, ON HIS RETURN TO TURKEY, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, AND CARRIES A PASSPORT FROM THE SULTAN TO SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT IN HUNGARY.—SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT IS FORCED TO SEND A MESSENGER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO INFORM HIM THAT THE KING OF HUNGARY WILL NOT ALLOW THE PRESENTS TO BE CARRIED TO THE SULTAN.

Sir James de Helly waited about ten or twelve days at Buda, in Hungary, for sir John de Châteaumorant, who was continuing his road as expeditiously as he could. Sir James was rejoiced on his arrival; for he was impatient to return to Turkey to acquit himself of his promise, and to see and bring comfort to the count de Nevers and the other French lords who were prisoners. The king of Hungary made sir John de Châteaumorant a kind welcome, in compliment to the king of France and his royal cousins. He learnt from his people that the knight was carrying magnificent presents, and rich jewels, to the sultan: this vexed him greatly, but he prudently dissembled any knowledge of it until sir James de Helly should have set out for Turkey. He declared, however, to his confidential friends, that that recreant dog, Bajazet, should never receive any presents from France or elsewhere, if he had the power to prevent it. When sir James had refreshed himself some time at Buda, he took leave of the king and of Châteaumorant, to continue his journey to Turkey, that he might obtain from the sultan a passport for sir John to pursue his road to him. When sir James mentioned it, the king of Hungary replied he would do well. On this the knight, having procured guides, was conducted by them through Hungary and Wallachia to Bursa, but did not find there Bajazet, who was gone to another town in Turkey called Poly. Wherever he went he carried the prisoners with him, excepting the lord de Coucy, who was left at Bursa, unable to ride from sickness. There tarried with him his cousin, a valiant baron from Greece, and a descendant of the dukes of Austria, called the lord de Mathelin.

Sir James de Helly continued his journey to Poly, where he met Bajazet, who was glad to see him return from France, and keep his word. Sir James humbled himself much before him, and said, "Most dear and redoubted lord, here is your prisoner, who has delivered, to the best of his abilities, the message you have charged him with." Bajazet replied, "Thou art welcome, for thou hast loyally acquitted thyself; and, in consideration of it, I now give thee thy liberty." Sir James thanked him respectfully for this favour, and told him that the king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, father to the count de Nevers his prisoner, had sent him an honourable knight with credential letters as ambassador, and likewise with such grand presents as he was sure would give him delight. The sultan asked if he had seen them. He replied, "I have not; but the knight charged with the commission has brought them as far as Hungary, and is now at Buda waiting my return, with passports for him to continue his journey: I came to announce this news to you, and to solicit passports, if it be agreeable to you to receive him." "We are very willing he should have passports, and you may have them made out in any form you choose." The knight thanked him for his gracious answer, when the sultan left him to attend to other affairs. About an hour afterwards, sir James requested the sultan's permission to visit and converse with the French prisoners, as he had much to say to them from their friends and relations. Bajazet was some time silent before he gave him an answer, when he said, "Thou shalt see one of them, but not more." He then made a sign to his attendants for the count de Nevers to be brought to converse with sir James for a short space, and then to be carried back to his prison. The order was instantly obeyed; and the count de Nevers

saw sir James de Helly with great joy. He made many inquiries after the king of France, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and what was passing in that country. The knight related to him everything he had seen or heard, and delivered him all the messages he had been charged with; but they were greatly interrupted by the officers of the sultan, who pressed them to finish their conversation, as they had other business to attend to.

Sir James asked the count if all the other French lords were in good health. He replied, —"All, except the lord de Coucy, who has remained sick at Bursa; and this favour, I understand, has been granted through the credit of the lord de Mathelin, who has pledged himself for him, and is much esteemed by the sultan." Sir James then told him that the king and the duke of Burgundy had sent sir John Châteaumorant as ambassador to Bajazet, with most magnificent presents to soften the sultan's anger; but that sir John had stopped at Buda in Hungary until he should return with a passport for him and his attendants; that the sultan had promised the passport, with which he intended returning to Buda in a very few days. The count de Nevers was exceedingly rejoiced on hearing this: but he dared not give way to his feelings, for the Turks were observing them. The last words the count said to him were,—"Sir James, I understand that Bajazet has given you your liberty, and that you may return to France when you please. On your arrival there, tell my lord and father from me, that if he have any intention to ransom me and my companions, he must not delay to negotiate through the means of Venetian or Genoese merchants, and close with the first offer the sultan, or his ministers for him, may make; for we are lost for ever, if it be longer neglected. But I understand that the sultan is very loyal and courteous in his character, when applied to properly."

Thus ended their interview, and the count de Nevers was conducted back to prison. Sir James de Helly hastened the passport which had been promised him. When it had been drawn out in the usual form, and sealed by Bajazet, it was delivered to the knight, who took leave of the sultan and his court, and set off on his return to Buda. He instantly waited on sir John de Châteaumorant, who was impatiently expecting him, and said,— "I bring you a passport for yourself and your attendants, to go and return in safety from Turkey, which the sultan readily granted me." "That is well done," replied sir John: "let us go to the king of Hungary, and tell him the news. To-morrow morning I will begin my journey, for I have staid here long enough." They went to the king's chamber, and related to him all you have just heard. The king replied,—"Châteaumorant and Helly, I am glad to see you both, as well on your own account as for the affection I bear to the king and my cousins of France, and I shall at all times be happy to serve you. You may travel through any part of my kingdom, unmolested, or even into Turkey, if it be your pleasure; but with regard to your carrying any rich presents or jewels to the sultan, which you, Châteaumorant, are charged with from France, I will never consent that they pass through my kingdom, to be offered to the infidel Bajazet, for he shall never be enriched by them. I should be extremely blamed and laughed at, if in future times he be enabled to boast, that to gain his love, and from fear, because he has gained a victory over me, and detains some great barons of France prisoners, the king of France and his princes have sent him rich presents. In respect to the gerfalcons, I am indifferent whether he have them or not; for birds fly anywhere, and are as soon lost as given; but with respect to fine tapestry, which would remain as a proof of his boastings being true, I will not consent that he enjoy the pleasure of possessing it. Therefore, Châteaumorant," continued the king of Hungary, "if you wish to make a journey into Turkey, to see Bajazet, and present him with the falcons, you may do so, but you shall not carry him anything else."

Sir John de Châteaumorant replied,—"Certainly, sire, it is not the intention of the king of France, nor to his honour more than to that of the other lords who have sent me, that I fail in any particular in the accomplishment of the objects they have charged me with."— "Very well," said the king: "you will not at present have any other answer from me than what you have heard." The two knights left the apartment, and consulted together how to act, for this refusal of the king of Hungary had disconcerted them. They thought their only expedient was to send off a messenger express with the account of the king of Hungary's conduct to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, for them to provide a remedy, and



The Duchess of Orleans quitting Paris.

to explain the causes of their delay. They wrote, in consequence, letters to the king and the duke of Burgundy, and engaged a trusty messenger to carry them, whom they supplied with a sufficiency of money for him frequently to change his horses on the road, that he might hasten his journey, while they waited his return at Buda.

The messenger journeyed with great diligence to Paris, and delivered his letters to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. Having read them, they were much surprised and vexed that the king of Hungary should prevent their ambassador from continuing his journey with the presents to the sultan of Turkey, as they had ordered him to do. The duke of Berry, however, excused the king of Hungary, saying he was no way to blame, for it was too debasing to a king of France to send presents and jewels to such a recreant pagan king. The duke of Burgundy was more nearly affected in the matter, and defended the measure as reasonable, since fortune had been so favourable, to give the sultan a victory, in which the whole force of the king of Hungary was slain or put to flight, and the greater part of the nobles made prisoners that had been in the battle. It therefore behoved their relations and friends to adopt every mode for their deliverance, if they were desirous of seeing them again. This speech of the duke of Burgundy was supported by the king and council. The king asked the duke of Berry,—"Good uncle, if this sultan Bajazet, or any other pagan king, were to send you a rich and sparkling ruby, would you accept of it?" "My lord," replied the duke, "I should consider of it." The king reminded him that it was not ten years since the sultan had sent him a ruby that had cost twenty thousand francs.

The king of Hungary was condemned by all for having prevented the presents from being carried to the sultan, which might have the effect of adding to the distressful state of the French lords that were prisoners. The king was therefore advised to write courteous letters to the king of Hungary, to request that he would no longer prevent his ambassador from proceeding on his journey with the presents to the court of Turkey. When they had been fairly written out and sealed, they were given to the messenger from Hungary, who, leaving Paris, set out on his return to Buda.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS IS SUSPECTED OF CAUSING THE KING'S ILLNESS.

Every year the king of France had relapses of his frenzy, without any physician or surgeon being able to prevent it. Some indeed had boasted that they would restore him to sound health, but it was soon found they laboured in vain. The king's disorder never ceased until it had run its course, in spite of prayers and medicines. Some of the physicians and sorcerers who attended the king, on finding their labour lost, declared the king must have been poisoned or enchanted by some pernicious herbs. This agitated greatly the minds of the nobility and people, for these sorcerers affirmed, the better to gain belief, that the king was under the power of sorcery, and that they knew it from the devil who had revealed it to them. Several of these conjurors had been burnt at Paris and Avignon, for having gone so far as to say that the duchess of Orleans, daughter to the duke of Milan, was the cause of this mischief, that she might succeed to the crown of France. This was so much believed that common report said she had frequently practised such arts, and that, so long as she was near the person of the king, he neither would nor could regain his health. It was therefore necessary, to put an end to this slander, that the duchess of Orleans should quit Paris. She went first to reside at Asnières, a very handsome castle near Pontoise, that belonged to the duke her lord, and then to Neufchâteau, on the Loire, which also belonged to him. The duke of Orleans was very melancholy on hearing such injurious reports against his duchess, which he dissembled as well as he could, and never on this account quitted the king or court, for he took pleasure in attending public business and the different councils on the affairs of the realm.

Galeas duke of Milan was duly informed of the infamous crimes his daughter, the duchess of Orleans, was accused of. He deeply felt the injury, and had twice or thrice sent ambassadors to France, to exculpate his daughter to the king of France and his council, offering, at the

same time, a knight or knights that should engage in mortal combat any person who should dare to accuse his daughter of such iniquitous and treasonable practices. The duke of Milan threatened to make war on France; for he had learnt that the king, when he gave his daughter in marriage to the king of England, between Ardres and Calais, had declared that on his return to Paris, he would not attend to anything until he should march a large army into the Milanese; and that his son-in-law, king Richard, had, to his great satisfaction, offered him one thousand English spears and six thousand archers. Galeas had likewise heard that purveyances were making throughout Dauphiny and Savoy for the king of France, for it was by Piedmont he intended entering Lombardy. This expedition, however, was laid aside, and no more thought of, when the news arrived of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Nicopoli, and the death and captivity of the French nobles. The king and the duke of Burgundy were so afflicted at this event, that they could not attend to anything else; they besides knew that the duke of Milan was on the most friendly terms with Bajazet, which was an additional reason at this moment not to push any hostile attempts against him, and he was left unmolested.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY DILIGENTLY EXERT THEMSELVES TO FIND MEANS TO RANSOM THE COUNT DE NEVERS, THEIR SON, AND HIS FELLOW-PRISONERS IN TURKEY.—THE KING OF HUNGARY, THROUGH THE PERSUASION OF THE GRAND MASTER OF RHODES, PERMITS THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF FRANCE TO PASS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM WITH THE PRESENTS FOR THE SULTAN BAJAZET.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy considered every possible means of recovering their son. As they knew they must pay a very large sum for his ransom, they reduced their expenses as much as possible, to gather all the money they could; without this, they knew they could not succeed; and made many friends among the Venetian and Genoese merchants, for through their means the ransoms were to be negotiated. The duke of Burgundy resided with the king, who conversed with him frequently on affairs of state, and paid attention to what he said; for the duke had the principal share in the government, which made his own affairs prosper the more.

At this time there lived in Paris a Lombard, who was a great and rich merchant, and transacted business for the other Lombards: he was known and spoken of all over the world, wherever commerce was carried on: his name was Dinde Desponde, and by him all exchanges were made. If before the event of the battle of Nicopoli he was beloved by the king of France and the lords of his court, he was now much more so, and had frequent consultations with the duke of Burgundy on the surest means to recover his son and the other lords who were prisoners in Turkey. Dinde Desponde said to the duke,—"My lord, by degrees all things are brought about. The merchants of Genoa, and of the islands under their obedience, are well known everywhere, and traffic with Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Damietta, and Turkey, and in different countries of infidels; for trade, my lord, as you know, finds its way everywhere, and rules the world. Write, therefore, to the Genoese, and prevail on the king to do so likewise, in a friendly manner, promising them great rewards if they will undertake the business; for there is nothing but may be accomplished with money. The king of Cyprus, who is near to Turkey, and now at peace with the sultan, may also assist in the matter. You must suppose that, as for myself, I will exert my powers to the utmost, for I am bound to obey you in everything."

The duke and duchess of Burgundy neglected no means to free their son from his captivity, for they were sorely afflicted by it. He was the heir to their vast possessions; and this misfortune had happened to him on his first onset in arms. The ladies of France lamented the loss of their husbands and friends, especially the lady of Coucy, who refused all comfort, and bewailed him day and night. The duke of Lorrain and sir Ferri de Lorrain, her brothers, visited her at Saint Gobin*, where she resided, and consoled her as well as they

* "Saint Gobin,"—near La Fere in Picardy, now famous for its fine manufacture of looking-glasses.

could. They advised her to send into Turkey to gain some intelligence of him, for they had heard he had greater liberty allowed him than the other prisoners. The lady thanked her brothers for this advice, and instantly sent for sir Robert Desne*, a good and valiant knight of the Cambresis. She entreated him so sweetly, urging him, out of affection to her, to undertake a journey into Turkey, that the knight consented, and engaged to go thither and bring back full intelligence of the lord de Coucy.

Sir Robert soon made his preparations, and, accompanied by four others, set out for Hungary. In like manner did other ladies in France send to inquire after their husbands. The king of Hungary was very obstinate in his refusal to allow sir John de Châteaumorant to continue his journey to Turkey with the presents from the king of France to the sultan. Though this greatly displeased sir John and sir James de Helly, they could not prevail on him to alter his resolution. It happened that the grand-master of Rhodes came at this time to Buda. He was most kindly received by the king, as indeed he ought to have been, for on the day of the battle he had saved the king from death or captivity. He made acquaintance with the two knights from France, who related to him the conduct of the king of Hungary, and the circumstance of his detaining them at Buda. He was much surprised, and said, to soften their anger, he would speak to the king on the subject, and, as they should soon experience, with good effect. He managed the matter so prudently with the king, that they were permitted to continue their journey to Turkey, with all their presents, which were restored to them. The ambassador arrived in safety at the place where Bajazet resided, owing to the passports sir James de Helly had brought to him. The sultan received the knights, and their presents from the king of France, with much respect, and seemed very proud of what the king had sent him. The knights were only permitted to have one interview with the count de Nevers, but with none of the others: this, however, was of a sufficiently long continuance. On their taking leave, the count said,—"Recommend me to my lord and father, the duke of Burgundy, to my lady-mother, to my lord the king, and to my lord of Berry, and salute in my name all my friends. Should there be any negotiation going forward with Bajazet, urge the speedy conclusion, for we suffer from every delay. We were originally eight prisoners, but are now increased, by sixteen more, to twenty-four†: let the ransom include all of us, for it will be as readily agreed to for the whole as for one. Bajazet has settled this in his own mind, and you may depend on his steadiness; and those who have sent you hither may rely on his word, for it is inviolable." Sir James de Helly and sir John de Châteaumorant replied, they would say and do everything he had directed. They then took leave of the count de Nevers, and the sultan, and set out for Hungary and France. On their return, they met the messenger whom they had sent to Paris, as has been mentioned, bringing letters to the king of Hungary. They made him come back with them, as he had now no occasion to proceed further, for they had been in Turkey; and they all returned together, to the king of France at Paris.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER PLOTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS NEPHEW, THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE KING, HAVING INFORMATION OF HIS PRACTICES, HAS HIM ARRESTED BY THE EARL MARSHAL.

I HAVE been some time without saying anything of the duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of the late king Edward of England, for I have not had any cause for so doing. But I will now speak of him, because his heart would no way incline to the French, and he was more pleased than hurt at the melancholy loss they had sustained in Turkey. He had with him a knight called sir John Lackingay, who was his most confidential adviser, and, as it was afterwards discovered, held with him such conversations as the following: "These vain-boasting French have been nearly annihilated in Turkey. Such knights and squires as join company with them know not what they are about, and are ill-advised when they do so, for they are so full of vanity and presumption, that they never can bring to a successful issue anything they undertake. This has often been apparent during the wars of my lord and

* "Sir Robert Desne." Sir Robert de Seu, MSS. B. M. and Hafod. † The MSS. say *nine* original prisoners.

father, and our brother the prince of Wales, for they never could obtain a victory over our men. I know not why we have any truces with them: if it were war with them, as we have good cause for quarrel, we would wage it now more successfully than ever, for the flower of the French chivalry is slain or in captivity. Our countrymen wish for war, for without it they cannot exist, and idleness to men at arms is death. I swear, therefore, by God, that if I be alive, and in health, two years hence, the war shall be renewed, for I will not keep any truce or peace. The French have shown how little they have regarded them in former times, and have, by whatever treacherous and underhand means they could devise, deprived us of the duchy of Aquitaine, which was given up to my late lord and father, in conformity to a sound treaty of peace. This I have more than once charged them with, in the conference on the other side of the sea; but they made such flourishing and complimentary speeches, they always lighted on their feet, and I was not attended to either by the king or by my brothers. If the king of England had a good head, and were as desirous as I am of war, and would take some pains to recover the inheritance they have shamefully stolen from him, he would find one hundred thousand archers and six thousand men at arms willing to cross the sea, and ready to serve him with their lives and fortunes. But things are not so. At this moment we have an unwarlike king, who is indifferent as to arms, otherwise he would show himself in France: for there never was so favourable an opportunity to carry the war thither as at this present moment, since they would be assured of a battle, and the people of this country, who are always eager to fight with those richer than themselves, for the sake of the spoil, would venture boldly, in the hope of having the like success with their ancestors under the king my father, of happy memory, and my brother the prince of Wales.

"I am the last of the royal family of England; but, were I believed, I would be the first to renew the wars, to retaliate for the wrongs that have been done us, and which they are daily doing by the connivance and weakness of our rulers, more particularly of our head the king of England, who has allied himself by marriage with the daughter of his enemy the king of France. That is a sure proof he will have no war: certainly not: he is too heavy behind, and only wishes for the pleasures of the table and the amusements of ladies. That is not the life for men at arms, who are desirous of renown and profit. I have not forgotten my last expedition through France. I might have had with me about two thousand lances and eight thousand archers. When we crossed the sea, we entered France by way of Calais, and continued our march through the country, without meeting any one to oppose us or offer us battle. Such formerly was the success of sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Philip Gifford; but they had not as many men as I had under their command, and yet they marched to the gates of Paris, and demanded battle from the king of France. No one, however, ventured out to answer their challenge, and they continued their route without interruption into Brittany. You might then have marched from Calais to Bordeaux, without any one daring to oppose you; but I am persuaded whoever should now attempt it would be combated; for he who at present signs himself king of France is young, active, and has a strong desire to achieve some gallant enterprise. He would therefore fight with us, whatever might be the consequences, and that is everything we could desire; for it has been by battle and victories over the French, who are so rich, that we are become wealthy: if peace continue, we shall languish and become more enervated than ever, since my nephew came to the throne of England. Things cannot long remain in this state, before the people will perceive and redress them. The king raises heavy taxes on the merchants, who are greatly discontented: he squanders the money no one knows how, and thus is the kingdom of England impoverished. True it is, that he gives largely to those about him, and in whom he confides, but the people pay for this, and it will shortly cause a rebellion; for they already begin to murmur, and to say publicly that such measures must not longer be suffered. The king gives out that as soon as the truces between France and England shall be signed, he will make a voyage to Ireland, and employ there his men at arms and archers. He has already been there, and gained but little, for Ireland is not worth conquering: the Irish are a poor and wicked people, with an impoverished country; and he who should conquer it one year, would lose it the next. Lackingay, Lackingay! all you have just heard me say consider as truth"



The Duke of Gloucester and Sir John Larkingay.

Such were the conversations, as it was afterwards known, between the duke of Gloucester and his knight. He had conceived a great hatred to his nephew, the king of England, and could no way speak well of him; and although he was, with his brother of Lancaster, the greatest personage in England, and one by whose advice the government ought to have been carried on, he paid not any attention to it. When the king sent for him, if it was his pleasure he would come, but more frequently he staid at home; and, when he obeyed, he was always the last to come and the first to depart. On giving his opinion, it must be implicitly followed, for he would not suffer it to be contradicted. He then took leave, mounted his horse, and set off for a handsome castle he had in Essex, thirty miles from London, called Pleshy, where he resided more constantly than anywhere else. This lord Thomas was a great lord, and could afford to expend annually, from his income, sixty thousand crowns. He was duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham, and constable of England; and, from his rough manner, was more dreaded by the king than any other of his uncles, for, in his speech, he never spared him. The king was always submissive to him, and whatever he asked was instantly granted. The duke of Gloucester had ordered many severe and hasty executions in England, and, without any title of reason or justice, had caused that prudent and gallant knight sir Simon Burley to be beheaded, with many others of the king's council. This duke likewise caused the banishment of the archbishop of York and the duke of Ireland from England, notwithstanding the confidence the king reposed in them, accusing them of giving evil counsel to the king, keeping him under their governance, and wasting the revenues of the kingdom on themselves. The duke of Gloucester's two brothers of Lancaster and York resided generally with the king: he was jealous of them, and said to several (such as Robert * bishop of London and others) who went to visit him at his castle of Pleshy, that his brothers were too expensive to the king, and that it would be more decent for them to live at their own houses. The duke gained, by every possible means, the love of the Londoners; for he thought, if he acquired popularity with them, the rest of England would follow their example. The duke had a nephew, son to his brother Lionel, duke of Clarence, who had married the daughter of Galeas, lord of Milan, and died at Asti in Piedmont. The duke of Gloucester would gladly have seen his nephew, called John earl of March†, on the throne of England, and king Richard deposed from it, saying he was neither worthy nor capable to hold the government of England; and this opinion he made no secret of to those who were in his confidence. He invited this earl of March to come and see him; and when at Pleshy, he unbosomed himself to him of all the secrets of his heart, telling him that he had been selected for king of England; that king Richard and his queen were to be confined, but with ample provision for their maintenance, as long as they lived; and he earnestly besought his nephew to believe all he said, for he should make it a point to put his plans into execution, and that he was already joined by the earl of Arundel, sir John Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and many prelates and barons of England.

The earl of March was thunderstruck on hearing this proposal from his uncle; but, young as he was, he dissembled his real sentiments, and prudently replied, to please his uncle and to get away, that he never thought of such things, and they were of such a magnitude as to require his deliberate consideration. The duke then, observing the manner of his nephew, desired he would keep what he had said very secret. This he promised faithfully to do, and, taking his leave, hastened from him, and instantly went to his estates in Ireland: he would never listen nor send any answer to all the proposals his uncle made to him, excusing himself honourably from taking part in them, as he foresaw they must end badly. The duke of Gloucester employed all possible means to stir up troubles in England, and excite the Londoners against the king. The year that a truce had been signed between England and France, to last for thirty years, king Richard and his queen came to London, on their

* Robert Braybook, who succeeded Courtnay, on his translation to Canterbury, 1381, and died 1404, having been chancellor of England scarcely six months.--*Gough's Pleshy, note, p.* 59.

† "He was third son of Edward Mortimer earl of March, by Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, and was hanged 3d Henry VI. Sandford, p. 224.—Froissart means Roger, his elder brother, slain in Ireland, 22d Richard II., whose death Richard went over to avenge, when Henry IV. plotted to dethrone him. Ib. p. 226. This Roger was declared heir to the crown by parliament, 9th Rich. II. Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 693.—Froissart took the opportunity of the marriage of Lionel and Violanta to visit Italy, and dwells on the solemnities and festivals of the wedding."—*Gough's Pleshy, p.* 60.

return from France: the duke of Gloucester whispered the citizens to petition the king to abolish all taxes and subsidies which had been imposed for the last twenty years, as it was reasonable they should now cease, since a truce had been signed for so long a term, and they had been levied solely as war-taxes, to pay the men at arms and archers in support of the war. He told the merchants, "it was hard to pay thirteen florins out of every hundred as a tax on merchandise, which were spent in idle dances and feasts: you pay for them, and are sorely oppressed. Add to your petition a remonstrance for the realm to be governed according to ancient custom and usages, and that whenever there shall be any necessity to raise money for the defence of the kingdom, you will tax yourselves with such sums as shall be satisfactory to the king and his council." This advice of the duke of Gloucester was followed by the Londoners, and many of the principal towns. They collected together, and went in a body to the king at Eltham, where they demanded redress of what they complained of, and that all taxes which had been raised for the support of the war should be instantly abolished. Only two of the king's uncles were present when the citizens presented their petition and remonstrance, namely, the dukes of Lancaster and York. The king desired they would answer the Londoners and the other citizens who had accompanied them, but particularly the duke of Lancaster; who said to them,—"My fair sirs, you will now, each of you, return to your homes, and, within a month from this day, come to the palace of Westminster, when the king, his nobles and prelates of the council, shall be assembled, and your petition and remonstrance be taken into consideration. What shall then be thought right to maintain or abolish will be determined upon, and you may depend on having such redress as ought to satisfy you."

This answer contented some, but not all; for there were among them rebels attached to the duke of Gloucester, who wanted a more speedy decision of their demands; but the dukes of Lancaster and York appeased them by gentle words, and they all departed. The matter, however, did not rest here; but at the month's end they again went to the king at Westminster, who was surrounded by his nobles and prelates. The duke of Gloucester was now present, and leant much to the petitioners; but, in the answer which was made to them, he dissembled his real thoughts, in order that the king, his brothers, and the members of the council, might not notice them. The duke of Lancaster replied for the king, and, addressing himself to the Londoners, as they composed the majority, said,—"Ye citizens of London, it pleases my lord the king that I give an answer to your petition: in obedience to his command, I shall declare to you what the king and his council have determined upon. Ye know, that to provide against dangers to the kingdom, ye, as well as the other cities and towns within the realm, agreed, about six years ago, that a tax of thirteen per cent. should be laid on all merchandise that was sold, and for which the king granted to you many privileges such as he will not take from you, but on the contrary may augment, if ye prove not undeserving of the favour. But since ye seem now to turn rebellious, and draw back from what ye had willingly before agreed to, he recals his former favours: and here are his nobles and prelates, who have sworn to support him in all his lawful measures to the utmost of their power, and are now willing to continue their aid in maintaining all legal grants. Consider, therefore, calmly, this matter, and that the state of the king demands great expense; if his revenue is augmented one way, it is diminished another; besides, his receipts are not so considerable as they were in former times. The war has involved greater costs than were provided for. The expenses of the ambassadors for the peace, on this and on the other side of the sea, have called for large sums; and those for the king's marriage have been very great. Although there is now a truce between England and France, the annual charges for the garrisons of the different towns and castles under the obedience of the king in Gascony, the Bourdelois, Bayonnois, and Bigorre, are very heavy. The fleet which must be maintained to guard our coasts and harbours costs a great deal. The frontiers of Scotland, and of our possessions in Ireland, must not be left defenceless, and they demand large sums. All these articles, and several others relating to the state of the king and country of England, annually absorb great sums, which the nobles and prelates understand and know much better than you can, who attend only to your trades and the disposal of your wares. Give thanks to God that ye have peace, and consider that no one pays that is not liable so to do, and carries on a

trade, and that foreigners pay this tax as well as yourselves. Ye are much better off than those of France, Lombardy, or other countries, where it is to be hoped your merchandise is carried; for they are taxed and taxed over again three or four times a-year, while ye only have a moderate duty imposed on your wares." The duke of Lancaster addressed them so mildly and calmly, that although they came thither with the worst intentions, from the machinations of others, they were satisfied; and the assembly broke up without making any new demand, for the deputies from the majority of the principal towns were contented with the answer. There were some who would have rejoiced to have seen the meeting end differently, though they did not show it openly. The duke of Gloucester returned to his castle of Pleshy, perceiving that this time he was disappointed in his expectations, and was constantly devising means of exciting disturbances in England and causing a rupture with France. In this attempt, he was joined by the uncle of his duchess, the earl of Arundel, who was desirous of war above all things; and they had successfully practised with the earl of Warwick, so that he obeyed their wills.

The king of England had two brothers by his mother's side; the eldest, Thomas earl of Kent; the youngest, a valiant knight, sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon, and chamberlain of England. The last was married to a daughter of the duke of Lancaster; and it was he who had killed the earl of Stafford's son, as has been mentioned in this history. The issue of the earl of Stafford was a young squire, who was under the protection and wardship of the duke of Gloucester. The earl of Huntingdon resided chiefly at the court of his brother the king of England, and was better acquainted than any other with the intrigues of the duke of Gloucester, from the private inquiries he made into his conduct. He was much afraid of the duke, for he knew him to be proud, cruel, and passionate: he nourished his enemy under his eye, for the crime he had committed on the earl of Stafford's son had never been forgiven. King Richard was naturally fond of his brother, and supported him against all: he saw with pain that his uncle of Gloucester was his enemy, and took much trouble to form a party against him to force him to leave the kingdom. He and the earl of Huntingdon conversed frequently on this subject; during which time, the count de Saint Pol arrived in England, whither he had been sent by the king of France to see his daughter, the young queen of England, how they were going on, and to cultivate affection between the two countries; for, since the truce had been signed, it was the intention of the two kings and their councils, that France and England should be on the most friendly terms with each other, in spite of what their ill-wishers might attempt to the contrary.

The king and the earl of Huntingdon made the count de Saint Pol a hearty welcome on his arrival, as well from love to the king of France as because he had married their sister. At this moment, neither the dukes of Lancaster nor of York were with the king; for they began to dissemble with him, and to suspect, from the great murmurings in many parts of England on the king's conduct, that affairs would not end well: they therefore wished not to be called upon by the king or people, but left the whole to the duke of Gloucester and his accomplices. The king of England discoursed very freely with the count de Saint Pol, as well on the state of the country as concerning his uncle the duke of Gloucester, whom he described as very rough in his manners and rebellious in his conduct, and he related to him various instances of his slights. The count de Saint Pol, on hearing them, was much surprised, and replied, "that such behaviour ought not longer to be borne; for, my lord," added he, "if you suffer him to go on, he will be your ruin. It is currently reported in France, that his only object is to break the truce and renew the war between France and England: by little and little he will win the hearts of the more indigent men at arms of the country, who wish for war rather than peace; and if such persons unite together and hostilities commence, the more prudent part of the nation will not be listened to; for where wickedness and obstinacy govern, wisdom and common sense are not heard. Take your precautions beforehand; for it is better you make your enemies afraid of you, than that you should fear them." These words of the count made a deep impression on the king's mind; and, as he was continually thinking on them, he renewed the subject with the earl of Huntingdon, on the count de Saint Pol's return to France. The earl replied, "My lord, our brother-in-law Saint Pol has told you the real truth, and I would advise you to take measures accordingly."

I was informed, that about a month after the departure of the count de Saint Pol from England, the king became exceedingly unpopular: it was rumoured that the count had come to treat with the king for the restoration of Calais to the French. Nothing could have agitated the English more than such reports; and the people were so uneasy, that the Londoners went even to Pleshy, to consult the duke of Gloucester on the occasion. The duke, instead of calming, excited them more by saying, "He could do nothing in the business; for he was sure the French would give all the daughters of their king, if they could recover Calais." This answer made the Londoners very melancholy; and they said they would see the king, and remonstrate with him on the agitation the whole country was in. "Do so," replied the duke of Gloucester: "remonstrate with him firmly, and make him fear you. Mark well the answer he shall give, so that you may repeat it to me the next time I see you; and, when I know his answer, I will then give you my advice how to act. It may be that some iniquitous treaties are on foot, for the earl marshal, who is governor of Calais, has been twice at Paris, where he remained some time, and he was the most active in concluding the marriage of the king with the lady Isabella. The French are a subtle race, and see far into consequences: they pursue their object by degrees, and are extravagant in their promises and presents to gain their ends."

The Londoners pursued the plan they had settled at Pleshy, and went to Eltham to speak with the king. At that time were with him his two brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of Dublin, his confessor, sir Thomas Percy, sir William Lisle, sir Richard Credon, sir John Golofre, and several more, all knights of the king's chamber. The citizens remonstrated temperately with the king: told him the cause of their coming, not in a haughty or harsh manner, but with courteous speech, and repeated to him the reports which were so current throughout England. The king was greatly astonished at hearing them, and was much affected, though he dissembled his feelings. He appeased the citizens, by declaring there was not one word of truth in all the rumours that were so industriously circulated: that the count de Saint Pol had come hither to amuse himself, and that the king of France had also sent him, out of his affection to the king and queen of England, to see them; but he swore, as God might help him, and on the faith he owed the crown of England, that no treaty of any sort had ever been mentioned, and he was astonished whence such scandalous reports could have arisen. When the king had done speaking, the earl of Salisbury addressed the citizens: "My good people of London, withdraw to your homes, and be assured that the king and his council wish for nothing more than the honour and profit of England. Those who have busily said the contrary have been ill advised, and plainly show they would with pleasure see the country in trouble, and the people in rebellion against their king. This you ought particularly to dread, for you have before witnessed how near you were to destruction, when a few wicked persons rebelled, but were severely punished for it: depend upon it, that when the people are wicked, neither justice nor truth will be attended to." These speeches appeased the citizens, who were tolerably contented with what they had heard. Having taken leave of the king, they departed, on their return to London.

The king remained at Eltham, very melancholy at the words he had heard. He retained near his person his two brothers, and such of his friends as he had the greatest confidence in; for he began to doubt the affection of his uncles, from observing they now chiefly resided at their country-seats. He was, in consequence, very suspicious of them, especially of the duke of Gloucester, whom he feared more than the dukes of Lancaster and York, and kept up a constant guard, night and day, of one thousand archers. The king of England had received positive information that the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel had plotted to seize his person, and that of the queen, and carry them to a strong castle, where they should be confined under proper guards, but allowed sufficiently for their table and other necessary expenses. That four regents should be appointed over the kingdom, of whom the dukes of Lancaster and York were to be the chief, and have under them the government of all the northern parts, from the Thames to the Tyne, and as far as the Tweed, that runs by Berwick, comprehending all Northumberland, and the borders of Scotland. The duke of Gloucester was to have for his government London, Essex, and that part of the country to

the mouth of the Humber, and likewise all the coast from the Thames to the water of Southampton, and westward comprehending Cornwall. The earl of Arundel was to have Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, and all the country from the Thames to Bristol, and the river Severn, that divides England from Wales, where there are very extensive lordships, with power of punishing by death all offenders. But their chief design was to find out some means of rekindling the war with France; and, if the king of France wished to have his daughter again, it might be done, for she was still very young, not more than eight years and a half old, and, perchance, when she was marriageable, she might repent of this connexion, for she was innocently, and without her being able to judge for herself, married, and, beside, it was unjust to break off her match with the heir of Brittany; but should she wish to abide by her marriage, she would in justice remain queen of England, and enjoy her dower, but she should never be the companion of the king of England. Should the king die before she was of a proper age, she was to be sent back to France.

These were the plans that had been concerted by many of the English, particularly the Londoners, for they hated the king, and several now repented they had checked the mobs which attacked London from the different counties of England; for they had determined, according to their confessions when put to death, to murder the king, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Oxford, and the whole of the king's council. Had this been done, the kingdom would soon have found another head; and the citizens, with the consent of the country, and the aid of the duke of Gloucester (who took great pains to excite trouble and confusion), would have selected a fit person to wear the crown, and placed the government and kingdom in a different state to what it then was. Such were the secret murmurings of the citizens, and others of their party, in their private meetings, the whole of which was told to the king by his spy; and greater blame was laid on the duke of Gloucester for all this business than on any other person.

It is not to be wondered, if the king was considerably alarmed at the discovery of so much hatred and malice lurking against him. He paid greater court than ever to the duke of Gloucester and the citizens when they came to see him, but all in vain. At times, the king mentioned the matter privately to the dukes of Lancaster and York, who resided more with him than his uncle of Gloucester, and consulted with them how he could avoid the machinations of the duke and his accomplices, all of which he was thoroughly acquainted with. He addressed his uncles, saying,—"My good uncles, for the love of God, advise me how to act. I am daily informed that your brother, the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel, with others, are determined to seize and confine me in one of their castles, and that the Londoners will join them. Their plan is to allow me a sufficiency for my state, but to separate my queen from me, who is but a child, and daughter to the king of France, and send her to some other place of confinement. Now, my dear uncles, such cruel acts as these must not be suffered, if they can be prevented. You have paid me homage, and sworn obedience to me as your sovereign, in the presence of your lord and father, king Edward, and my grandfather of happy memory, at the same time with the other barons and prelates of the realm. It is now twenty years since this was done; and I entreat you, therefore, from the love you bear me, and on the oaths you have taken, that you assist me on this occasion; for everything assures me the duke of Gloucester only desires that war be renewed with France, in spite of the truces which you, with us and all England, have sworn to observe. In consideration of this was my marriage concluded with the daughter of the king of France, and we wish to observe every article of the treaty most punctually. You know also, that whoever attempts to infringe this truce will commit a crime, and be liable to corporal punishment, as well as confiscation of goods: you likewise know, that I have borne with your brother, my uncle of Gloucester, as much as I have been able, and made light of his menaces, but in the end they may cost me dear. You are bound, therefore, by every tie, to give your best advice, since I require it from you." When the dukes of Lancaster and of York heard their nephew thus address them, and saw that he was in great anguish of heart; knowing, at the same time, that the greater part of what he had said was strictly true; they replied,—"My lord, have a little patience, and wait a short time before you make any rash resolutions. We know that our brother of Gloucester has

the most passionate and wrong-headed temper of any man in England; but he cannot do more than man, and, if he work one way, we will counteract him another: you need not fear our brother so long as you shall follow our advice. He talks frequently of things he cannot execute; and neither he nor his abettors can break the truce which has been signed, nor confine you in any castle: we will never suffer it, nor that you be separated from the queen; for, if he imagine such things, he deceives himself. We therefore humbly beg you will be appeased, for, please God, everything shall end well. Many things may be said that cannot be executed, and all which a man thinketh doth not come to pass."

By such means, the dukes calmed the king's mind; but as they foresaw that public affairs would, from their bad management, cause troubles in the realm, and that the hatred between their nephew and brother was daily increasing, to avoid being called upon by either party, they left the king's household with their families, taking leave of the king for a considerable time, and retired to their different castles. The duke of Lancaster carried with him his duchess, who had been some time the companion of the young queen of England. They took this opportunity of hunting stags and deer, as is the custom in England, and the king remained with his attendants in and about London. They afterwards, however, greatly repented having left the king; for such things shortly happened as troubled the whole kingdom, which would not have been done had they remained with the king, for they would have more prudently advised than such counsellors as he listened to.

There was not one of the king's servants that did not fear the duke of Gloucester, and wish his death, no matter by what means. That gallant and loyal knight, sir Thomas Percy, had been for a long time steward of the household, and all the accounts passed officially through his hands. He noticed with grief the hatred that subsisted between the king and the duke of Gloucester, and other great barons of England. Although he was beloved by all, he foresaw, like a man of understanding, that public affairs would end badly, and, in consequence, resigned his office into the king's hands in the most honourable manner he could, and requested permission to retire, which the king very unwillingly consented to. He gave such plausible reasons for his request, that another was established in his place, and sir Thomas Percy went to his own estate, where he resided. The king had about his person many young counsellors, who too much dreaded the duke of Gloucester: they frequently said to him,—"Very dear sire, it is a dangerous office to serve you, for we have seen our predecessors, in whom you had great confidence, meet but a poor reward. That valiant knight, sir Simon Burley, so much beloved by your lord and father, whom God pardon! and who took such pains for the accomplishment of your first marriage, the duke of Gloucester, your uncle, put shamefully to death, by having him publicly beheaded like a traitor. He likewise, as you know, had many others arbitrarily executed without your being any way able to grant them your pardon, or save them from their ignominious deaths. Dear sire, we expect nothing better; for whenever your uncle cometh hither to see you, which is not often, we dare not raise our eyes from the ground nor look at any body. He eyes us from head to foot, and seems to think we take too much upon us from being about your person; and be assured, dear sire, that as long as he lives, there will never be quiet in England, nor will any one attempt to do anything good. Besides, he publicly threatens to confine you and the queen, and keep you under subjection during his good pleasure. You will be an undone king, and destroyed as well as us, if you do not speedily take some strong measures. As for the queen, she need not care: she is young, and daughter to the king of France, whom they dare not anger, as too many evils would result from it to England. Your uncle of Gloucester, to make you more unpopular with your subjects, spreads abroad in London (we have heard it), that you are unworthy to bear a crown, and to possess so noble an inheritance as England and its dependencies; that, when you married again, you chose the daughter of your adversary the king of France, for which you were very blame-worthy; and that you have debased the chivalry of England, and the courage of its knights squires, and nobles, who had so valiantly carried on the war against France, and would have continued it, enfeebled as they are, if you had not prevented them; that you have placed the kingdom in a most perilous situation, with great risk of its destruction, and that it is a pity you are suffered, and have been suffered, to reign so long. The French

say (as the common report runs), that you intend to lay aside the arms of France from your arms, which causeth great hatred against you; and it is the more readily believed from the great pains you took to have the truce signed, which was done more through force than love, for the nobles of this country who had served in these wars would not assent to it: that you have not carefully examined the treaties signed by king John of France and his children, which those of his blood, now living, have treacherously infringed; and that the French, by underhand means, caused a renewal of war, and seized by usurpation the rights of your predecessors, and possessed themselves of very many towns, cities, and castles in Aquitaine, to the great loss of the crown of England, and all through your negligence and want of courage: that you have been afraid of your enemies, and not followed up the advantages you had in the justice of this quarrel, which you still have as well as your ancestors, who immediately have preceded you, such as your lord and father the prince of Wales, and the good king Edward, who both took such pains to augment the glory of the crown. Dear sire, the Londoners say, as indeed do numbers of others (which it behoves us not to conceal longer from you), that a day shall come when you will be reminded of these things to your cost."

King Richard treasured up all these speeches in his mind, and pondered over them continually. Shortly after the departure of his two uncles of Lancaster and York, he summoned up more courage than usual, and said to himself, that it would be better he should destroy than be destroyed, and, that, within a short time, he would hold his uncle of Gloucester so securely, he should be incapable of injuring him. As he could not accomplish this alone, he opened himself to those most in his confidence. It was to the earl marshal, who was his cousin, and also earl of Nottingham, that he discovered his intention, and most minutely gave him his orders how he was to act. The earl-marshal, from the favours he had received, loved the king in preference to the duke of Gloucester, and kept the secret he had been entrusted with from all but such as he was forced to employ, as he could not do the whole himself. What I am about to say will explain the matter.



Visit of Richard II. to his Uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, in his Castle at Pleshy.
From MSS. of the 15th Century.

The king, under pretence of deer-hunting, went to a palace he had at Havering-at-the-Bower, in Essex: it is about twenty miles from London, and as many from Pleshy, where

the duke of Gloucester generally resided. The king set out one afternoon from Havering, without many attendants, for he had left them behind with the queen at Eltham, and arrived at Pleshy about five o'clock: the weather was very hot; and he came so suddenly to the castle, that no one knew of it, until the porter cried out, "Here is the king!" The duke of Gloucester had already supped, for he was very temperate in his diet, and never sat long at dinner or supper. He immediately went out to meet the king in the court of the castle, and paid him all the respect due to his sovereign, as did the duchess and her children.

The king entered the hall and the apartment, where the table was again laid out for the king, who ate some little; but he had before told the duke, "Good uncle, have your horses saddled, not all, but five or six, for you must accompany me to London, as I am to have a meeting to-morrow with the citizens; and we shall surely meet my uncles of Lancaster and York, but I shall advise with you what answer to make to the Londoners' demands. Tell your house-steward to follow us with your servants to London, where they will find you." The duke, suspecting nothing evil intended against him, too easily consented; and the king, having soon supped, rose from table. Everything being ready, the king took leave of the duchess and her children, mounted his horse, and the duke did the same, attended only by three squires and four varlets. They took their way to Bondelay, to avoid the high road to London and Brentwood, with the other towns through which it passes. They rode hard, for the king pretended impatience to get to London, and conversed all the way with the duke of Gloucester. On their arrival at Stratford, near the Thames, where an ambuscade had been laid, the king galloped forwards, leaving his uncle behind, on which the earl-marshal advanced to the rear of the duke, with a large body of men, and said, "I arrest you in the king's name." The duke was panic-struck, for he saw he had been betrayed, and cried aloud after the king. I know not if the king heard him, but he did not turn back, galloping on faster than before, and followed by his attendants.

We will now leave this matter for a short time.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE LORD DE COUCY AND THE COUNT D'EU, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, DIE IN TURKEY, BEFORE THE TREATY FOR THEIR DELIVERANCE IS ARRANGED.—A RANSOM IS AGREED ON FOR THE OTHER PRISONERS WHO WERE TAKEN AT THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI.

You have before heard how sir John de Châteaumorant and sir James de Helly were sent by the king of France and the duke of Burgundy as ambassadors to Bajazet, in Turkey, and of the success of their mission. On their return to France they were well received by the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, from the certain intelligence they had brought from the count de Nevers and his fellow-prisoners. These knights told the king they thought the sultan would readily listen to terms for their ransom, for they had been so given to understand by some of his principal advisers, lest the prisoners might die while in captivity, which was likely enough to happen, from the difference of air and diet, and they would not in that case gain anything by them. These words encouraged the duke and duchess of Burgundy to exert themselves in procuring the ransom of their son and heir, and they were occupied day and night in devising means to open negotiations with the sultan. The duchess said this battle of Nicopoli had been very unfortunate to her, for she had lost by it three of her brothers, who were gallant knights in arms: the first, the haze de Flandres, the second, sir Louis de Brézé, and the third, sir John d'Ypres: there was another brother, the youngest of them, who had remained at home. To say the truth, the duchess had grief enough, and it was not surprising if she was melancholy, but the duke and his advisers calmed her, by their earnestness in procuring her son's liberty: this was not, however, soon done, for the distance and difficulty of treating with such people forced them to go about the business leisurely.

About the time I am now speaking of, that gallant knight and excellent man the lord Enguerrand de Coucy, count de Soissons, and a potent lord in France, died at Bursa in



Interview of King Richard the second with his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, at his Castle of Pleshy.



The arrest of the Duke of Glourester.

Turkey. Sir Robert d'Esne, who had been sent to him by the lady le Coucy, had not advanced further than Vienna, on his journey thither, when he was informed of his death. He returned with this news to France, and told it to the family of the lord de Coucy, though not to the widow, before whom he did not appear until the governor of the castle of Saint Gobin was sent to seek the body, have it embalmed, and brought to France. It was conveyed to the abbey of Nogent near to Coucy, and received by the duchess of Bar, the bishop of Laon, and many abbots: there the gentle knight was buried, and thus ended the year of grace 1397.

The king of France and the duke of Burgundy were very active in their endeavours to abridge the captivity of their friends in Turkey, and there passed not a day without their having some conversation on the subject. Sir Dinde de Desponde was of all their consultations, and said the Venetian or Genoese merchants could alone assist them; for by means of merchandise, which governs everything, and their connexions with other merchants, they could pass everywhere, and learn the temper of the infidel sultans. They had great weight, particularly in Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, and Antioch, where they had factories, and the Saracens and Christians mutually interchanged their merchandises. The king and the duke, therefore, made as many friends among these merchants as they could, and gave up all intentions of making war on the duke of Milan from the friendship they learnt Bajazet bore him. On the other hand, king James of Cyprus knew well, that if he could any how soften the anger of the sultan, and prevail on him to accept of reasonable terms for the ransom of the French lords, he should greatly oblige the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the whole of the nation. To accomplish this, the king of Cyprus had a ship made of gold, curiously wrought, that might be worth ten thousand ducats, which he sent by his knights as a present to the sultan Bajazet. It was beautifully worked, and was graciously accepted by the sultan, who replied, he would return him double its value in courtesy and affection. This answer brought back by the Cypriote knights, was instantly made known to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy by some merchants, who wrote to sir Dinde that he might inform them of it. King James was wise in making this present: he dreaded the king of France, and all kings, for having murdered in the night-time his valiant brother, king Peter, who had fought so courageously against the Saracens, and had won from them the towns of Satalia and Alexandria; and they were more afraid of him than of all the other kings or emperors in Christendom.

King James had sorely repented having committed this crime, or being present when it was done; and, not daring to continue in Cyprus, for the Christians would have put him to a disgraceful death, could they have caught him, he embarked on board a galley belonging to some Genoese merchants which was in the port of Nicosia, where the murder had been done, and fled to Genoa. The Genoese kindly entertained him, and some say that this villanous murder had been instigated by them; for, shortly after, they entered the harbour of Famagousta with a large fleet of galleys and men at arms, which they took possession of, and have held by force ever since. True it is, that the late king of Cyprus had a very promising youth for his son, whom he brought with him, in company with a knight who had travelled through Lombardy to Rome, the last time he had crossed the sea: this youth the Cypriotes crowned their king on the assassination of his father, but he lived not long to enjoy it. On his death, the Genoese brought back James, whom they had crowned king, and he has reigned ever since in Cyprus, through the support the Genoese give him against all nations. They would never give up possession of the town or port of Famagousta, and are the masters of it at this present moment of my writing these chronicles. Indeed, had the Genoese not held it, the Turks and infidels would have conquered the whole of the island, as well as Rhodes and the other adjacent islands; but the Venetians and Genoese are their great opponents. When the last saw that the kingdom of Armenia was conquered by the Turks, they seized the town of Courch, that is situated on the sea-shore, which they have kept under their governance. The Turks, were they not fearful of Courch and Pera, near Constantinople, would do the greatest mischief to all who navigate those seas, as well as to Rhodes and the neighbouring islands. It is by these means the frontiers of Christendom are defended; but let us return to king James of Cyprus. When he found, from the base

crime he had been guilty of, he was fallen under the displeasure and hatred of every crowned head, he exerted himself to the utmost to recover their favour, and thought himself highly honoured by the letter the king of France had written to him. He was afraid of him, and not without reason, for the duke of Bourbon, uncle to the king of France, was, by right of succession through the Lusignans, the true heir to the throne of Cyprus. This king James, although brother to the late king, was not so by lawful marriage, but a bastard, as was well known to the Genoese. When they gave him the crown they mutually entered into special treaties with each other; and the Genoese bound themselves to defend his and his descendants' rights to the government against all claimants: in consideration of which, they had many lordships and tracts of land yielded up to them in the island of Cyprus. Every thing they did in the defence of king James was to strengthen themselves against the Venetians, and to open greater markets for their trade with the Saracens, for, as factors, they have many connexions with them and others of their faith. King James, through the Genoese, took great pains to please the king of France and his subjects, and it was in consequence of this he had made Bajazet so very rich a present, which was highly pleasing to the sultan and his ministers, who valued it much. It was supposed by many, that sir Dinde Desponde had urged on the Genoese in this matter, as they were very warm in their endeavours to bring about a treaty for the deliverance of the count de Nevers and the other prisoners.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy heard, with infinite pleasure, that the sultan began to tire of his prisoners, and would readily enter into a treaty for their liberty. They selected a valiant knight from the country of Flanders, called sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen, who was regent of Flanders under the duke and duchess of Burgundy, to go to Turkey and treat with Bajazet for the ransom of the French lords. At the same time they sent for sir James de Helly, and entreated that he would accompany their ambassador, because he was well acquainted with the countries he was to travel through, and with the court of the sultan, promising that his trouble and attention should be handsomely remunerated. Sir James, having promised to fulfil their commands, set out in company with the Flemish knight: on their arrival in Hungary, they waited on the king, to deliver the letters which were intrusted to them. The king received the letters and knights with joy, in compliment to the king of France: he was before acquainted with sir James de Helly. They informed the king, the object of their mission to Bajazet was to treat for the release of his prisoners, if he were inclined to listen to them. The king of Hungary replied, that it would be well done if they could obtain their liberty for money: and the attempt was worth trying, for nothing could be lost by that. He offered them every assistance in his power, of money or men, for which the knights thanked him.

They had many difficulties to encounter, before they could enter into a personal treaty with Bajazet; for it was first necessary that sir James de Helly should wait on the sultan to obtain a passport for sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen to travel through Turkey, which having been properly made out he returned with it to Hungary. They journeyed to Turkey together; and Bajazet received the regent of Flanders with kindness, and listened to his proposals, which formed the basis for a treaty. At this time there lived a Genoese merchant called Bartholomeo Pelegrini, in the island of Scio, who was universally esteemed for his probity and knowledge in trade, even by Bajazet himself: to him sir Dinde de Desponde had written to interest himself in the business, that it might have a more speedy termination, for they were well known to each other, and promised him a handsome recompense, if successful in obtaining the French lords' liberty, from the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and other lords and ladies who had friends or husbands in the power of Bajazet. He entreated him to take upon himself the debt for their ransom, however large the sum, and to conduct the French lords to Venice, or to some part under the government of the Venetians; and that the moment he should be assured from him of their arrival thither, he would, without delay, hasten to Venice in person, with the amount of the sum to repay him what he had expended. The Genoese merchant complied with the request of sir Dinde, as well from personal regard to him, as for the profit and honour he should acquire by it, and for the esteem he should gain from the king of France; for, from such a king, it was worth having. From the information I had, I am inclined to believe that the king of Cyprus sent some of

his ablest counsellors to push forward the negociations with the sultan, in compliance with the solicitations of the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. The lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, two great barons of Greece, and much in favour with Bajazet, interfered also in the matter, according to the requests that had been made them from France, otherwise they would not have troubled themselves about it.

Turkey was an extensive country, and not convenient to travel through, to those unaccustomed to it: Bajazet, therefore, as soon as he had consented to a treaty, resolved that all the French prisoners should be conveyed to Bursa, where the whole business should be concluded. Those lords were brought thither, to the amount of twenty-five; but their conductors, the Turks, treated them scandalously on the road, by beating them forward, for they had purposely badly mounted them, and their horses would only go at a foot's pace: for this they were beaten by the Turks, who heard, very unwillingly, that they were to have their liberty. On their arrival at Bursa, where the negociators from the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the king of Cyprus, the Venetians and Genoese were waiting to receive them, they had more liberty than when in the prisons of the sultan: but, notwithstanding it was known they were to be ransomed, they were so closely guarded that they could not obtain a fourth part of their wishes. Among the different persons who were at Bursa on account of the treaty, Bajazet inclined more to sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen, for sir James de Helly had told him he was regent of Flanders and the most confidential counsellor of the duke of Burgundy. The sultan resided in a handsome castle near Bursa, and where the negotiators went to discuss matters with him: the ransom for the twenty-five prisoners was fixed at two hundred thousand ducats. The lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, with the Genoese merchant of Scio, pledged themselves to the sultan for the due payment of it. The count de Nevers gave his oath to the merchant, for himself and the rest, that on his arrival at Venice, he would never depart thence until the whole of this sum were paid to his satisfaction. Before the treaties were concluded, the count d'Eu was so much weakened by sickness, change of air, and diet he had not been accustomed to, that he departed this life at Haute-loge, where he had been confined with the other lords, who were much afflicted thereat, though they could not any way prevent it. The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu and constable of France, was, when dead, opened and embalmed, and in this state put into a coffin and carried to France, where he lies buried in the church of Saint Laurence at Eu.

When the sultan Bajazet was completely satisfied as to the security of those who had pledged themselves for the payment of the two hundred thousand ducats as the ransom for the French lords, the two ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy were impatient to return to France, and carry the joyful news of their success to the king and other lords so greatly interested in it. They took leave of Bajazet and those of his court they were the most intimate with; and, as the regent of Flanders was in his favour, the gallant sultan ordered, that twenty thousand ducats should be deducted from the two hundred thousand he was to receive, and given to the two knights, in consideration of the great pains they had taken to accomplish these treaties. The two knights gratefully thanked the sultan, as they had reason, for his magnificent gift, and, after taking leave of the Turkish court and the French lords, returned to Bursa. They there left the count de Nevers and his companions, waiting the lords de Mathelin * and d'Amine, who were to come for them in their galley, and embarked on board a small passage-galley for Mathelin. On quitting the harbour, the sea was calm and the weather temperate; but they had not advanced far before it changed, and at length became so tempestuous that sir Guissebreth, sorely tormented by sea-sickness, died before they could reach Mathelin. Sir James de Helly was much grieved for his loss, and, engaging a Venetian galley, sailed to Rhodes. He published everywhere the deliverance and speedy arrival of the count de Nevers and his companions, to the great joy of the knights of Rhodes. On his arrival in France, he made the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and the nation, happy by the good news he had brought. Sir James spoke

* D. Sauvage supposes, in a marginal note, this must be the lord of the island of Mitelino, but confesses his ignorance of the other.

loudly in the praise of his companion, sir Guissebreth, and of the great pains he took to conclude the treaty.

The sultan Bajazet, having had every thing respecting the ransom of his French prisoners settled to his satisfaction, resolved on allowing them more liberty, for indeed they were now no longer prisoners, and invited them to his presence before the departure of the ambassadors, to show them the magnificence of his establishments. They were said to be very grand indeed; and immense numbers were daily attendant on his person. He sent some of his principal lords to invite the count de Nevers and his companions to the castle, where he received and entertained them handsomely: he ordered all things they might want to be delivered out to them by his officers, as was the usual custom of his court. The sultan conversed daily with the count de Nevers, by means of an interpreter, and paid him much respect, for he knew that he was, or would be, a very great lord in France, by the great exertions that were made, and the large sum paid for his ransom, which was enough to satisfy his avarice, having securities for the amount of one million of florins. The other French lords were equally astonished with the count de Nevers at the power and state of Bajazet. He was attended by such numbers, that they were always encamped, for no town could lodge them; and the expense must have been very great to supply so many with food. It was surprising where such quantities came from, notwithstanding the natives of warm climates are very temperate in their diet, eating but little meat, living on spices and sugar, of which they have abundance, as well as goats' milk, the common beverage of the Turks and Saracens, and they have plenty of bread made of millet.

The sultan had at this time seven thousand falconers, and as many huntsmen: you may suppose from this the grandeur of his establishments. One day, in the presence of the count de Nevers, he flew a falcon at some eagles; the flight did not please him; and he was so wroth, that, for this fault, he was on the point of beheading two thousand of his falconers, scolding them exceedingly for want of diligence in their care of his hawks, when the one he was fond of had behaved so ill. Another time, when the count de Nevers and the French barons were with the sultan, a poor woman came to him in tears, to demand justice against one of his servants, and said,—"Sultan, I address myself to thee, as my sovereign, and complain of one of thy servants, who is I understand, attached to thy person. He this morning entered my house, and seized by force the goat milk I had provided for myself and children, and drank it against my will. I told him that I should complain to thee of this outrage, but I had no sooner uttered the words, than he gave me two great cuffs, and would not leave me, though I ordered him in thy name. Sultan, do me justice, as thou hast sworn to thy people thou wouldest, that I may be satisfied, this injury be punished, and that every one may know thou wilt see the meanest of thy subjects righted."

The sultan was very rigidly determined that all crimes committed within his dominions should be severely punished: he therefore listened to her attentively, and said he would do her justice. He then ordered the varlet to be brought, and confronted with the woman, who repeated her complaint. The varlet, who dreaded Bajazet, began to make excuses, saying it was all false. The woman told a plain tale, and persisted in its truth. The sultan stopped her, and said,—"Woman, consider well thy accusation; for, if I find thou hast told me a lie, thou shalt suffer death." "Sir," replied the woman, "I consent to it; for were it not true, I could have no reason to come before thee, and I only ask for justice." "I will do it," answered the sultan, "for I have so sworn, and indiscriminately to every man or woman within my dominions." He then ordered the varlet to be seized, and to have his belly opened, for otherwise he would not have known if he had drank the milk or not. It was there found, for it had not had time to be digested; and the sultan, on seeing it, said to the woman, "Thou hadst just cause of complaint: now go thy way, for the injury done thee has been punished." She was likewise paid for her loss. This judgment of Bajazet was witnessed by the French lords, who were at the time in his company.



The payment of the ransom for the Count de Nevers and his fellow prisoners.

CHAPTER XC.—THE FRENCH LORDS WHO HAD BEEN PRISONERS IN TURKEY RETURN BY SEA TO VENICE.

When the count de Nevers and the lords of France who were made prisoners at the battle of Nicopoli (excepting the count d'Eu and the lord de Coucy, who had died) had been some time entertained by the sultan, and had seen great part of his state, he consented they should depart, which was told them by those who had been ordered to attend to their personal wants. The count and his companions waited on the sultan in consequence, to thank him for his kindness and courtesy. On taking his leave, the sultan addressed him, by means of an interpreter, as follows: "John, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art young, and hast many years to look forward; and, as thou mayest be blamed for the ill success of thy first attempt in arms, thou mayest perchance, to shake off this imputation and regain thine honour, collect a powerful army to lead against me, and offer battle. If I feared thee, I would make thee swear, and likewise thy companions, on thy faith and honour, that neither thou nor they would ever bear arms against me. But no: I will not demand such an oath: on the contrary, I shall be glad that when thou art returned to thy country, it please thee to assemble an army, and lead it hither. Thou wilt always find me prepared, and ready to meet thee in the field of battle. What I now say, do thou repeat to any person, to whom it may please thee to repeat it; for I am ever ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms; as well as to extend my conquests."

These high words the count de Nevers and his companions understood well, and never forgot them so long as they lived. After this, when all things for their departure were ready, they were conducted by Ali bashaw and Soli bashaw, with a large escort, to the lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, and the others who had interested themselves for their liberty. Before they embarked on board the galleys destined to carry them, they paid every expense they had incurred at Bursa, or at other places, with so much punctuality that they were greatly praised. As they weighed anchor, their conductors returned to the sultan; and the galleys, having a favourable wind, soon arrived at the harbour, where the count and his friends were received with joy. The lady of the lord de Mathelin was of a certain age, but perfectly well bred, and as fully accomplished as any lady in Greece, for in her youth she had been brought up at the court of Constantinople with the lady Mary of Bourbon. She had from her learnt many things, for the lords and ladies of France are better educated than those in any other country. This lady thought herself highly honoured when she saw the count de Nevers, sir Henry de Bar, Guy de la Tremouille, and the other lords under her roof, and welcomed them with every sign of pleasure. She first clothed them with fine new linen and cloth of Damascus made into gowns and vestments, according to the taste in Greece. After she had dressed the masters, she did the same to their servants in the handsomest manner, each according to his rank. The lords were very thankful for her kindness, and publicly declared their gratitude for her generous conduct, as well as that of the lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, who honoured them by every mark of respect, and administered to their necessities.

News was soon carried to the island of Rhodes, that the sultan had accepted a ransom for the French lords, and that they were now at Mathelin. The intelligence gave much pleasure to the grand-master and to all his knights, who proposed to equip and arm two galleys, and send them to Mathelin to convey the count and his fellow-prisoners to Rhodes. This was executed; and, when ready, sir James de Brasemont*, a Burgundian, who was marshal of Rhodes, embarked on board, and had a favourable voyage to Mathelin, where he was made heartily welcome by the lord de Mathelin, his lady, and their guests. He remained there four days: on the fifth, the galleys having on board the purveyances of the French lords, the count and his companions took leave of the lord and lady de Mathelin, returning them their best thanks for all the kindness and friendship they had received, especially the count de Nevers, who, as the principal personage, said he was bound at all times hereafter to render

* "Sir James de Brasemont." The MSS. have de Bauffremont, which I should prefer.

them every service in his power. After many compliments on both sides, the French lords entered the galleys, and, as long as they were in sight, the lord de Mathelin remained on the shore, and after that went home. The galleys, having a favourable wind, arrived at Rhodes, and anchored in the haven, where vessels from Cyprus, Baruth, and other ports in the Levant, usually do. On their landing, they were received by many of the knights of Rhodes, who wear a white cross, in memory of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered to deliver others from the pains of hell. They are valiant knights, and give daily assaults by sea or land on the infidels, to support and defend the Christian faith.

The count de Nevers and the lords of France were received by the grand prior of Rhodes and the grand prior of Aquitaine, in their robes of ceremony, who offered to lend them any sum of money, as far as their abilities extended, to enable them to discharge their daily expenses, which the count and his friends thought a most courteous offer, and thanked them accordingly. In truth, they were in want of money, and the grand prior of Aquitaine, a right valiant knight, as his actions showed in the Holy Land, lent the count de Nevers thirty thousand francs, which were counted out by sir Regnier Pot, house-steward to the count, and the lord de Rochefort in Burgundy. I believe this sum was as much for his companions as for the count himself, and was divided among them, although the count de Nevers took on himself the whole debt. The French lords remained some time in the island of Rhodes, to recover and properly array themselves, for the climate was by far more temperate than in the countries where they had lately resided: during the time they tarried at Rhodes, waiting for the galleys from Venice, sir Guy de la Tremouille was seized with so dangerous an illness, that he there departed this life. He ordered his body to be buried on the spot where he died, and was, consequently, interred in the church of Saint John, in the island of Rhodes. His funeral was honourably attended by the French lords, who much regretted his loss, more especially the count de Nevers, who knew that his father, the duke of Burgundy, would be greatly affected by it, as he had always found him a wise and honest counsellor.

The galleys from Venice at length arrived, properly armed and equipped, to the great joy of the French lords. They were not long in making their preparations to depart, and took leave of the knights of Rhodes, who recommended their order to them, and to all devout souls who would be willing to assist it. The count de Nevers, the lords Henry de Bar, de Boucicaut, sir William de la Tremouille, the lord de Rochefort, sir Regnier Pot, and the rest, embarked on board the Venetian galleys, the captains of which resolved to touch at the different islands, that their passengers might sail more at their ease, and refresh themselves on shore, and show the count de Nevers the various islands which lay between Rhodes and Venice. They steered first for Modon*, which is five hundred miles from Rhodes, and tarried there some days, to amuse themselves, for the port and country belong to the Venetians. From Modon they had a fine passage to Colefo†, as the sea was calm, where they refreshed themselves; and from Colefo they made for the island of Garre‡, where they did the same: thence they sailed for the island of Chifolignie§; and, having anchored, they landed, and were met by a large party of ladies and damsels, who have the government of the island. They received the French lords with joy, and led them to the interior part of the island, which is very beautiful, to amuse and enjoy themselves. Some say, who pretend to be acquainted with the state of this island, and insist upon it, that fairies and nymphs inhabit it, and that frequently merchants from Venice or Genoa, who have been forced by stress of weather to make some stay there, have seen the appearances of them, and have had the truth of these reports confirmed.

The count de Nevers and his friends were very happy with the dames of Cephalonia, for they entertained them gaily, telling them their arrival had been matter of joy to them, from their being knights of honour and renown, for in general they had no other visitors but merchants. I may be asked, if this island be solely inhabited by women. I answer no; but women have the sovereignty of it: they, however, employ themselves in needle and other

* "Modon," a town and port in the Morea.
† "Colefo." I should have imagined this to be Corfu, if Cephalonia were not seemingly intended afterwards.
‡ "Garre." Q. Zante. § "Chifolignie." Q. Cephalonia.

works; and make such fine cloths of silk, that none others can be compared to them. The men of the island, being ignorant, are employed to carry abroad these works, wherever they shall think to have the greatest profit, but the women remain at home. The men honour the fair sex for their works, and because they have always a sufficiency of wealth. The state of the island is such, that no one dare approach it, to commit any injury, for whoever should attempt it would perish, as has been frequently seen. For this cause, these ladies live in peace, without fear of any one: they are amiable, good-tempered, and without pride, and certainly, when they please, converse with fairies, and keep them company.

After the count de Nevers and his companions had amused themselves at this island for five days, they took leave of the ladies: the count made them such handsome presents, for their courteous treatment of them, that they were contented, and thanked him gratefully on his departure. When the lords were embarked, they put to sea, and favourable winds carried them to a territory called Ragusa, when they refreshed themselves again, and thence made for Clarence*, which is one hundred miles distant from Venice. While the galleys were at anchor, and the lords in the town of Clarence, which belongs to the Venetians, they were known by a squire of honour and renown, from Hainault, called Bridoul de la Porte. He was a native of Mons, and had made, at his own expense, a pilgrimage, through devotion, to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and had visited Cairo and St. Catherine's Mount. The French lords had come to Clarence two days before him, and gave him a welcome reception, on hearing he was so good a man, and a native of Hainault, the country of the countess of Nevers, who was daughter to the earl of Hainault, and because they were all in countries distant from their own. They asked him what parts he was last come from, and also concerning the affairs of king James of Cyprus, and respecting Turkey. He made no difficulty, but instantly gave prudent and intelligent answers. The barons of France, having reposed themselves, re-embarked, and made sail for Pareuse†. All large vessels and galleys which cannot, from want of water, land their cargoes at Venice, put into this port, for here the sea becomes shallow. The French knights made no long stay before they embarked in smaller vessels and arrived at Venice, where they were received with great joy. On their landing, they all returned thanks to God for their happy deliverance from the hands of the infidels, of which at one time they had despaired. The count de Nevers and his companions went to the hotels which had been prepared for them; for, as their coming was known and expected for some time, their friends had sent servants and equipages to wait their arrival. The count found part of his attendants, whom the duke and duchess of Burgundy had sent thither, ready to receive him. Sir Dinde de Desponde had also been at Venice some time waiting for them with the amount of their ransom, for without his assistance, nothing could be done.

The French lords, on their arrival at Venice, instantly employed clerks and messengers to write and carry letters to France and elsewhere, to inform their friends of their happy deliverance. This was very soon publicly known, to the joy of all who heard it. The duke and duchess of Burgundy lost no time in preparing everything suitable to the rank of their son the count de Nevers, such as gold and silver plate, linen, tapestry, clothes of all sorts, which were packed up on sumpter-horses, and sent to Venice under the care of the lord de Hangiers‡ and sir James de Helly. In like manner did all the friends and relatives of the other lords send them every necessary suitable to their ranks. You may suppose all this was done at a great expense, for nothing was spared: their residence at Venice cost much, as it is one of the dearest towns in the world for strangers. It was proper these lords should keep up a state becoming their rank, which fell naturally most heavy on the count de Nevers, their commander in chief.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy were very active in procuring his ransom, that their son and heir might leave Venice with honour, and return to France and Flanders, where his presence was much wished for. The duke said, that were it not for the aid of his good

* "Clarence," or Chiarenza, is in the Morea, opposite to Cephalonia.

† "Pareuse." Q. Parenzo, a town on the coast of Istria, nearly opposite to Venice.

‡ "The lord de Hangiers." D. Sauvage supposes it ought to have been de Hangest, for a family of that name existed in his time in Picardy.

subjects in Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, the money would never have been raised, for their own and their son's other expenses were very great.

The different negociations and embassies had called for large sums, and, though the ransom was but two hundred thousand florins to Bajazet, yet the other costs and expenses amounted to as much more, as was declared by those through whose hands the money passed; and without this sum their liberty would never have been obtained. It was matter of much consideration how this money was to be raised; for neither the duke nor duchess were inclined to abate anything of their state, which was very magnificent. It was resolved by his council to lay a tax on all the towns under his obedience, more especially those of Flanders; for they abounded in wealth, from their commerce, and therefore the greater load was laid on them, that the count de Nevers might be at liberty to quit Venice. When the matter was mentioned to the townsmen of Ghent, they readily declared their willingness to present their young lord fifty thousand florins to aid him in his ransom. Bruges, Mechlin, Antwerp, Ypres, Courtray, and the other towns in Flanders, expressed their readiness to assist in the ransom of the count de Nevers. The duke and duchess of Burgundy were well pleased at these answers, and returned their warm acknowledgments to the magistrates of the different towns in Flanders, and to those of Artois and Burgundy, who had testified equally good inclinations.

The king of France was also very desirous of aiding the French lords in their ransom, although he had already been at a heavy expense in sending his ambassadors to Hungary and Turkey. These charges, however, he did not regret, since his cousins were now safe at Venice, and with them his own knight the lord de Boucicaut. The count de Nevers and his companions were still at Venice, for it was not his intention to depart thence until the discharge of the ransom should be completed. The merchants of Scio and the two Grecian lords had pledged themselves to the sultan for the payment, and such an immense sum was not readily raised. Sir Dinde de Desponde took great pains to accomplish the business from his regard to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, who had sent him to Venice for the purpose, and he was more subtle and conversant in such business than any other person whatever.

While others were diligently despatching the business of their ransom, the lords spent their time most joyously at Venice; but, about this period, an infectious disorder afflicted that town and neighbourhood, which began in the month of August, and never ceased until Saint Andrew's day. Great numbers fell victims to it, and among the rest (the more the pity!) the lord Henry de Bar, eldest son to the duke of Bar, and, in right of his wife, heir to all the estates of the late lord de Coucy, excepting the dower of his widow. Thus were the two ladies de Coucy made widows in one year, which was a great misfortune. The body of the lord Henry was embalmed and brought to France, and I believe buried at Paris, for his obsequies were there performed with much solemnity. On account of this epidemical distemper, and to avoid its danger, the count de Nevers left Venice, and fixed his residence at Treviso, where he and the other French lords remained, with their households, for upwards of four months without stirring from it. During their stay at Treviso, the king of Hungary was informed by the knights of Rhodes, of their having made peace with Bajazet, and obtained their liberty by payment of two hundred thousand francs. He, in consequence, sent letters by a bishop and some of his knights to the count de Nevers, to mark his affection to him, with others to those who had the government of Venice. The bishop and knights were ordered by the king to address the count as follows, and of which they handsomely acquitted themselves.

"My lord, we are sent hither by our much-redoubted lord, and your cousin, the king of Hungary, who salutes you by us. Here are letters written by him to congratulate you on your deliverance from the sultan Bajazet, his enemy. He is sincerely rejoiced at your and your companions' escape, for, without the means you have pursued, it would never have been effected. Dear sir, our lord is well assured that your treaties with the sultan must have cost you immense sums of money, and, with the losses you all suffered at the disastrous battle of Nicopoli, will have made it difficult to you to procure a sufficiency for your ransom. Our sovereign, therefore, dear sir, orders us to make you his excuses for not offering you, on this occasion, his assistance: if it were in his power, he would most cheerfully do it, for he

conceives and declares he is bound to aid you, from his connection with you by blood and other causes; were it not that he and his subjects have had such losses by the late defeat, that you, who are a person of great understanding, will readily believe, and know the impossibility of his giving any aid at this present moment. The revenues of Hungary are ruined for this and the ensuing year, but whenever they are recovered, and the usual payments made, that he may be enabled to show his offers are not mere empty words, he will assuredly come handsomely forward to your service. That you may believe our most redoubted sovereign and your cousin is in earnest, we must acquaint you that he has ordered us to offer for sale to the rulers of Venice, the rents he receives from this town, which amount to seven thousand ducats yearly; and that whatever these may produce you are to dispose of as if it were your own; and for which we will sign receipts to the Venetians, having full authority so to do."

The speech of the ambassadors from the king of Hungary was very agreeable to the French lords. They answered by the lord de Rochefort, who, in the name of all, said "that they were very sensible of this mark of kindness from the king of Hungary, who, to oblige his cousin the count de Nevers, offered to sell his inheritance to aid them; that this was not an offer to be refused, nor the friendship and courtesy forgotten; that the count desired to have a little time to consider of his answer to the king." This was agreed to; and, within a few days, the ambassadors were told by the count de Nevers, that it would be very unbecoming him to pledge or sell the inheritance of another; but that, if it were agreeable to them who had such powers, to prevail on the Venetians to advance, on the security of these rents, a sufficient sum for the count de Nevers' daily expenses, and to enable him to acquit himself of the thirty thousand florins the grand prior of Aquitaine had lent him with so much generosity in the island of Rhodes, he should consider it as a great favour, and most kindly thank the king of Hungary and his council for so doing."

The ambassadors cheerfully promised to make the proposal to the Venetians. When the Venetians heard it, they coldly replied they would deliberately consider of the matter, and demanded fifteen days to weigh their determination. When these were expired, they answered (as I was told by one who heard it), "That if the king of Hungary were disposed to sell his whole kingdom, the Venetians would willingly make the purchase, and pay the money down; but as for such a trifle as seven thousand ducats of yearly revenue which he possessed in the city of Venice, it was of so little value that they could not set a price on it either to buy or sell, and they would not trouble themselves about so small an object."

Such was the answer made by the Venetians to the ambassadors of the king of Hungary. Some said, this reply was mere dissimulation, and that, though the Hungarians had made the offer to the count, they, in an underhand way, caused this answer to be given. Things, therefore, remained in the state they were in before, and the ambassadors took leave of the count de Nevers and those of his countrymen then with him, who were, sir Regnier Pot, the lord de Rochefort, and sir William de la Tremouille. They left Venice, and returned to Hungary; but the French lords continued at Treviso on account of the great mortality that reigned in Venice.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE IS MADE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE IN THE ROOM OF THE COUNT D'EU, WHO HAD DIED IN TURKEY.—BOUCICAUT, DURING HIS ABSENCE WITH THE COUNT DE NEVERS, IS APPOINTED MARSHAL OF FRANCE IN THE PLACE OF THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE.—THE FRENCH LORDS WHO HAD BEEN PRISONERS IN TURKEY RETURN TO FRANCE.

You have heard that the count d'Eu, constable of France, died in his bed at Bursa in Turkey, to the great regret of all his friends, more especially the king of France, who much loved him. The constableship became vacant by his death, and that office is of such weight that it must not long remain so. Councils were therefore held to appoint his successor, and the wiser among them nominated the lord Louis de Sancerre, in which they were confirmed by the majority in the kingdom. He had been a very long time marshal of France, and

was so at the time of his election, residing in Languedoc. Being sent for by the king to Paris, he was invested with the office of constable, and by this vacated the charge of marshal; on which the king said, that he had already thought of a successor, for that no one should have it but his knight the lord Boucicaut. All the lords agreed to the propriety of this choice, for indeed he was deserving of it, and when appointed was at Venice. He returned home shortly after this, for the ransoms were paid, and the whole of those who had been prisoners in Turkey came back to France, to the great joy of their friends and countrymen. The lord Boucicaut was made marshal of France; and the count de Nevers waited on the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and was well feasted by them and others, for he was returned from a long and dangerous expedition, wherein he and his companions had suffered many perils, but, through the grace of God, they had escaped, and were returned home. The count was seen with much pleasure by all in Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy, and other dependencies of his father, as he was their heir-apparent. After he had remained some time with the duke and duchess, and had visited the countries under their obedience, he determined to wait on the king of France and the duke of Orleans, both of whom received him honourably and kindly. He was made welcome by all the lords and ladies of the court. The king and the duke of Orleans were very glad to see him again, and eagerly listened to his relation of what he had suffered. They inquired news of Turkey, of the battle of Nicopoli, of the adventures he had met with, how he was made prisoner, and of the state of Bajazet.

The count satisfied them by his answers, for he was well spoken, and made no complaints, at least by speech, of the sultan, but said he had found him courteous and affable, even to those attached to his person; that he was very well treated; and he did not forget to tell the lords to whom he was speaking, that Bajazet, on his taking leave, to quit Turkey, had said, that he was born to bear arms, and make conquests in this world every year to a greater extent, and that he wished not to prevent his prisoners from again taking up arms against him, for he would with pleasure meet them in battle two, three, or four times if necessary; and that it was his intention to march to Rome, and feed his horse on the altar of Saint Peter. The count added, that the sultan thought our faith erroneous, and corrupted by those who ought to have kept its purity; and the Turks laughed and made their jokes at it. Many Saracens declare that Christianity, from the above cause, will be destroyed, and that the time is now come for its ruin; and that Bajazet was born to accomplish this, and be king over all the world. "Such was the language the interpreter translated to me; and, from what I saw and heard, I believe they are perfectly well acquainted in Turkey, Tartary, Persia, and throughout the whole of the infidels' country, with our schisms in the church, and how the Christians are at difference, one with another, respecting the two popes of France and Italy; and the Saracens are wonderfully surprised how the kings of the different countries suffer it."

This speech of the count de Nevers gave the king and lords of France enough to think on. Some said the Saracens were in the right to make their jokes and laugh, for priests were allowed to meddle too much in affairs that did not concern them; that it was time to lower their pomp, or force them to do it of themselves. The young clergy, who were studying the Scriptures at the university of Paris, could not obtain any benefices from this schism in the church, and were not displeased that the people murmured against the popes. They rejoiced at what the count de Nevers had related, and that the Turks and Saracens made derision of our faith. "In good truth," they added, "they are in the right to laugh at it, and, if the king of France and the emperor of Germany do not speedily attend to this schism, we foresee that church-affairs will daily become worse. All things considered, those who have been neuter between the two popes have acted wisely, and thus it behoves every one who wishes for union in the church."

It was secretly told the king, by those who loved him and were desirous he should regain his health, that it was the common opinion throughout France he would never be perfectly recovered until the church were properly regulated. They added, that his father, king Charles of happy memory, had, on his death-bed, charged his council with this matter; that he suspected he had been deceived by these popes, and had made his determination too soon,

for which he felt his conscience was loaded. He excused himself, saying,—"When our lord and father died, we were very young. We have followed the counsel of those who have hitherto governed, and if we have acted wrong or foolishly, it has been their fault, and not ours; but, since we have had fuller information, we will soon attend to the business, and in such a manner that the effect shall be apparent." The king of France paid more attention to this matter than he had ever done before, and promised himself and his council that he would provide a remedy. He spoke of it to his brother, the duke of Orleans, who inclined instantly to his opinion, as did the duke of Burgundy, for, notwithstanding he had acknowledged the pope, who styled himself Clement, he had no great faith in him: the prelates of France, particularly Guy de Roye, archbishop of Rheims, the archbishops of Sens, of Rouen, and the bishop of Autun, had induced him to acknowledge Clement.

It was determined in a private council, that, if a union of the church were sought for, it was necessary to have the assent of Germany. Learned men were therefore sent as ambassadors to the king of Bohemia and Germany, who styled himself king of the Romans. Master Philip des Playes was one of these ambassadors, who had instructions to prevail on the king of Germany to meet the king of France in the city of Rheims; and that no prelates, cardinals, archbishops, or bishops, might any way interrupt this meeting, or interfere with the object, it was published that the cause for the two monarchs, with their councils, coming to Rheims, was to treat of a marriage between a son of the marquis of Brandenburgh, brother to the emperor, and a daughter of the duke of Orleans, and under cover of this they could treat of other matters.

During the time these negotiations were going forward, the lord Guy de Châtillon, count de Blois, departed this life in his hôtel at Avesnes, in Hainault. He was carried to Valenciennes and buried in the church of the Franciscans, in a chapel called the Chapel of Artois. True it is, that he had made a large inclosure for the Franciscans, and intended erecting his tomb within it; but he died so much in debt, that his countess, the lady Mary of Namur, was obliged to renounce all claim to his moveables. She dared not act under his will, but retired to her dowry of the lands of Chimay and Beaumont, and the estates went to their right heirs. The duke of Orleans had the county of Blois, for which, during the late count's life, he had paid him two hundred thousand crowns of France. The lands in Hainault, Holland, and, Zealand, went to duke Albert of Bavaria: those of Avesnes, Landrecies, and Louvion in Tierache, fell to John of Blois, more commonly called John of Brittany, to whom, if count Guy had not sold it, the county of Blois would have devolved as to its right heir. Observe what mischief a lord may do his heir by listening to bad advice *. [I make mention of it because the count Guy de Blois was very anxious, during his life, that I, sir John Froissart, should indite this history; and he was at great expenses to forward it, for so considerable an undertaking cannot be accomplished without heavy charges. May God receive his soul! He was my lord and patron, of high honour and great renown, and had no need to make the pitiful bargains he did in the sale of his estates; but he too readily believed those who advised him to dishonourable and profitless acts. The lord de Coucy, who died at Bursa, was very culpable in this business.] We will now return to the affairs of England.

CHAPTER XCII.—THE DEATHS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.—THE MANNER IN WHICH THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND YORK, AND THE LONDONERS, TAKE THE MATTER.

You have before seen, in the course of this history, that king Richard of England would not longer conceal the great hatred he bore his uncle of Gloucester, but had determined to have him cut off, according to the advice given him, setting it forth to be more advisable to destroy than be destroyed. You have likewise heard how the king had rode to the castle of Pleshy, thirty miles from London, and with fair words had cajoled the duke out of his castle, and was accompanied by him to a lane that led to the Thames, where they arrived

* All between the crotchets is from the MSS. in the B. Museum and at Hafod, but not in the printed copies.

between ten and eleven o'clock at night; and how the earl-marshal, who there lay in ambush, had arrested him in the king's name, and forced him towards the Thames, in spite of his cries to the king to deliver him. He was conscious, that from the moment of his being thus arrested, his end was resolved on, and it was confirmed to him by the king turning a deaf ear to his complaints, and riding on full gallop to London, where he lodged that night in the Tower. The duke of Gloucester had other lodgings; for, whether he would or not, he was forced into a boat that carried him to a vessel at anchor on the Thames, into which he was obliged to enter. The earl-marshal embarked also with his men, and, having a favourable wind and tide, they fell down the river, and arrived, late on the morrow evening, at Calais, without any one knowing of it except the king's officers. [The earl-marshal, as governor, could enter Calais at all hours, without any one thinking it extraordinary: he carried the duke to the castle, wherein he confined him.]

You may suppose, that when news was carried to Pleshy of the duke of Gloucester's arrest, the duchess and her children were greatly dismayed, and, since such a bold measure had been taken, were much afraid of the consequences. Suspecting the duke's life was in great danger, they consulted sir John Laquingay what would be best for them now to do. The knight advised them to send instantly to the dukes of Lancaster and York, the duke's brothers; for by their mediation, perhaps, the king's choler would be appeased. He saw no other means, as the king would not choose to make them his enemies. The duchess of Gloucester followed this advice of the knight, and instantly despatched messengers to both, for they resided at a distance from each other. They were much enraged at hearing their brother was arrested, and returned answers to the duchess, not to be too much distressed at what had happened, for the king would not dare to treat him otherwise than by fair and legal measures, for it would not be suffered. This answer comforted the duchess and her children.

The king of England left the Tower of London at a very early hour, and rode to Eltham, where he remained. The same day, towards evening, the earls of Arundel and Warwick were brought to the Tower by the king's officers, and there confined, to the great surprise of the citizens. Their imprisonment caused many to murmur, but they were afraid to act, or do anything against the king's pleasure, lest they might suffer for it. It was the common conversation of the knights, squires, and citizens of London, and in other towns,—"It is useless for us to say more on this matter, for the dukes of Lancaster and of York, brothers to the duke of Gloucester, can provide a remedy for all this whenever they please: they assuredly would have prevented it from happening, if they had suspected the king had so much courage, or that he would have arrested their brother; but they will repent of their indolence: and, if they are not instantly active, it will end badly."

When the duke of Gloucester saw himself confined in the castle of Calais, abandoned by his brothers, and deprived of his attendants, he began to be much alarmed. He addressed himself to the earl-marshal: "For what reason am I thus carried from England and confined here? It seems that you mean to imprison me. Let me go and view the castle, its garrison, and the people of the town." "My lord," replied the earl, "I dare not comply with your demands, for you are consigned to my guard, under pain of death. The king our lord is at this moment somewhat wroth with you; and it is his orders that you abide here a while, in banishment with us, which you must have patience to do, until we have other news, and God grant that it may be soon! for, as the Lord may help me, I am truly concerned for your disgrace, and would cheerfully aid you if I could, but you know the oath I have taken to the king, which I am bound in honour to obey." The duke of Gloucester could not obtain any other answer. He judged, from appearances of things around him, that he was in danger of his life, and asked a priest who had said mass, if he would confess him. This he did, with great calmness and resignation, and with a devout and contrite heart cried before the altar of God, the Creator of all things, for his mercy. He was repentant of all his sins, and lamented them greatly. He was in the right thus to exonerate his conscience, for his end was nearer than he imagined. I was informed, that on the point of his sitting down to dinner, when the tables were laid, and he was about to wash his hands, four men rushed out from an adjoining chamber, and, throwing a towel round his neck, strangled

him, by two drawing one end and two the other *. When he was quite dead, they carried him to his chamber, undressed him, and placed the body between two sheets, with his head on a pillow, and covered him with furred mantles. They then re-entered the hall, properly instructed what to say and how to act, and declared the duke of Gloucester had been seized with a fit of apoplexy as he was washing his hands before dinner, and that they had great difficulty to carry him to bed. This was spoken of in the castle and town, where some believed it, but others not. Within two days after, it was published abroad that the duke of Gloucester had died in his bed at the castle of Calais; and, in consequence, the earl marshal put on mourning, for he was nearly related to him, as did all the knights and squires in Calais.

News of this event was sooner known in France and Flanders than in England. The French rejoiced much at it; for it was commonly reported that there would never be any solid peace between France and England as long as the duke of Gloucester lived; and it was well remembered, that in the negotiations for peace he was more obstinate in his opinions than either of his brothers; and, for this reason, his death was no loss to France. In like manner, many knights and squires of the king of England's household, who were afraid of him, for his severe and rough manners, were pleased at his death. They recounted how he had driven the duke of Ireland to banishment, and had ignominiously beheaded that prudent and gallant knight sir Simon Burley, who had been so much beloved by the prince of Wales, and had done essential services to his country. The deaths of sir Robert Trevilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Standwich, and others, were not forgotten, so that the duke of Gloucester was but little lamented in England, except by those who were of his party and manner of thinking.

The duke's body was honourably embalmed at Calais, and put into a leaden coffin, with an outward one of wood, and transported in this state by sea to England. The vessel that carried the body landed at Hadleigh Castle on the Thames, and thence it was conveyed on a car, unattended, to his castle of Pleshy, and placed in the church which the duke had founded in honour of the Holy Trinity, with twelve canons to perform devoutly the divine service. In this church was the duke buried. The duchess of Gloucester, her son Humphrey, and her two daughters, were sorely grieved when the body of the duke arrived. The duchess had double cause of affliction, for the earl of Arundel, her uncle, had been publicly beheaded in Cheapside by orders of the king. No baron nor knight dared to interpose, nor advise the king to do otherwise, for he was himself present at the execution, which was performed by the earl's son-in-law, the earl-marshal, who bandaged his eyes.

The earl of Warwick ran great risk of suffering the same death, but the earl of Salisbury, who was in favour with the king, interceded for him, as did many other barons and prelates. The king listened to their solicitations, on condition he were sent to a place he could not leave, for he would never absolutely pardon him, as he was deserving death, for having joined the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel in their attempts to annul the truce which had been signed and sealed by the kings of France and England, for themselves and allies. This alone was a crime to be punished by an ignominious death: for the conditions of the treaties were, that whoever should break or infringe them was to be so punished.

The earl of Salisbury was very earnest in his supplications for the earl of Warwick. They had been brothers in arms ever since their youth; and he excused him on account of his great age, and of his being deceived by the fair speeches of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel: that what had been done was not from his instigation, but solely by that of others; and the house of Beauchamp, of which the earl of Warwick was the head, never imagined treason against the crown of England. The earl of Warwick was, therefore, through pity, respited from death, but banished to the Isle of Wight, which is a dependency on England. He was told,—"Earl of Warwick, this sentence is very favourable, for you have deserved to die as much as the earl of Arundel, but the handsome services you have done in times past, to king Edward of happy memory, and the prince of Wales his son, as well on this as on the other side of the sea, have secured your life; but it is ordered that you banish yourself to the Isle of Wight, taking with you a sufficiency of wealth to support

* He was smothered with pillows, not strangled. Hall, one of the accomplices, made a particular confession of all the circumstances. See Parl Plac. viii. p. 452.—Ed.

your state as long as you shall live, and that you never quit the island." The earl of Warwick was not displeased with this sentence, since his life was spared, and, having thanked the king and council for their lenity, made no delay in his preparations to surrender himself in the Isle of Wight on the appointed day, which he did with part of his household. The Isle of Wight is situated opposite the coast of Normandy, and has space enough for the residence of a great lord, but he must provide himself with all that he may want from the circumjacent countries, or he will be badly supplied with provision and other things.

Thus were affairs carried on in England, and daily going from bad to worse, as you will find it related. When the dukes of Lancaster and York heard of their brother's death at Calais, they instantly suspected the king their nephew was guilty of it. At the time, they were not together, but each at his country-seat, according to the custom in England. They wrote to each other to consult how they should act on the occasion, and hastened to London because they knew the citizens were very angry at the event. On their arrival, they had several meetings, and declared that the putting the duke of Gloucester to death for some foolish words ought not to be passed over in silence, nor borne; for, although he had warmly opposed the treaty with France, he had not acted upon it; that there was an essential difference between talking and acting, and that words alone did not deserve the severe punishment he had suffered, and that this matter must be inquired into and amended. The two brothers were in a situation to have thrown England into confusion, for there were enow who would have supported them, more especially all the kindred of the late earl of Arundel, which is a powerful family in England, and the family of the earl of Stafford.

The king at this time resided at Eltham, whither he had summoned all his vassals and dependants. He had collected round London, in the counties of Kent and Essex, upwards of ten thousand archers, and had with him his brother sir John Holland, the earl marshal, the earl of Salisbury, with many other great barons and knights. The king sent orders to the citizens of London not to admit the duke of Lancaster within their walls; but they replied, they knew of no reason why they should refuse him admittance, and the duke resided there with his son the earl of Derby, as did the duke of York with his son the earl of Rutland. The king loved the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal beyond measure: the first dissembled his opinions concerning the death of the duke of Gloucester, and would willingly have seen peace restored on both sides. He said, that his late uncle had on several occasions treated the king very unbecomingly. The Londoners considered, also, that great mischiefs might befal England from these dissensions between the king, his uncles, and their supporters; that, since the duke of Gloucester was now dead, it could not be helped; and that he, in some measure, had been the cause of it, by his too great freedom of speech, and from his attempts to excite the people of England to break the truces that had been signed between France and England. The citizens, therefore, prudently dissembled their thoughts; and, as what was done could not now be undone, they feared, should matters be pushed to extremities, they might suffer very considerably in their commerce from the king of France.

The resentments of the citizens began to cool, and they offered to mediate between the king and the duke of Lancaster, who was mightily angered by the murder of his brother. He bethought himself, however, that as his nephew was married to the daughter of the king of France, should he wage war against king Richard, his two daughters married in Castille and Portugal might suffer for it, from the French carrying a war into those countries. The duke was beside forced to change his mind, whether he would or not from the solicitations of the citizens of London and some of the English prelates, who had been the mediators between the king and his uncles. The king obtained peace, on promising from that day forward to be solely guided by the advice of the duke of Lancaster, engaging never to do anything without first consulting him. The promise, however, he paid not any regard to, but followed the counsels of the rash and evil-minded, for which hereafter he severely suffered, as shall be related in this history. Thus did the king of England gain peace from his uncles for the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and now governed more fiercely than before. He went with his state to Pleshy in Essex, which had belonged to his uncle of Gloucester, and should have descended to his son Humphrey as heir to his father; but the king took possession of it, for it is the rule in England for the king to have the





te eglyse de romme. chapitre lxxxij.

Ou scauez cõment le roy dallemaigne le roy de france et lez seigneurz de lempire et toueleurz consaulz furent en la cite de parme et eurent la entreuz pluseurz consaulz et secrete

wardship of all children who have lost their fathers, and are under twenty-one years of age, at which period their estates are restored to them. King Richard took his cousin Humphrey of Gloucester in ward, appropriating all his possessions to his own profit. He made him live with him, and the duchess and her two daughters with the queen.

The late duke of Gloucester was by inheritance constable of England; but the king deprived his heir of it, and gave it to his cousin the earl of Rutland. The king now assumed a greater state than ever king of England had done before, nor had there been any one who had expended such large sums by one hundred thousand nobles. He also took the wardship of the heir of Arundel, son to the late earl whom he had beheaded in London, as has been related, and forced him to live with him. And because one of the knights of the late duke of Gloucester, named Cerbec*, had spoken too freely of the king and council, he was arrested and instantly beheaded. Sir John Lacquingay was likewise in some peril; but, when he saw the turn affairs had taken, he quitted the service of the duchess of Gloucester, and fixed his abode elsewhere. At this period there was no one, however great, in England, that dared speak his sentiments of what the king did or intended doing. He had formed a council of his own from the knights of his chamber, who encouraged him to act as they advised. The king had in his pay full two thousand archers, who were on guard day and night, for he did not think himself perfectly safe from his uncles or the Arundel family†.

CHAPTER XCIII.—A GREAT ASSEMBLY HOLDEN AT RHEIMS, BY THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY AND KING OF FRANCE, ON THE SCHISM IN THE CHURCH, AND ON THE MEANS OF UNITING THE TWO PARTIES.

At this period, there was a numerous assembly of great lords in the city of Rheims, as well from the empire of Germany as from France, whose object was to restore union to the church. At the solicitation of the king of France, the emperor‡ had come thither in person, attended by his ministers; but because they wished it not to be publicly known that this meeting was to consider of the rivalship of the two popes of Rome and of Avignon, they had it rumoured, that the lords of the empire came to Rheims to treat of a marriage between a son of the marquis of Brandenburgh, brother to the emperor, and a daughter of the duke of Orleans. The king of France was lodged in the archbishop's palace, as were the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and count de Saint Pol, with other barons and prelates of France. When the emperor was about to make his entry into Rheims, all these lords and prelates, with Charles, king of Navarre, went to meet him: after receiving him most honourably, they conducted him first to the church of Our Lady, and then to the abbey of Saint Remy, where he was lodged with all his lords. His attendants, and the others who had accompanied him, were placed as near to him as was possible; and the king of France had ordered, that all the expenses of the emperor and Germans, during their residence in Rheims, should be paid by his officers in the most ample manner. In consequence, there were daily delivered to the Germans ten tons of herrings, for it was Lent, and eight hundred carp, without counting different sorts of fish and other things, which cost the king immense sums.

When the emperor paid his first visit to the king of France, the great lords beforementioned went to seek him at the abbey of Saint Remy, and conducted him in great state to the palace. On the two monarchs meeting, they paid many compliments to each other, as they knew well how to do, especially the king of France, for the Germans are a rude unmannered race, except in what regards their personal advantage, and in this they are active and expert enough. The lords of both countries who were present made acquaintance together, with many outward signs of satisfaction: and the king of France entertained the whole at dinner, of which I will mention some particulars. At the top of the king's table

* Cerbec. It is Cerber and Cerbel.

† For more ample particulars respecting the murder of the duke of Gloucester, I must refer the reader to Mr. Gough's History of Pleshy.

‡ Wenceslaus of Luxembourg.

was seated the patriarch of Jerusalem: next to him the emperor, then the king of France, and the king of Navarre: no more were at this table. At the others were seated the lords from Germany; and they were waited on by the lords of France, for none of them sat down. The dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and the count de St. Pol, with other great barons, placed the dishes, and served the king's table. The duke of Orleans supplied the company with such quantities of plates of gold and silver as though they had been made of wood. The dinner was splendid, and abundantly well served, and deserving of remembrance. I was told that the king made a present to the emperor of all the gold and silver plate that was used, as well as what was on the side-board, with all the tapestry and ornaments of the apartment whither the emperor retired after dinner to partake of wine and spices. This gift was estimated at two hundred thousand florins; and the other Germans were presented with magnificent gifts of gold and silver plate. The Germans, and other strangers who had come thither to view the feast, greatly wondered at the wealth and power of France.

During the residence of these monarchs at Rheims, their ministers frequently met to consider of the marriage of the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the reformation of the church. The marriage was agreed on, and published in Rheims, but their consultations and resolutions, concerning the church, were kept secret: what I shall say on the subject came to my knowledge afterward. It was determined that Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, should be sent as ambassador from the emperor and the king of France to the person who styled himself pope Boniface at Rome, and negotiate with him in their names with the view of inducing him to submit to a new election: should the choice again fall on him, he would be acknowledged by them as pope, but, if not, then he was to resign. The bishop was to declare the same to the pope of Avignon; adding that, if either of the popes refused to comply with this disposition of the two monarchs, they would be degraded, and every honour and profit of the church taken from them: that in this the kings of England, Scotland, Castille, Portugal, and Navarre, had joined. The emperor said he would answer for his brother the king of Hungary, and all Bohemia and Germany, as far as Prussia, being of the same sentiment. The monarchs likewise declared, that, on the bishop's return from his embassy, they would exert themselves, with their friends and allies, that what they had now agreed on should be executed without any variation. Thus ended this meeting: the two monarchs separated most amicably, and each returned to his usual place of residence. The duke of Burgundy refused to attend at Rheims; for he said it would not answer any purpose, and that whatever might be given to the Germans, they would never keep the engagements they should enter into. However, notwithstanding this speech of the duke, nothing was left undone, and matters were concluded as you have heard.

Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, was not long in making preparations for his journey, and set out on his embassy to Rome and Avignon, to declare the engagements the emperor and king of France had entered into. The king of France sent ambassadors to his son-in-law, the king of England, to acquaint him with what had been done, that he might unite in the same opinion. King Richard received the ambassadors with joy: and when he learnt the object of their mission, which was, to entreat he would remain neuter, if he could not prevail on his subjects to unite with France and Germany, in case the two popes refused compliance, replied he would so manage that his kingdom should act in the matter as he pleased. This he instantly promised, to the great joy of the ambassadors. After they had staid with the king and queen of England as long as they had chosen, they took leave and returned to Paris by Boulogne, and related all that had passed to the king and council. This was very agreeable to the king, and affairs remained in this state some time.

The king of Navarre came to Paris to visit the king of France, and thought he might perhaps recover his inheritance of Evreux in Normandy, which the king of France had seized from his father, as has been related in this history; but, in spite of every attempt, he was unsuccessful. The king of Navarre, seeing he laboured in vain, took the matter in great displeasure, and abruptly left the court of France, discontented with the king and his ministers, and returned to Navarre. We will now leave the affairs of Germany, France, and Navarre, to speak of what befel England, whence sprung such melancholy events as have not been recorded in this history, and which my readers will allow when they come to the detail of them.

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE EARL MARSHAL CHALLENGES THE EARL OF DERBY, SON TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND HIS COUNCIL.

KING Richard of England was of a temper that, when he took a liking to any one, he instantly raised him to high honours, and had such confidence in him that no one dared to say anything to his prejudice. At the same time, there had not been a king of England in the memory of man who so easily believed all that was told him. His favourites, however, paid no attention to the miserable fate of many of their predecessors; how the duke of Ireland had been banished, sir Simon Burley, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, and others had lost their lives, for counsels they had given the king, and for which the duke of Gloucester had taken great pains in their destruction. The duke was now dead, and the favourites of the moment, who continually counselled the king as they pleased, were not sorry, for they imagined no one would now pretend to oppose them. Some about the king's person could not disguise their pride and presumption, especially the earl marshal, who was in the highest degree of favour. To flatter and please the king, and to show how true and loyal a servant he was, whenever he heard any reports he told them to the king, expecting from such means to rise still higher in favour; but many, thinking to advance, are repulsed. Thus it happened to the earl marshal.

You must know that the earl of Derby and the late duke of Gloucester had married two sisters, daughters to the earl of Hereford and Northampton, constable of England: the children, therefore, of the earl of Derby and duke of Gloucester were cousins-german by their mother's side, and one degree removed by their father's. To say the truth, the death of the duke of Gloucester had displeased many of the great barons of England, who frequently murmured at it when together; but the king had now so greatly extended his power, none dared to speak of it openly, nor act upon the current rumours of the mode of his death. The king had caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever should say anything respecting the duke of Gloucester or the earl of Arundel, should be reckoned a false and wicked traitor and incur his indignation. This threat had caused many to be silent, afraid of what might befal them, who were, nevertheless, much dissatisfied.

At this time, a conversation passed between the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal, in which the state of the king and the counsellors whom he trusted became the subject of discussion. The earl marshal caught at the following words the other had made use of, with a good intent, thinking they would never have been mentioned again, for they were neither arrogant nor traitorous: "Holy Mary! fair cousin, what does the king next intend to do? Will he drive all the nobles out of England? There will soon be none left; and he plainly shows he is not desirous to add to the honour of his realm." The earl marshal made no reply, but treasured this speech in his mind, as he considered it very impertinent, in regard to the king, and thought within himself that the earl of Derby was well inclined to excite troubles in England, for he was marvellously beloved by the Londoners. He therefore determined (for the devil entered his brain, and what has been ordained to happen must come to pass), to report this speech in the presence of the king and his nobility.

Soon after this conversation, the earl marshal, to flatter and gain favour with the king, said,—["My lord, all your enemies and ill-wishers are not dead, nor out of the kingdom." The king changed colour, and replied, "How, cousin, do you know this?" "I know it well," answer the earl marshal: "for the moment, I will not say more; but, that you may provide a remedy in time, have it proclaimed that you will hold a solemn feast on this ensuing Palm Sunday, and invite all the princes of your blood, particularly the earl of Derby, when you shall hear something that will surprise you, and what you are not suspicious of, notwithstanding it so nearly concerns you." The king was very pensive on hearing this, and begged the earl marshal to give him further information; that he might safely tell him all, for he would keep it secret. I know not if he did so; but the king, if he did, kept it to himself, and allowed the earl to act in the matter as he pleased; the consequences of which were as follows.

The king had it proclaimed that he would hold a solemn feast at his palace at Eltham on

Palm Sunday, and sent particular invitations to the dukes of Lancaster and York and their children, who, not suspecting any mischief, came thither. When the day of the feast was arrived, and all the lords had retired after dinner with the king to his council-chamber, the earl marshal, having settled in his own mind how to act and what to say, cast himself on his knees before the king, and thus addressed him:] "Very dear and renowned lord, I am of your kindred, your liege man and marshal of England; and I have beside sworn on my loyalty, my hand within yours, that I would never conceal from you anything I might hear or see to your prejudice, on pain of being accounted a disloyal traitor. This I am resolved never to be, but to acquit myself before you and all the world." The king, fixing his eyes on him, asked, "Earl marshal, what is your meaning in saying thus? We will know it." "Very dear lord," replied the earl, "as I have declared, I will not keep any secret from you: order the earl of Derby to come to your presence, and I will speak out." The earl of Derby was called for, and the king made the earl marshal rise, for he addressed him on his knees. On the earl of Derby's arrival, who thought no harm, the earl marshal spoke as follows: "Earl of Derby, I charge you with having thought and spoken disrespectfully against your natural lord the king of England, when you said he was unworthy to hold his crown: that without law or justice, or consulting his council, he disturbed the realm; and that, without any shadow of reason, he banished those valiant men from his kingdom who ought to be its defenders, for all of which I present my glove, and shall prove, my body against yours, that you are a false and wicked traitor."



THE EARL MARSHAL CHALLENGING THE EARL OF DERBY. From MSS. of the Fifteenth Century.

The earl of Derby was confounded at this address, and retired a few paces, without demanding from the duke his father, or any of his friends, how he should act. Having mused a while, he advanced, with his hood in his hand, towards the king, and said, "Earl marshal, I say that thou art a false and wicked traitor, which I will bodily prove on thee, and here is my glove." The earl marshal, seeing his challenge was accepted, showed a good desire for the combat, by taking up the glove and saying,—"I refer your answer to the good pleasure of the king and the lords now present. I will prove that what you have said is false, and that my words are true." Each of these lords then withdrew with his friends, and the time for serving wine and spices was passed by; for the king showed he was sore displeased, and retired to his chamber and shut himself within it. His two uncles remained without with their children, as did the earl of Salisbury and Huntingdon, the king's brother.

Soon afterward, the king called to him his uncles, and demanded from them how he was to act on this occasion. "Sire, order your constable hither, and we will tell you." The earl of Rutland, constable of England, being sent for, came, and he was told,—"Constable, go to the earl of Derby and the earl marshal, and oblige them to promise not to quit the kingdom without the king's permission." The constable obeyed the order, and returned to the king's apartment. You may believe the whole court was greatly troubled by this event, and many barons and knights were much displeased, who blamed the earl marshal for his conduct; but what he had said he could not now retract, and he showed by his manners that he made light of it, so arrogant and swollen with pride was his heart. The lords now separated, each for his own home. The duke of Lancaster, in spite of appearances, was much vexed at what had passed, and his opinion was, that the king should not have listened to such a charge, but instantly have annihilated it; and in this he was joined by the more sensible barons of the country.

The earl of Derby resided in London, for he had his house there, and kept up his state. The duke of Lancaster, the duke of York, the earl of Northumberland, and many other great lords, for he was much beloved, were his securities to appear and answer the challenge. The earl marshal was sent to the Tower of London, where he lived with his household. These two lords made ample provision of all things necessary for the combat; and the earl of Derby sent off messengers to Lombardy to have armour from sir Galeas, duke of Milan. The duke complied with joy, and gave the knight, called sir Francis, who had brought the message, the choice of all his armour for the earl of Derby. When he had selected what he wished for in plated and mail armour, the lord of Milan, out of his abundant love to the earl, ordered four of the best armourers in Milan to accompany the knight to England, that the earl of Derby might be more completely armed. The earl marshal, on the other hand, sent into Germany, whence he thought he should be ably assisted by his friends. Each provided himself most magnificently, to outshine the other; but the greater splendour was shown by the earl of Derby, for I must say that, when the earl marshal undertook this business, he expected to have been better supported than he was by the king. It was hinted to the king, by those near his person,—"Sire, you have no occasion to interfere further in this matter: dissemble your thoughts, and leave them to themselves: they are fully capable of managing it. The earl of Derby is wondrous popular in the kingdom, but more especially in London; and, should the citizens perceive that you take part with the earl marshal against the earl of Derby, you will irrecoverably lose their affection."

The king attended to this advice, for he knew it was true: in consequence, he dissembled his opinion, and suffered each to provide for himself. The news of this combat between the earl of Derby and the earl marshal made a great noise in foreign parts: for it was to be for life or death, and before the king and great barons of England. It was spoken of differently: some said, particularly in France,—"Let them fight it out: these English knights are too arrogant, and in a short time will cut each other's throats. They are the most perverse nation under the sun, and their island is inhabited by the proudest people." But others, more wise, said,—"The king of England does not show great sense, nor that he is well advised, when for foolish words, undeserving serious notice, he permits two such valiant and noble lords, and of his kindred, thus to engage in mortal combat. He ought, according to the opinions of many wise men, to have said, when he first heard this charge,—"You earl of Derby, and you earl marshal, are my near relations: I command, therefore, that you harbour no hatred nor malevolence against each other, but live like friends and cousins as you are. Should your stay in this country become tiresome, travel into foreign parts, to Hungary or elsewhere, and seek for deeds of arms and adventures." If the king of England had done so, or come forward to prevent this combat, he would have acted wisely, according to the opinions of men of sense and prudence.

The duke of Lancaster was much vexed and melancholy at seeing the king of England, his nephew, thus badly conduct himself, but knew not to whom to open his thoughts. He, like a wise man, considered the consequences that might ensue, and at times said to those he most confided in,—"Our nephew will ruin everything before he have done: he too readily listens to evil counsellors, who will destroy him and his kingdom. Should he live long, he

will lose by little and little all it has cost his predecessors and us so much pains to gain. He encourages discord between his nobles and great lords, by whom he ought to be honoured and served, and the country guarded. He has put my brother to death, for it is now notorious he ordered it, and likewise the earl of Arundel, because they told him the truth; but this he refuses to hear, and will not listen to any one who does not flatter his own imaginations. He cannot sooner ruin his country than by exciting hatreds among his nobility and principal towns. The French are too subtle a race, for one misfortune that befals us they would wish ten, as they can never obtain their ends, or recover their domains, but through ourselves; and every day there are examples of the misery of kingdoms when divided. Such has been the unfortunate lot of France, Castille, Naples, and the Roman state; and the present schism is the ruin of the contending popes, as well as the church. Flanders is another example which we have seen of self-destruction. Friesland is at this moment in a similar state, oppressed by the war of the count of Hainault, and ruining themselves by domestic quarrels. We shall be in the same situation unless God prevent it, from the appearance of the present state of affairs. The king has consented that my son and heir, for I have none other by my first two marriages, should be challenged to mortal combat for a mere trifle; and I, his father, dare not say a word against it, in regard to my own and my son's honour; for my son has the feelings of a knight, and is of sufficient strength to encounter the earl marshal. Howbeit, let the best be made of it, they will never again love each other as they did before." Such were the conversations of the duke of Lancaster.

The two earls, in the mean time, were making every preparation for their combat. The duke of Lancaster never went near the king, and as seldom saw his son, acting throughout with great good sense. He knew the earl of Derby was very popular with all ranks in England, but more particularly with the Londoners, who waited on him, and addressed him,— "Earl of Derby, make your mind easy: whatever may be the event of this combat it will turn out to your honour, in spite of the king and all his minions. We know well how things are managed, and what will be the result of them: this accusation has been invented by envy, to cause your banishment out of the kingdom, where they are aware you are so greatly beloved by all ranks and sexes; and should you be forced to quit us in sorrow, you shall return in joy, for you are more worthy to rule than Richard of Bordeaux. Whoever may choose to search the matter to the bottom, to discover the real origin of you both, will soon see that you have a greater right to the crown of England than he who wears it, although we have paid him homage, and acknowledged him for king these twenty years; but that was obtained by the entreaties of your grandfather, king Edward of happy memory, who was suspicious of what we hint, and feared the consequences. There was once a serious dispute on this subject between king Edward and your grandfather by your mother's side, duke Henry of Lancaster, but the great lords interfered and made up matters between them. King Edward was valiant and successful in all his enterprises, and had gained the love of his subjects high and low. Your grandfather of Lancaster only required from the king what was just, and served him and his kingdom so loyally, that his conduct deserved the commendation of all. Every one who knew him called him their old father. These things are worthy of king Richard's consideration, and may make him repent, if anything can, at his leisure, that he has not more prudently governed." Such conversations did many of the nobles and citizens of London hold with the earl of Derby, who was pleased with their affection, and received them kindly. He did not, however, neglect any preparations for his combat, but sent to every one of his friends throughout England, to entreat their company at the appointed day and place.

King Richard, notwithstanding he had suffered this challenge and appeal to arms to be made in his presence, was uncertain how to act, and whether to allow the combat to take place or not. And although he was the king of England the most feared of any who had worn the crown, he was guarded day and night by two thousand archers, who were regularly paid weekly, and had confidence only in his brother the earl of Huntingdon, and the earls of Salisbury and Rutland, his cousin, who were highly in his favour. He paid no regard to others, except a few of the knights of his chamber, who were his advisers. When the day for the combat was approaching, and the two lords had made their preparations, waiting

only for the king's commands, king Richard's secret advisers asked, "Sire, what is your intention respecting this combat between your two cousins, the earl of Derby and the earl marshal? Will you permit them to proceed?" "Yes," replied the king: "why not? I intend to be present myself and to see their prowess. We may perhaps learn, from the issue of this combat, what we are now ignorant of, although it may be very important for us to know, that we may provide accordingly: for there is no one so great in England, but, if he anger me, he shall dearly pay for it. Should I allow myself to be any way governed by my subjects, they would soon overpower me; I know for certain that some of my kinsmen have held secret meetings respecting my government; but the most dangerous among them was the duke of Gloucester, for in all England there was none more wrong-headed. He is now at peace, and henceforward we shall manage the rest well enough. But tell me, I pray you, why you ask the question?" "Sire," replied they, "we are bound to advise you to the best of our knowledge and abilities. We sometimes hear and observe what you cannot, for you are in your apartments, and we abroad in the fields, or in London, where many conversations are held that nearly touch you, as well as us. There is yet time to provide a remedy, and we earnestly advise you not to delay it." "What do you mean?" said the king: "speak out, and do not spare me; for I wish to act rightly, and to maintain justice in my kingdom." "Sire, the common report throughout England, but especially in London, is, that you are the cause of this combat, and that you have induced the earl marshal to challenge the earl of Derby. The Londoners in general, and many of the prelates and nobles, say, that you are in the direct road to destroy all your kindred and kingdom, but that they will not suffer it to be done. Now, were the citizens to rise and be joined by the nobility, who could oppose them? You have no power but from your vassals; and they are now more suspicious of you than ever, from your marriage with a princess of France; and you are less beloved by your subjects on this account. Know, that if you allow these two earls to meet in arms, you will not be lord of the field, but the Londoners, united with the earl of Derby's great connexions by blood, who are all much attached to him. The earl marshal is become very unpopular, particularly with the citizens of London, who would willingly put him to death. Three parts of the people of England say, that when you heard the charge of the earl marshal, you should have acted otherwise than you did, and checked the quarrel by telling them, 'You are both my cousins and liege men, and I command that peace be henceforward between you;' and that you should have taken the earl of Derby by the hand, and led him to your chamber with every token of affection. Because you did not this, the common report is, that you warmly take the part of the earl marshal against the earl of Derby. Weigh well what we have said, for we have told you the truth, and you never had more occasion for good advice than at this moment."

The king, on hearing these words, changed colour (for they had boldly spoken out, and certainly what they had said could not be contradicted), turned aside and leant on a window, where he mused a considerable time. He then turned to those who had addressed him, namely, the archbishop of York, the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and three other knights of his chamber, and said,—"I have attentively heard everything you have advised, and should be blame-worthy if I followed not your counsel: consider, therefore, how you would have me act." "Sire," replied their spokesman, "what we have been talking of is matter of great danger. You must dissemble your resentments, and put an end to this business, if you wish for peace and to preserve your honour. You ought to pay more respect to the general opinion of your realm than to the idle talk of two knights. It is believed throughout England that the lord marshal behaved himself very ill, and, by stirring up many things that were better forgotten, is desirous to pick a quarrel with the earl of Derby, raise the people, and throw all things into confusion. He must therefore suffer for so doing, and the earl of Derby be acquitted. We have considered the matter in every point of view, and advise that, before they arm or make further preparations, you send them your commands to appear before you, and to abide by whatever you determine between them. You will therefore give judgment, that, within fifteen days, the earl marshal quit England, without any hope of ever returning, and the earl of Derby be banished thence for the space of ten years. When the time for their departure arrives, you will, to please the people, abridge

four years of the earl of Derby's sentence, so that his banishment will be only for six years, but that he must not expect further favour. Such is the advice we give you: be very careful to prevent their meeting in arms, or the greatest mischiefs may arise from it." The king was thoughtful a moment, and replied, "You have faithfully advised me, and it shall be done."

CHAPTER XCV.—KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND BANISHES THE EARL OF DERBY FROM ENGLAND FOR TEN YEARS, AND THE EARL MARSHAL FOR HIS LIFE.

Not long after this, the king of England summoned a large council of the great nobles and prelates at Eltham. On their arrival, he placed his two uncles of Lancaster and York beside him, with the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury and Huntingdon. The earl of Derby and the earl marshal were sent for, and put into separate chambers, for it had been ordered they were not to meet. The king showed he wished to mediate between them, notwithstanding their words had been very displeasing to him, and ought not to be lightly pardoned. He required therefore that they should submit themselves to his decision; and to this end sent the constable of England, with four great barons, to oblige them to promise punctually to obey it. The constable and the lords waited on the two earls, and explained the king's intentions They both bound themselves, in their presence, to abide by whatever sentence the king should give. They having reported this, the king said,—"Well then, I order that the earl marshal, for having caused trouble in this kingdom, by uttering words which he could not prove otherwise than by common report, be banished the realm: he may seek any other land he pleases to dwell in, but he must give over all hope of returning hither, as I banish him for life. I also order, that the earl of Derby, our cousin, for having angered us, and because he has been, in some measure, the cause of the earl marshal's crime and punishment, prepare to leave the kingdom within fifteen days, and be banished hence for the term of ten years, without daring to return unless recalled by us; but we shall reserve to ourself the power of abridging this term in part or altogether." The sentence was satisfactory to the lords present, who said: "The earl of Derby may readily go two or three years and amuse himself in foreign parts, for he is young enough; and, although he has already travelled to Prussia, the Holy Sepulchre, Cairo and Saint Catherine's,* he will find other places to visit. He has two sisters, queens of Castille and of Portugal, and may cheerfully pass his time with them. The lords, knights and squires of those countries, will make him welcome, for at this moment all warfare is at an end. On his arrival in Castille, as he is very active, he may put them in motion, and lead them against the infidels of Granada, which will employ his time better than remaining idle in England. Or he may go to Hainault, where his cousin, and brother in arms, the count d'Ostrevant, will be happy to see him, and gladly entertain him, that he may assist him in his war against the Frieslanders. If he go to Hainault, he can have frequent intelligence from his own country and children. He therefore cannot fail of doing well, whithersoever he goes; and the king may speedily recall him, through means of the good friends he will leave behind, for he is the finest feather in his cap; and he must not therefore suffer him to be too long absent, if he wish to gain the love of his subjects. The earl marshal has had hard treatment, for he is banished without hope of ever being recalled; but, to say the truth, he has deserved it, for all this mischief has been caused by him and his foolish talking: he must therefore pay for it." Thus conversed many English knights with each other, the day the king passed sentence on the earl of Derby and the earl marshal.

* The monastery on Mount Sinai.—Ed.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE EARL OF DERBY, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS BANISHMENT, LEAVES ENGLAND FOR FRANCE. — THE EARL MARSHAL, IN OBEDIENCE TO HIS SENTENCE, GOES TO FLANDERS, AND THENCE INTO LOMBARDY.

When the two earls heard the sentence the king had passed on them, they were much cast down, and not without cause. The earl marshal bitterly repented what he had said and done, but he could not foresee its consequences: he had firmly relied on being otherwise supported by the king than he was, or he would not have thought of it. It was, however, necessary to make his preparations for banishment. He settled the payments of his income through the Lombards of Bruges, and, quitting England, arrived at Calais, where he had been governor. He staid there a short time, to receive part of his equipage which had been left behind. On his departure he took leave of the townsmen of Calais, and having fixed his route, would not go to France nor Hainault, for he had not any business at these places, but went to Bruges, where he staid fifteen days. On leaving this town, he visited Ghent, Mechlin, Louvain, St. Tron, Utrecht, Aix and Cologne, where we will leave him, and speak of the earl of Derby, who in like manner made his preparations for obeying his sentence of banishment.

When the day of his exile drew near, he went to Eltham where the king resided. He found there his father, the duke of York his uncle, and with them the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry Percy his son, and a great many barons and knights of England, vexed that his ill fortune should force him out of England. The greater part of them accompanied him to the presence of the king, to learn his ultimate pleasure as to this banishment. The king pretended that he was very happy to see these lords: he entertained them well, and there was a full court on the occasion. The earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Huntingdon, who had married the duke of Lancaster's daughter, were present, and kept near to the earl of Derby, whether through dissimulation or not I am ignorant. When the time for the earl of Derby's taking leave arrived, the king addressed his cousin with great apparent humility, and said, "that as God might help him, the words which had passed between him and the lord marshal had much vexed him; and that he had judged the matter between them to the best of his understanding, and to satisfy the people, who had murmured greatly at this quarrel. Wherefore, cousin," he added, "to relieve you somewhat of your pain, I now remit four years of the term of your banishment, and reduce it to six years instead of ten. Make your preparations, and provide accordingly." "My lord," replied the earl, "I humbly thank you; and, when it shall be your good pleasure, you will extend your mercy." The lords present were satisfied with the answer, and for this time were well pleased with the king's behaviour, for he received them kindly. Some of them returned with the earl of Derby to London. The earl's baggage had been sent forward to Dover, and he was advised by his father, on his arrival at Calais, to go straight to Paris, and wait on the king of France and his cousins the princes of France, for by their means he would be the sooner enabled to shorten his exile than by any other. Had not the duke of Lancaster earnestly pressed this matter, like a father anxious to console his son, he would have taken the direct road to the count d'Ostrevant in Hainault.

The day the earl of Derby mounted his horse to leave London, upwards of forty thousand men were in the streets, bitterly lamenting his departure: "Ah, gentle earl! will you then quit us? This country will never be happy until your return, and the days until then will be insufferably long. Through envy, treachery and fear, are you driven out of a kingdom where you are more worthy to reside than those which cause it. You are of such high birth and gallantry, that none others can be compared to you. Why then will you leave us, gentle earl? You have never done wrong by thought or deed, and are incapable of so doing." Thus did men and women so piteously complain, that it was grievous to hear them. The earl of Derby was not accompanied by trumpets, nor the music of the town, but with tears and lamentations. Some of the knights who attended him whispered each other—"See the conduct of the people, how readily they complain for trifles! Whoever is inclined to stir up the Londoners against the king may soon effect it, and force the king to seek another country, and the earl of Derby

to remain: but this is not the moment, for, since my lord of Lancaster suffers it, we must be patient."

The mayor of London and several of the principal citizens, accompanied the earl of Derby as far as Dartford: some even rode to Dover with him, and remained in his company until he embarked on board the vessel that was to convey him to Calais, when they returned to their homes. The earl of Derby, before his arrival at Calais, had sent a knight and herald to the king of France, and to the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, to know if it were agreeable to them that he should fix his residence in Paris, paying punctually for all that he or his people might want, and if the court would receive him.

The king of France, his brother and uncles, readily complied with his request, and apparently seemed very glad that he would come there; for, as they assured the knight, they very sincerely felt for the present disgrace of the earl. The knight and herald, on their return, met the earl at Calais; and the king of France had sent with them sir Charles de Hangiers, to have all the cities and towns opened to the English as they travelled to Paris. The earl of Derby set out in gallant array, becoming his rank, and took the road to Amiens, where, and in every other town, he was handsomely received.

CHAPTER XCVII.—THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF DERBY.—THE EARL ARRIVES AT PARIS.

The moment William earl of Ostrevant, who resided at Quesnoy, heard that his cousin the earl of Derby had crossed the sea, and was at Calais, he ordered sir Ancel de Trassaguies and sir Fierabras de Vertain to ride thither and wait on the earl, and invite him to Hainault, whither, if he pleased to come and amuse himself, he would give him a hearty welcome, for it would be very agreeable to himself and his countess. The two knights obeyed the earl's orders, and rode to Cambray and Bapaumes; for they had heard the earl of Derby had left Calais, and taken the road towards Paris through Amiens. They determined, in consequence, to push forward, and overtook the earl of Derby on his road, to whom they punctually delivered their message. The earl thanked them, as well as his cousin of Hainault who had sent them, but excused himself for the present from accepting their invitation, as he was engaged to visit the king of France and his cousins, but that he did not renounce the affection and courtesy the count d'Ostrevant offered him. The two knights, having executed their commission, took leave, and returned to Hainault, to report all they had seen and heard, and the earl continued his journey to Paris. When news was brought to the king, and the dukes of Orleans, Berry and Burgundy, that the earl of Derby was approaching Paris, the principal French lords instantly made handsome preparations to go out and meet him. The apartments of the hôtel de Saint Pol were richly furnished; and the great barons then in the town set out for Saint Denis. The king remained at the hôtel de Saint Pol: but the dukes of Orleans and Berry left Paris, and first met the earl of Derby: then came the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and the lord Charles d'Albret, with many great prelates and barons. Their meeting was joyous on both sides, and they entered Paris in brilliant array.

An unfortunate accident happened on this occasion, which I will relate. A prudent and valiant squire, called Boniface, a native of Lombardy, was mounted on a strong courser that had not been well broken. When passing through the streets, he rose upon his hind-legs, and the squire, checking by the bridle, pulled him so hard that he fell backward, and threw Boniface with such force on the pavement, that his skull was fractured. Thus died Boniface, to the great regret of many lords, particularly the duke of Orleans, by whom he was much esteemed. He had been a favourite with the late lord de Coucy, who had brought him from Lombardy to France.

The procession at length arrived at the hôtel de Saint Pol, where the king was waiting: he received very kindly his cousin the earl of Derby, who, having been well educated, behaved so agreeably to the king, that he was much liked, and, in token of his favour, the king gave him his order to wear. The earl accepted it with pleasure, and returned his thanks. I cannot pretend to say all that passed between them, but the meeting seemed to their

mutual satisfaction. When wine and spices had been served, the earl took leave of the king, and waited on the queen, who resided in other apartments of the same palace. He staid there some time, for the queen entertained him handsomely. On taking leave, he went to the court and mounted his horse, and was escorted to his hôtel by the lords of France, where he supped that night with his own people. Such was his reception at Paris: there were many grand entertainments made to amuse him, and that he might think the less on his banishment from his own country, which was very displeasing to the French lords. [In spite of all their kind endeavours, he at times was very melancholy, and not without reason, on being thus separated from his family. He was impatient to return, and much vexed that for such a frivolous cause he should be banished from England, and from his four promising sons, and two daughters. The earl frequently dined with the king, the duke of Orleans, and other great barons, who did everything they could to make his time pass agreeably.]

We will now leave the earl of Derby, to speak of the affairs of the church, and of the two popes, Benedict of Avignon, and Boniface of Rome.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—THE EMPEROR AND THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUE THE PLANS THEY HAD SETTLED AT RHEIMS, FOR A UNION OF THE CHURCH.—THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY IS SENT BY THEM TO THE POPE AT ROME.—THE ANSWER THAT IS MADE HIM.

You have before heard of the meeting which had taken place at Rheims between the emperor and the king of France, when many secret councils were held, on establishing the union of the church, for the present schism was disgraceful. In consequence of the plans then formed, Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, was sent ambassador to pope Boniface at Rome. The bishop set out, and met the pope at Fondi, to whom he delivered his credential letters from the king and the emperor. The pope, having examined them, was satisfied of their validity, and received the bishop kindly, for he guessed the object of his mission. The ambassador explained the cause of his coming, which the pope attentively listened to, and thus replied: "That the answer his propositions required did not only personally attach to him, but to all his brother-cardinals, who might aspire to the papacy. He would summon a consistory, and, when they had fully considered the matter, would give him an answer that should be satisfactory." This was, for the present, sufficient for the bishop of Cambray, who dined that day at the palace of the pope with some of his cardinals, and then, leaving Fondi, went to Rome.

Shortly after, pope Boniface held a convocation of cardinals at Rome; for he had quitted Fondi, and resided at the Vatican. No one was present at this consistory but the pope and cardinals, before whom he laid the propositions of the bishop of Cambray, and demanded advice what answer he should make to them. Much discussion ensued; for the cardinals were averse to undo what they had done, thinking it would turn out to their disgrace. They said to the pope,—"Holy father, considering our situation, we think you should conceal your real sentiments on this matter: but to encourage the hopes of the king of France and those of his creed, you will in your answer declare your willingness to comply with whatever the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, and the king of England, shall advise you; that the person who resides at Avignon, and styles himself pope Benedict, whom the king of France and his nation have acknowledged, must first resign all claims to the papacy; and that then you will cheerfully attend a general council, wherever the above-named kings shall appoint, and bring your brother cardinals with you." This advice was very agreeable to Boniface, who replied, in conformity to it, but in more general terms, to the bishop of Cambray, who acquitted himself honourably in the business he had been sent upon.

When the Romans heard that the emperor and the king of France had written to the pope to resign his dignity, great were the murmurings throughout the city; for the Romans were fearful they should lose the holy see, which was of infinite consequence to them and profit, from the general pardons that were personally sought for, and which obliged such multitudes to visit Rome. The jubilee was soon to take place, for which they had made

great preparations; and they were uneasy lest they might have incurred these expenses for nothing. The principal inhabitants of Rome waited on the pope, and showed him greater love than ever, saying: "Holy father, you are the true pope: remain in the inheritance and patrimony of the church, which belonged to St. Peter, and let no one advise you to do otherwise. Whoever may be against you, we will always continue your steady friends, and expend our lives and fortunes in the defence of your right." Pope Boniface replied,—"My children, be comforted, for I will never resign the popedom; and, whatever the emperor or the king of France may do, I will not submit myself to their wills." The Romans were satisfied with this answer, and returned to their homes.

The bishop of Cambray took no notice of this, but proceeded in the business he had been charged with. I fancy pope Boniface kept steady in his answer, that when it should be publicly known pope Benedict had resigned the papacy, he would act in such manner as should be agreeable to those who had sent him. The bishop, not being able to obtain more, departed for Germany, and found the emperor at Constance, to whom he delivered the answer you have heard. The emperor said,—"Bishop, you will carry this to the king of France, our brother and cousin; and, accordingly as he shall act, so will I and the empire; but, from what I see, he must begin first, and when he has deposed his pope, we will depose ours." The bishop took leave of the emperor, and set out for Paris, where the king and his lords were expecting him. He delivered the answer from the pope, and the message from the emperor, which was kept secret until the king should assemble a great council of his nobles, to have their advice on the matter.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE, IN CONFORMITY TO THE ADVICE OF HIS NOBLES AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, SENDS THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY TO POPE BENEDICT AT AVIGNON, ON THE SUBJECT OF A UNION OF THE CHURCH, AND ALSO HIS MARSHAL BOUCICAUT THITHER, TO CONSTRAIN THE POPE TO OBEDIENCE BY FORCE OF ARMS SHOULD THERE BE OCCASION.

The king of France, in consequence of the answer of pope Boniface, and the message of the emperor, that the pope at Avignon must be the first deposed, assembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom at Paris. Prior to this, some of the prelates of France, such as the archbishop of Rheims, sir Guy de Roye, the archbishops of Rouen and of Sens, the bishops of Paris, Beauvais, and Autun, had strongly supported the pope of Avignon, particularly Clement, who had promoted them to their benefices. These six prelates, therefore, by particular orders, were not summoned to this council, but others in their room, and the heads of the university of Paris. After the bishop of Cambray had fully explained to the assembly the object of his embassy to Rome, what he had done there, the pope's answer, and the message from the emperor, for he had returned through Germany, they began to discuss the matter, and it was resolved the university should have the preponderating voice. It was determined in this council, to the satisfaction of the king, the duke of Orleans, their uncles, and all the members of it, that the king of France should send his marshal, the lord Boucicaut, to Avignon, to prevail on pope Benedict, by negotiation or force, to resign the papacy, and submit himself to the determination of the king and his council; that the church in France should remain neuter as to the true pope, until union were restored to it, according to the decrees of a general council of prelates and churchmen which was to be instantly called.

This resolution seemed good to every one, and was adopted by the king of France, and all who had formed the council. The marshal of France and the bishop of Cambray were ordered to Avignon; and these two lords left Paris soon afterwards, travelling in company as far as Lyons, where they separated. The marshal was to remain at Lyons until he heard from the bishop, who continued his journey to Avignon, to learn what answer the person who styled himself pope at Avignon would make to the proposals from the king of France. On his arrival at Avignon, he fixed his lodgings in the great wood-market. Some of the cardinals suspected the cause of his coming, since he was sent by the king of France, but they dissembled their

thoughts until they heard what he had to say, and observed how Benedict should answer and conduct himself. As soon as the bishop of Cambray had taken some refreshments and changed his dress, he waited on the pope in his palace. He made him, when in his presence, the proper obeisances, but not so reverently as if he and all the world acknowledged him for the true pope, although he had given him the bishopric of Cambray, through the recommendation of the lords in France. The bishop, being well versed in Latin and French, made an elegant harangue, to explain the object of his mission from the emperor and the king of France. When the pope heard that it was the intention of these two monarchs that he as well as pope Boniface should resign their dignities, he frequently changed colour, and, raising his voice, said,—"I have laboured hard for the good of the church, and have been duly elected pope, yet now my resignation is sought: this I will never consent to as long as I live; and I wish the king of France to know that I shall not pay any attention to his regulations, but will keep my name and dignity until death."

"Sire," answered the bishop of Cambray, "I always thought you, under reverence, more prudent than I find you really are. Fix a day for the meeting of your cardinals, to consult with them on your answer; for, unless they agree with you, your opposition will be in vain against them and against the powers of Germany and France." Upon this, two cardinals of his creation, who foresaw that matters would end badly, stepped forward and said, "Holy father, the bishop of Cambray advises you well: follow what he says, we entreat you." The pope replied, he would do so willingly: the audience was put an end to, and the bishop returned to his lodgings, without waiting on any of the cardinals.

On the next morning, the consistory bell was rung, and a conclave holden of all the cardinals then at Avignon, at the pope's palace. The bishop of Cambray discoursed in Latin on the reasons why he was come thither, and on the object of those who had sent him. When he had finished speaking, he was told they would maturely consider the business, and give him an answer, but that at present he must withdraw. He went elsewhere to amuse himself, while Benedict and his cardinals debated his proposals. They were for a considerable time in council, and many thought it very hard to undo what had been regularly effected; but the cardinal of Amiens said,—"My fair sirs, whether we will or not, we must obey the orders of the emperor of Germany and the king of France, since they are now united; for, without their good pleasure, we cannot exist. We might indeed withstand the emperor, if the king of France would support us, but, as that is no longer the case, we must submit, or he will exclude us from all our benefices, and how then are we to live? In truth, holy father, we have elected you pope, on condition that you would exert yourself in the reform of abuses in the church, and promote a union, all of which you have strenuously promised to do until this day. Answer for yourself, therefore, in a temperate manner, that we may praise you, for you must be better acquainted with your own mind and courage than we are." Many of the cardinals spoke at once, and said: "Holy father, the cardinal of Amiens speaks well, and we beg of you to let us know your intentions." Upon this, Benedict replied,—"I have always had an earnest desire for a union of the church, and have taken great pains to promote it; but since, through the grace of God, you have raised me to the papacy, I will never resign it, nor submit myself to any king, duke, or count, nor agree to any treaty that shall include my resignation of the popedom." The cardinals now all rose, and there was much murmuring: some said he had well spoken, and others the contrary. Thus was the conclave broken up in discord, and many of the cardinals departed to their hôtels without taking leave of the pope. Those who were in his good graces remained with him.

When the bishop of Cambray observed the manner in which the cardinals left the palace, he knew there had been great disagreement, and entering the hall of the conclave, advanced up to Benedict, who was still on his throne, and, without much respect, said, "Sire, give me an answer; I cannot wait longer; for your council is dismissed. You must let me have your final determination on the proposals I made you, as I am now about to depart hence." Pope Benedict, still heated by anger at the speech of the cardinal of Amiens, replied,—"Bishop, I have consulted my brother cardinals, who have elected me to this dignity, and they agree that every due solemnity has been used, such as is usual in such cases. Since, therefore, I am pope, and acknowledged as such by all my subjects, I will

preserve it as long as I live, and will not, though it cost me my life, renounce it; for I have never done anything to forfeit the divine protection. You will tell our son of France that hitherto we have considered him as a good Catholic; but that, from the bad advice he has lately received, he is about to embrace errors which he will repent of. I entreat that you would beg of him, from me, not to follow any counsels, the result of which may trouble his conscience."

On saying this, Benedict rose from his throne, and retired to his chamber, attended by some of his cardinals. The bishop of Cambray went to his inn, dined soberly, and then, mounting his horse, crossed the Rhône, passed through Villeneuve, and lay at Bagnols,* which belongs to France. He there heard that the Lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, was at St. Andrieu, within nine leagues of Avignon, and thither the bishop went on the following day, and related to him all that had passed, with an answer he had received from Benedict, who styled himself pope.

CHAPTER C.— IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ANSWER OF POPE BENEDICT, THE MARSHAL BOUCICAUT OBLIGES HIM BY FORCE OF ARMS TO SUBMIT HIMSELF TO THE WILL OF THE KING OF FRANCE RESPECTING A UNION OF THE CHURCH.

When the marshal of France had heard from the bishop of Cambray the pope's answer, and that he refused to submit himself to the king of France, he said to him,—"Bishop, you may now return to France, for you have nothing more to do here; and I will execute what I have been charged with by the king, my lords his uncles, and the council." The bishop replied, "God's will be done." He remained that day in the village, and on the morrow departed, taking his road towards Puy in Auvergne. The marshal instantly set clerks and messengers to work in summoning the knights, squires, and men-at-arms in the Viverais, Auvergne, and from the countries as far as Montpellier; for he was commissioned so to do by the king of France. He ordered the séneschal of Beaucaire to shut up all the passes to Avignon, as well on the Rhône as by land, that nothing might enter that place, nor be sent thither from the Pont du Saint Esprit; for he was particularly anxious that it should not be supplied with provisions or stores. The summons of the marshal was readily obeyed, by some through attachment, but by many in the expectation of plundering Avignon. Sir Raymond de Touraine came with pleasure to the marshal, who was ready to march, in company with the lords de la Both, de Tournon, de Monclau, and d'Uzes and others, so numerous, that the marshal sent a herald with his defiance to the pope in his palace, and to his cardinals in Avignon.

This was a severe blow to the cardinals and to the inhabitants; for they knew well they could not long effectually withstand the power of the king of France. They called a council of the cardinals and principal persons in the town, and, in consequence, waited on Benedict, and temperately remonstrated with him, that they were unable and unwilling to support a war against the king of France, for it was necessary they should carry on their commerce by land and water, to live. Benedict, like a madman, replied,—"Your city is strong, and well provided with stores and provisions. I will send to Genoa and elsewhere for men-at-arms, and write to my son the king of Arragon, who is the standard-bearer of the church, to come to my assistance, which he will do, for he is bound to it by two reasons; I am his kinsman, and he owes obedience to the pope. Do you depart hence and guard your town, and I will defend my palace, for you are alarmed at trifles." This was all the answer they could obtain from the pope, and the cardinals and townsmen retired to their houses. The pope, whom I call Benedict, had, for a long time before laid up in his palace great quantities of wines, corn, salted meat, oil, and of every necessary store for a fortress. He himself was a bold and determined character, not easily dismayed.

The marshal Boucicaut marched from the town of St. Esprit, and, with the consent of the Prince of Orange, passed through Orange with his army, and entered the Comtat Venaissin, belonging to the Church, which was soon overrun. The men-at-arms crossed the

* Bagnols,—a town in lower Languedoc, three leagues from the Pont du Saint Esprit, and fifty-two from Lyons.

bridge at Sorgues,* and were masters of each side of that river. The marshal left some men in the town to guard it and defend the passage, and oppose the garrison of Noues, that held out for the pope. He then fixed his head-quarters at Saint Verain, near Avignon, and his army was daily increasing. The city of Avignon was now so completely surrounded, that nothing could enter by land or water without leave. The séneschal of Beaucaire's quarters were at Villeneuve, close to Avignon, though belonging to France, and he, with five hundred combatants, guarded that side of the town. The marshal of France, with two thousand men-at-arms, was on the opposite side: he sent notice to the townsmen, that if they did not open their gates, and submit themselves to his will, he would burn and destroy all the houses and vineyards as far as the river Durance. This greatly dismayed the inhabitants of both sexes, who had their inheritances in that part of the country, and they called a council, to which they admitted the cardinals of Amiens, Poitiers, Neufchâteau, and Viviers, to have their advice. The townsmen, who were the most interested in the marshal's menace, informed the meeting of their fears lest he should execute it, saying it was made by orders from the king of France, whom they were not prepared to resist, nor could they do so with effect, for he was too near a neighbour; and that, considering all things, it would be much better to submit themselves to the king of France than remain obstinate in the support of Benedict, who was unable to afford them any assistance. They asked the cardinals if they would join them. The cardinals said they would. Provisions began to be scarce in Avignon; besides, their benefices were in France, which they would not lose; and they agreed with the townsmen in their treaty with the marshal. The terms of the treaty were, that he and his army should be admitted into Avignon, to besiege the palace, but that no violence should be done to the cardinals, their dependants, nor the townsmen. This the marshal, the French lords, and captains of the men-at-arms, swore faithfully to observe. When this was done the army entered the town, and lodged themselves at their ease, for it was large enough, and took off all obstructions on the Rhône and at the gates, to allow free liberty for the entrance of provisions.

Pope Benedict was much cast down when he heard that his cardinals and the townsmen had concluded a treaty with the marshal of France, without consulting him. He said he would never surrender, so long as he had breath, and shut himself up in his palace, which is very strong and handsome, and easy to be defended, provided it be well stored with provisions. The pope sent off letters by messengers, before the marshal entered Avignon, to the king of Arragon, humbly entreating him to come and succour him in his distress, and to send him men-at-arms sufficient to oppose the marshal of France. He added, that if he could be extricated from the situation in which he was, and conveyed to Arragon, he would establish the holy see at Perpignan or at Barcelona. The king of Arragon carefully perused these letters, but paid little attention to their contents. He said to those near his person,—"What! does this priest suppose that I am to involve myself in a war with the king of France, to support his quarrel? I should indeed be very blame-worthy, were I to interfere." "Sire," replied his knights, "what you say is true: you have no business to meddle with such matters; for you must know that the king of France has been ably advised, and has just cause to act as he does. Leave the clergy to themselves; and, if they wish for support they must subject themselves to those lords from whose countries they receive the amount of their benefices. They have too long held them undisturbed, and they ought to feel and be sensible whence their wealth arises. The king of France has besides written to entreat that you would agree with him in a neutrality between the two popes. Accept his invitation, for the queen, who is his cousin-german, has done so; and the greater part of the kingdom and clergy are willing to do the same; for we hold, especially the Catalonians, that this opinion is the surest; otherwise, should the Christian princes not unite in the same, there will never be any union in the church, from the divisions of these two popes." Thus did the king of Arragon and his lords converse on the subject, while poor Benedict, shut up in his palace, was looking in vain for assistance being sent him from Arragon. The marshal of France was in Avignon, and the palace so strictly invested, nothing could enter it, which forced those within to live on the provisions they had. Of

* The river Sorgues takes its rise from the spring at Vaucluse.

food there was a sufficiency for two or three years; but, as there was a scarcity of fuel to dress their victuals, they began to be alarmed at the consequences.

The king of France held a weekly correspondence with the lord Boucicaut, on the state of Benedict; and the king ordered him not to depart until he had completed the business with the pope. He therefore increased the guard round the palace, to prevent him issuing forth. The conclusion was, that Benedict, finding himself thus constrained, that there was no fuel, and that their provisions were daily decreasing, without any assistance coming to his aid, begged for mercy, through the mediation of some of his cardinals. The terms of the treaty were, that he was not to leave the palace of Avignon until union should be restored to the church; that he should be put under the guard of proper persons; and that the cardinals and richest citizens of Avignon should be responsible for his appearance, dead or alive. This satisfied the marshal. Those cardinals who had benefices in France exerted themselves much to conclude this treaty, declaring unanimously they would comply with the orders of the king of France. Thus ended this business, and the men-at-arms marched away from Avignon, every one to his own home.

CHAPTER CI.—THE MARSHAL BOUCICAUT RETURNS TO HUNGARY AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE EARL OF DERBY SENDS TO REQUEST PERMISSION OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER TO ACCOMPANY BOUCICAUT IN THIS EXPEDITION.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS SOLICITED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO ENGAGE HIS SUBJECTS TO A NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE TWO POPES, UNTIL A NEW ELECTION SHALL TAKE PLACE; BUT THEY REFUSE COMPLIANCE WITH THEIR MONARCH'S REQUEST.

After this exploit, the marshal Boucicaut returned to Paris, and shortly after made preparations to go to Hungary; for the king had written to the king of France, to his uncles, and to the knights and squires of France, that Bajazet was assembling a large army of Turks, Arabians, Persians, Tartars, Syrians, and others of his religion. The king of Hungary was in consequence desirous of collecting a numerous force to oppose him, and offer him battle with more advantage than the last.

The earl of Derby, who resided at Paris at the hôtel de Clisson, near the Temple, was very desirous to go on the expedition to Hungary, to avoid putting the king of France to further expense; for he received from the French treasury, every week, five hundred golden crowns for his expenses, which his people were most punctually paid. On the first mention of this expedition, the earl of Derby eagerly listened to it; for he felt himself under great obligations to the king of France, and was unwilling to be a charge on him longer. He likewise thought that he should gain honour by going to Hungary, and that it would make the time of his banishment the sooner pass away. He consulted his confidential servants, who advised him to undertake it, but first to solicit the consent of his father the duke of Lancaster. The earl, in consequence, sent to England the knight nearest his person, to learn the pleasure of his father, and how he would advise him to act. When the knight, whose name was Dinorth*, arrived at London, he heard the duke of Lancaster was at his castle of Hertford, about twenty miles from London, whither he went, and related to him the earl of Derby's wish to join the expedition to Hungary. When the duke had heard all he had to say, he was well contented with the state of his son, and bade him welcome, adding, that what he had said, and the letters he had brought, demanded consideration. You will rest yourself here while we deliberate on the subject; and, in the mean time, you must see my son's children, to give them news of their father, and carry intelligence of them to him, for that he will expect from you." "My lord," replied the knight, "what you say is true." Thus did he, by desire of the duke, stay some little time in England.

The king of France sent ambassadors to Germany to inform the emperor that he had laid hands on Benedict, who for a time had styled himself pope. These ambassadors were the patriarch of Jerusalem, sir Charles de Hangiers, and others of his knights: they set out for Germany, and met the emperor at Strasbourg, to whom they satisfactorily delivered their

* "Dinorth." The MSS. have Du Roch. Q. if not Dymocke.

message. The emperor and his council said they would deliberate on the matter, but would gladly first know the determination of the king of England, for which the king of France had taken on himself to answer. Upon this, the embassy returned to France, and reported what you have just read. The king of France, to hasten the business, sent a grand embassy to England to remonstrate with the king on the present distracted state of the church. The king of England would willingly have joined the king of France, but he had not his prelates nor his churchmen and subjects as much under his command as his father-in-law kept them in France. All this he told in confidence to the French ambassadors, at the same time promising them to do his utmost to comply with the king of France's request.

The French ambassadors returned to Paris; and king Richard, in consequence of his wishes to please his father-in-law, summoned a meeting of the prelates and clergy of his realm, at his palace of Westminster, which is out of the city of London. When they met, he eloquently harangued them on the miserable schism in the church, and the plan the king of France had adopted, of remaining neuter between the two rival popes, according to the advice of the university of Paris, and other learned clerks. The kings of Scotland, Castille, Arragon, and Navarre had followed this example, and all Germany, Bohemia, and Italy intended doing the same. He therefore entreated that his kingdom would adopt the like measures. When the prelates, who were ignorant why they had been assembled, heard this speech, they were greatly astonished, and were silent. Several murmured and said,—"Our king is quite a Frenchman: his only wish is to disgrace and ruin us, but he shall not succeed. What! does he want to make us change our creed? He may go so far that evil will befall him. We will do nothing in this matter, since the king of France proposes it. Let him keep to his neutrality, if he please, and we will keep our creed. We will never suffer any attempt to deprive us of it, unless better reasons can be shown than those we have just heard."

The king, seeing them thus murmur together, made the bishop of London, who had laid the proposals of neutrality before them, ask what determination were best to be taken. They replied, one by one, that the matter was so weighty, great deliberation was requisite before any answer could be made. Upon this, the meeting broke up, and the clergy who had been assembled retired to their inns in the city of London. The citizens, learning from them the cause of the meeting, and the proposition that the king had made them, were greatly angered against him, for in England the belief in the pope of Rome was general. They said,—"This Richard of Bordeaux will ruin everything, if he be suffered to go on. His head is so thoroughly French, he cannot disguise it; but a day may come when he shall pay for all without having time to repent, and so shall those who have been his advisers."

Things continued in this state; and all his solicitations and remonstrances with his clergy to remain neuter obtained not any attention. The king of France and his council were dissatisfied that king Richard had not instantly determined his country to be neuter, but in truth he could not prevail with his clergy to do so; and shortly after there fell out such horrible events that the like are not to be found in this whole history, nor in that of any other Christian king, except that noble prince Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, whom his brother and the Cypriots villanously murdered.

CHAPTER CII.—THE ANSWER THE DUKE OF LANCASTER GIVES THE KNIGHT WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO HIM BY THE EARL OF DERBY, TO REQUEST HIS PERMISSION TO JOIN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

When the chevalier Dinorth, who had been sent by the earl of Derby to the duke of Lancaster, had received answers to the letters he had brought, and had visited all the castles of the earl his lord, and waited on his four sons and two daughters, who had remained in England, he took leave and returned to France. The answer from the duke of Lancaster was, that he would not advise his son to go into Hungary, but, when tired of France, to visit Castille and Portugal, and amuse himself at the courts of his brothers-in-law and sisters. The earl of Derby read these letters twice over, and mused some time on their contents. His

knight told him in confidence that the duke of Lancaster's physicians and surgeons had assured him the duke laboured under so dangerous a disease it must soon cause his death.

This information made the earl give over all thoughts of travelling further. He remained in Paris, at the hôtel de Clisson, which had been prepared for him and his attendants. He frequently visited the king, the duke of Orleans and their uncles, who entertained him handsomely. The earl was so sensible of their attentions, that he said to the king of France—"My lord, you pay me so much honour and courtesy, and give me proofs of such affection, that I know not how I shall be ever able to make you any return; but, if it please God that I go back to England, I will not forget them in my attachment to our queen, your daughter, whom God preserve!" "Many thanks, fair cousin," replied the king. It happened, that about Christmas-tide, duke John of Lancaster fell dangerously ill of a disorder which ended his life, to the great grief of all his friends. He had been some time very low spirited, on account of the banishment of his son, whom his nephew king Richard had forced out of England for a trifling cause, and also for the manner in which the kingdom was governed, which, if persevered in, he foresaw must be its ruin. The king of England, as it seemed, was little affected by his uncle's death, and he was soon forgotten.

Many of the nobles, but not all, were uneasy the kingdom was so weakened by the deaths of the dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel, and that the earl of Derby was banished, who ought to be now duke of Lancaster by legal succession. Some said,—"We shall see what the king will do. It is time that he recal his cousin the earl of Derby, and remit his further punishment, though there was scarcely any justice in it. It is proper that he return to take possession of his lands, and do homage as duke of Lancaster." Such speeches were common throughout England, but especially in London, where the earl of Derby was a hundred times more beloved than king Richard. Notwithstanding these murmurs, and that he was spoken to on the subject, as well as his ministers, nothing was done: on the contrary, the king showed he was more irritated against the earl. In this he was very badly advised; for if, on the death of his uncle, he had sent for the earl of Derby, and said to him,—"Fair cousin, you are welcome. You are now duke of Lancaster, and, after us, the greatest personage in the realm: we will, therefore, that you remain with us; and we will be governed by your counsels, and do nothing without your approbation;"—he would then have continued king of England, and avoided the unfortunate end that was awaiting him: the catastrophe was now so near at hand that he could no way avoid it, as you shall speedily hear.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES THE KING OF FRANCE ACQUAINTED WITH THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, BUT DOES NOT NOTICE IT TO THE EARL OF DERBY, THOUGH SON TO THE LATE DUKE.

The news of the death of the duke of Lancaster was soon public in France. King Richard wrote an account of it to the king with a sort of joy, but did not notice it to his cousin the earl of Derby. The earl, however, knew it as soon, if not sooner than the king of France, from his people in England. He clothed himself and his attendants in deep mourning, as was right, and had his obsequies grandly performed; at which were present, the king of France, the duke of Orleans, their three uncles, and numbers of the prelates and great barons of France, for the earl was much liked by all. The French barons visited him often, and some were displeased at and took part in his misfortunes: he was an amiable knight, courteous and pleasant to every one, and it was currently said, the king of England was very ill advised not to recal him. To say the truth, if the king had wisely considered consequences, he would have done it: affairs would not have turned out so miserably as they did. The earl of Derby was now, by the death of his father, duke of Lancaster, and the most potent baron in England, second to none but the king, and by his advice the king should have governed.

The king and his ministers should not have forgotten that the people of England, more particularly the Londoners, had frequently risen against the government; that the king was

not popular with any rank of men; and that, during the life of the duke of Gloucester, he had suffered many vexations, and even personal danger. When the citizens of London and the deputies from the great towns waited on the king at Eltham, to petition for the abolition of the war taxes, their plan was (by the secret advice of the duke of Gloucester and other lords), to seize the king and queen, and choose another in his room. King Richard and his queen were to be confined and allowed a sufficiency for their maintenance during their lives. The duke of Gloucester had requested his nephew, son to the daughter of the duke of Clarence, called John earl of March, to take charge of the government of England; but he had excused himself from so doing, and the meeting was dismissed in tolerably good humour by the prudence and temper of the duke of Lancaster, and Richard reigned with greater prosperity than before. The king was not unacquainted with these designs against him; and by the wicked counsel of those about his person, who gave him to understand the duke of Gloucester was at the bottom of this plot, under pretence of great affection he had him arrested in the night, and carried over to Calais, where he was strangled. This caused a great noise in all parts of England, and proposals were made for dethroning the king; but the duke of Lancaster, with his usual prudence and wisdom, although the duke of Gloucester was his brother, and he was sorely afflicted by his death, considering he could not restore him to life and the consequences that might ensue, again appeased these discontents; and his nephew, king Richard, was more feared than ever.

The king ought to have remembered all these circumstances, and likewise that the earl of Derby was the most popular man in England with every description of men, and should therefore instantly, on the death of his father, have recalled him. But the king had no such inclination: on the contrary, he immediately sent his officers to take possession of his lands and seize their rents, declaring, that, during his banishment, neither the earl nor his family should receive any of his revenues in England. He also, to the great vexation of such as were attached to the earl or his children, disposed of several estates in the duchy of Lancaster to some of his knights, and to whoever asked for them. The English barons greatly blamed him for this, and said,—"It is clear the king of England bears no good-will to his cousin, the earl of Derby, when he refuses to recal him, and suffer him to take possession of his inheritance. He would, with his children, be a grand support to the crown, and a staff to lean on, but he acts quite contrary, by thus keeping him out of the kingdom, in a disagreeable state, and which he would make worse if he could. He has taken possession of his lands, and sent hither his officers, as if they were legally his own, who treat the tenants worse than any in England: should they complain, during the absence of their lord, they are not attended to. It is no sign of affection or justice towards the earl of Derby and his children, when he thus seizes the inheritance of Lancaster, that descends to them as the true heirs of the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster, and likewise that from their mother, the daughter of the earl of Hereford and Northampton, and constable of England, which he is daily distributing piece-meal to any person according to his pleasure. This conduct is contrary to reason and justice, and so greatly disliked by the good people of England, that things cannot longer remain in their present state."

Such conversations were general among the nobles, prelates, and commonalty of England. In like manner, the lords in France, who heard of this matter, and were acquainted with the earl of Derby, wondered at it, and said,—"According to our opinion, this king of England has formed too great a hatred against the earl of Derby, who is his cousin-german. He is a graceful and courteous knight to all who address him. Either the king of England knows some things of him that we do not, or he is miserably advised: it is surprising the king of France, his brother the duke of Orleans, and their uncles of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, do not interfere in the business, for he is daily with some of them. They would have greater weight than any others, and the king of England would do more to please them from love to his queen, who is daughter to the king of France; but, as they have not taken any steps in the matter, it behoves us to hold our peace." In truth, the king of France and his family were perfectly well disposed toward the earl of Derby, whom they greatly respected, and wished always for his company. It was considered that he was a widower, likely to marry again, and that the duke of Berry had a daughter, who though

so young, was a widow of two husbands: she had been first married to Louis de Blois, who had died in his youth, and then to the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, who died in Turkey, as you have read in this history. Mary of Berry was not more than twenty-three years old, and a marriage between her and the earl of Derby was talked of and nearly concluded.

The duke of Berry knew well that the earl of Derby was the greatest heir-apparent in England, as did the king of France, who was anxious this match should take place, on account of his daughter being queen of England. It was natural to imagine that two such ladies, so nearly related, would be agreeable company to each other, and that the kingdoms of France and England would enjoy longer peace, and be more intimately connected. All this would probably have been true, if it could have been accomplished but king Richard and his council broke off all these measures. Whatever misfortunes fate has decreed cannot be prevented; they must have their course; and those that befel king Richard are wonderful indeed to think on. He might indeed have avoided them, but what must be will be.

I, John Froissart, author of these chronicles, will literally say what, in my younger days, I heard at a mansion called Berkhampstead, distant from London thirty miles, and which, at the time I am speaking of, in the year of our Lord 1361, belonged to the prince of Wales, father to king Richard. As the prince and princess were about to leave England for Aquitaine, to hold their state, the king of England, queen Philippa, my mistress, the dukes of Clarence, Lancaster, the lord Edmund, who was afterward earl of Cambridge and duke of York, with their children, came to this mansion to visit the prince and take leave of him. I was at that time twenty-four years old, and one of the clerks of the chamber to my lady the queen. During this visit, as I was seated on a bench, I heard the following conversation from a knight to some of the ladies of the queen. He said,—"There was in that country a book called Brut, which many say contains the prophecies of Merlin. According to its contents, neither the prince of Wales nor duke of Clarence, though sons to king Edward, will wear the crown of England, but it will fall to the house of Lancaster." When the knight said this, the earl of Derby was not born: his birth was seven years after. This prophecy, however, was verified, for I have since seen Henry, earl of Derby, king of England.

CHAPTER CIV.—THE TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE EARL OF DERBY AND THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BERRY IS BROKEN OFF BY THE KING OF ENGLAND, THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

The moment king Richard learnt that a treaty of marriage was going forward, with the approbation of all parties, between the earl of Derby and the lady Mary of Berry, he became very thoughtful and much displeased thereat. He said to the Earl of Salisbury, in whom he had great confidence,—"My lord, you must make yourself ready to go to Paris; I will give you credential letters to the king our father, and to our well-beloved brother and uncles. Tell them to beware of forming any alliance or marriage with such a traitor as the earl of Derby, who would have betrayed his sovereign: you are perfectly acquainted with the fact: and, with your good understanding, act in such wise that I shall be satisfied, and this marriage be put aside." The earl of Salisbury replied,—"Sire, I shall punctually obey all your commands; but, if this marriage could be broken off by any other means than mine, I shall be very thankful to you." "Earl of Salisbury," answered the king, "make no excuses; for I will and entreat that you go thither, and whatever may be the consequences I will support you through them." "Well, sire," said the earl, "since you specially command me, and the matter seems to interest you so much, I will undertake it, but I go very unwillingly." "Hasten your preparation as much as you can," replied the king, "that the treaty of marriage be not too far advanced."

The earl of Salisbury was soon ready, and, having had his credential letters sealed, he departed from the king, who at the time resided with his queen at Leeds-castle. He carried with him private letters from the queen to the king and queen of France, and to her brother the duke of Orleans, and, hastening his journey, arrived at Dover, where, the wind being favourable, he embarked, and landed at Calais. He was received by the king's half-

brother, the earl of Huntingdon, governor of Calais, to whom he told part of his business. He made no long stay at Calais, but continued his road through Amiens to Paris, and wherever he passed he was well entertained. On his arrival at Paris, he lodged at the White Horse, in the square of the Greve*. After he had dressed himself, he waited on the king and queen, and delivered his credential letters: when the king of France had perused them, he took the earl of Salisbury aside and demanded his business. The earl related to him very minutely everything he had been charged with by the king of England, and called the earl of Derby a traitor to his natural lord. The king, on hearing this expression, was angered (for he had taken so strong a liking to the earl of Derby, that he would not hear anything said in his dispraise), and gave back the letters to the earl, saying,—"Earl of Salisbury, we readily believe what you tell us; but our son of England bears too great a hatred to our cousin of Derby, and we wonder he has continued it so long, for we think that his court would be better adorned if he were near his person, and those who have the most weight in his council ought to advise him to recal his cousin." "Very dear sire," replied the earl of Salisbury, "I only act as I have been ordered." "That is true," said the king: "we are not angry with you, for perchance our son may know of these matters more than we can: execute the commission you have been charged with." The earl then waited on the duke of Berry, and delivered his message from king Richard. The duke made no answer, but went to the king at the hôtel de Saint Pol, and asked if he had received any news from England. The king told him all that had passed between him and the earl of Salisbury, and a privy council of the king's uncles and principal lords, was summoned on the occasion. They said,—"The king of England must fear very much the earl of Derby, from circumstances that we are ignorant of, and that have not been made public. We ought to be more attached to him than to the earl of Derby, from his connexion with us by marriage; and, as we have been informed, he will be greatly displeased if we proceed in the marriage of the earl of Derby with the countess d'Eu, we must break it off. We have only to conceal what we have heard from England until the earl of Salisbury be returned."

The king and his council adopted this resolution. When the earl of Salisbury had completed the business he had been sent on to Paris, he took leave of the king and his lords, and departed. The king, however, showed he was more displeased than otherwise at the intelligence he had brought, and returned to the earl his credential letters, refusing to accept of them, from his partiality to the earl of Derby. This last knew of the earl of Salisbury being at Paris, but they never saw each other; and the earl of Salisbury returned to Calais without speaking to the earl of Derby, and thence to England to report the success of his mission.

The earl of Derby was much displeased that the earl of Salisbury should leave Paris without seeing him, and augured from it nothing favourable. His council were of the same opinion, and said to him,—"My lord, you will soon perceive such things as you little dream of, although they are as yet hid from you. The French are a close and subtle people: perhaps the king of England and his minions are vexed that the king of France and his court show you such honour and affection; perhaps also it may be rumoured in England that you propose marrying the lady Mary of Berry, and king Richard, to whom this intelligence will not be agreeable, has sent over to have it broken off: should that be the case, you will speedily hear of it." Thus, as the knights and council of the earl of Derby had supposed matters were, did they turn out. About a month after the departure of the earl of Salisbury, the commissioners from the earl of Derby renewed the matter of the marriage with the lady Mary of Berry: but those on the part of the duke replied,—"Tell my lord of Derby, that when he is in the presence of the king and his brother the duke of Orleans, he may propose this business himself; for we cannot say more on the subject, since it is not agreeable to our employers that we longer interfere in it."

These words were repeated to the earl of Derby, who suspected nothing more was meant by it than to hasten the marriage; for the king of France and his lords had shown outwardly as much eagerness for the match as ever. He remembered what had been told him, and at a proper opportunity, when the king and his lords were together, renewed his proposal of

* The MSS. say, "at the château de Festus, in the rue du Tiroir."

marriage. The duke of Burgundy, having been charged with the answer, replied, "Cousin of Derby, we cannot think of marrying our cousin to a traitor." The earl instantly changed colour on hearing this expression, and said,—"Sir, I am in the presence of my lord the king, and must interrupt your speech, to answer the expression you have used. I never was nor ever thought of being a traitor; and if any one dare to charge me with treason, I am ready to answer him now, or at whatever time it may please the king to appoint." "No, cousin," said the king, "I do not believe you will find any man in France that will challenge your honour. The expression my uncle has used comes from England." The earl of Derby cast himself on his knees, and replied, "My lord, I willingly believe you: may God preserve all my friends, and confound mine enemies!" The king made the earl rise, and said—"Earl, be appeased: all this matter will end well; and when you shall be on good terms with every one, we can then talk of marriage. But it will be first necessary that you have possession of your duchy of Lancaster; for it is the custom of France, and of many countries on this side the sea, that when a lord marries with the consent of his lord paramount, should he have one, he settles a dower on his wife." Upon this, wine and spices were brought: the conversation ended; and, when the king retired to his closet, every one went away.

The earl of Derby, on his return to the hôtel de Clisson, was bitterly enraged, and not without reason, to be accused of treason, when he thought himself one of the most loyal knights in the universe, and in the presence too of the king of France, who had shown him so much affection and courtesy, and that this accusation should have been brought from England by the earl of Salisbury. His knights pacified him as well as they could, by saying, "My lord, whoever wishes to live in this world must sometimes suffer trouble. Comfort yourself for the present, and bear all things with patience: perhaps you will hereafter have it made up in joy and glory. Of all the lords on this side of the sea, the king of France loves you the most, and, from what we hear and see, he will instantly prevent any insult being offered you. You should be thankful to him and his uncles for having kept this matter secret during the stay of the earl of Salisbury, and until he was landed in England." "Indeed!" replied the earl: "I should have thought it more loyal to have made the charge while he was here, than to have waited so long. I could then have been enabled sufficiently to exculpate myself in the presence of the king and his lords, so that my innocency would have been apparent, but I must now submit to the disgrace until I shall wipe it off." "My lord," answered his knights, "all faults cannot be corrected at once: have patience, we hope things will turn out better in England than you think. The affection the whole country bear you will very soon, if it please God, deliver you from all dangers." Thus did his knights attempt to comfort the earl of Derby, who was more cast down than man ever was; and what they had uttered by chance, for consolation, turned out true, as I shall now relate.

It was known in England that the earl of Salisbury had been sent to France with credential letters, and that, on the strength of them, he had accused the earl of Derby to the king of France and his uncles, as a perjured, false, and wicked traitor, which words had greatly angered many of the prelates and barons of the kingdom. They said, when among themselves: "The earl of Salisbury has done very wrong to carry such a message to France, and make so heavy a charge against the most honourable man in the world. The day will come when he shall repent of this, and say, "It weighs heavily on me that I ever carried a message to France against the earl of Derby." The Londoners were exceedingly enraged against the king and his ministers for their conduct, and said,—"Ah, gallant and courteous earl of Derby, how great are the jealousies and hatreds against thee when, to overwhelm thee with disgrace and vexation, they charge thee with treason! It was not enough for the king and his minions to force thee out of the kingdom, but they must add this charge also; but, by God, all things have an end, and their turn may come." "Alas!" cried the people, "what have his children done? when the king seizes their inheritance, which ought to be theirs by direct succession from grandfather and father. There must be some change in public measures, for we neither can nor will suffer them to go on longer."

CHAPTER CV.—KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND PROCLAIMS A TOURNAMENT, WHICH IS ATTENDED BY VERY FEW PERSONS.—ON SETTING OUT FOR IRELAND, HE BANISHES THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND HIS SON THE KINGDOM.

Soon after the return of the earl of Salisbury from France to England, king Richard had proclaimed throughout his realm and in Scotland, that a grand tournament would be held at Windsor, by forty knights and forty squires, clothed in green, with the device of a white falcon, against all comers, and that the queen of England, well attended by ladies and damsels, would be at this feast. The queen was indeed present at the tournament in magnificent array, but very few of the barons attended: the greater part of the knights and squires of England were disgusted with the king, for the banishment of the earl of Derby, the injuries he was doing the earl's children, the murder of the duke of Gloucester, that had been committed in the castle of Calais, the death of the earl of Arundel, whom he had beheaded in London, and the perpetual exile of the earl of Warwick. None of the kindred of these lords came to the feast, which was of course very poorly attended.

The king, after this tournamant, made preparations to go to Ireland. He left his queen, Isabella, and her household at Windsor castle, and took the road to Bristol, where he laid in ample purveyances and stores. He had with him full two thousand lances, knights and squires, and ten thousand archers. When the Londoners heard he was set out, they began to murmur together and say,—"Well! Richard of Bordeaux has taken the road to Bristol for Ireland. It will be his destruction: never will he return thence to joy, more than his ancestor, king Edward, who governed his realm so foolishly, through the counsels of the Despencers, and paid for it. This Richard of Bordeaux has confided so long in weak and wicked counsellors, that it cannot longer be borne."

You must know, that although many barons, knights, and squires accompanied the king in his expedition to Ireland, they were much discontented with him, and did not follow him with a goodwill. When they were together, they conversed, saying, "Our king governs very badly, and too readily believes weak counsel." This was so often and so loudly spoken of throughout the realm, particularly by the earl of Northumberland and his son Harry Percy, that the king's ministers heard of it, and said to the king: "Sire, the earl of Northumberland and his son say things that must not be suffered, for they want to excite your subjects to rise against you. Every rebel must be punished, one after another, that the greatest barons may fear you, and take example." "That is true," replied the king: "how shall I act on this occasion?" "We will tell you, sire: they are to join this expedition, but not yet arrived. When they come, order them to your presence by the earl of Salisbury or any other you please, and then remonstrate with them on the injurious speeches they have uttered against you and your ministers. You will hear what answer they make, and, as that may be, consider how you shall punish them, by imprisonment or otherwise." The king replied,—"You say well, and what you advise shall be done."

The earl of Northumberland and his son had good friends on this expedition, by whom great part of the secret councils of the king were revealed: they were strongly advised not to join the armament, nor appear in the king's presence, for that he was so wrath with them, they would at least be severely reprimanded, if not imprisoned. On hearing this, they retarded their journey towards Bristol; for, according to the intelligence sent them, had they come, they would have run a risk of their lives. The king's ministers, perceiving the earl of Northumberland did not arrive, said to him,—"See, sire, if we did not tell you the truth: neither the earl of Northumberland nor his son condescend to serve you, although ordered; and, if you send them a special summons, you will have a confirmation that what we have told you is true." The king said, it should be done. Letters were signed, sealed, and sent off by a special messenger, containing orders for the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy instantly to join the king's forces, and perform their duties as they were bounden to do. The messenger continued his journey to a very handsome castle* of the earl of Northumberland on the borders of Scotland, and delivered his letters. The earl read them attentively, and then gave them to his son.

* Alnwick.

They determined to entertain the messenger well, and to write to the king to excuse themselves, as they were no way prepared, nor could they leave their own country, as the king had a sufficiency of men for the business he was going upon. The messenger returned with his answers, and gave them the king; but they were not agreeable to him nor to his ministers, and for this and other charges, which were publicly made against the earl of Northumberland and his son, they were banished England, never to return until recalled by the king. This sentence was published in London and in all the towns of England, to the great astonishment of the citizens, who could not conceive why they had thus been so severely punished; for they had always considered the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy as two of the most loyal subjects in the realm. Some said, when conversing on this matter, that "the ministers of the king hated them, and would in the end cause their master's destruction. It may be that the earl and his son have talked too freely about the king's ministers, and his foolish government; and, as truth is not always agreeable, these gallant knights suffer for it; but those who have now judged them may hereafter have their turn."

Such were the conversations of the discontented Londoners, as well as of the majority of the English people. The earl and his son were connected by blood with the noblest and richest families, who were exasperated by their banishment; and among them his brother, sir Thomas Percy, who had done many very great services to the crown of England. When the earl heard of his banishment, he summoned all his friends and relations; but many were with the king and could not attend. On their assembling, he consulted them how he should act in the disgrace the king had so undeservedly heaped on him; and it was determined to send to Scotland, to request the king would afford the earl and his son an asylum in that country until affairs should mend, or the king's anger be pacified. This resolution was adopted, and a messenger sent to the king of Scotland to make the above request. King Robert, the earl Archibald of Douglas, and the barons of Scotland, cheerfully complied with it, and returned for answer, that the kingdom was ready to receive them; and, if they wanted five or six hundred lances, they would be instantly at their service, on hearing from them. This answer was highly pleasing to the earl of Northumberland and his kindred; and things remained in this state, the earl in his own country among his friends; for king Richard and his advisers had in a short time so much to do, that they had no leisure to attend to the earl of Northumberland, nor to say to him, "Quit the kingdom, or we will force you." They were obliged to give up all thoughts but for their own safety, as you will hear in the course of this history.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE ENGLISH, AND PARTICULARLY THE LONDONERS, RISE IN FAVOUR OF THE EARL OF DERBY AGAINST KING RICHARD.

During the time king Richard was holding his court at Bristol and in that neighbourhood, there was a general insurrection of the people of England. The courts of justice were closed; at which many of the prelates, barons and prudent part of the people, who only wanted for peace and to pay what was lawful, were much dejected. A stop was put to all traffic, for merchants dared not travel for fear of being robbed, and having no courts to apply to for redress. All these things were very prejudicial, and contrary to the usual customs of the country; for in general all people, labourers and tradesmen, lived peaceably, and followed their occupations without hindrance, but it was now quite the contrary. When merchants went with their goods from one town to another, and had any money in their purses, it was taken from them. The farmers' houses were pillaged of grain, and their beeves, pigs and sheep carried away, without the owners daring to say a word. These enormities increased so much, there was nothing but complaints heard. The common people said, "Times are sadly changed for the worse since the days of king Edward of happy memory. Justice was then rigorous in punishing the wicked. Then there was no man in England daring enough to take a fowl or sheep without paying for them, but now they carry off all things, and we must not speak. This cannot go on without the country being ruined, and yet no one

attempts to check it. We have a good-for-nothing king, who only attends to his idle pleasures; and, as it should seem, he cares not how public affairs are managed, so that his inclinations are gratified. We must look for a remedy, or our enemies and ill-wishers will be rejoiced and laugh at us. King Richard has made his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, governor of Calais, and perchance there may be some underhand treaties going forward to surrender it to the French, although it be so necessary and convenient to England: should this happen no nation will be ever more discomfited than the English, and with good reason, for they will lose the keys of the entrance to France." These murmurings and discontents multiplied; and the prelates and rich barons came to live in London, that they might avoid the troubles and dangers which were increasing throughout the kingdom. The families of those whom the king had put to death or banished were rejoiced, and looked out for greater mischiefs as the consequence.

The citizens of London, who being rich from their trade, are enabled to live in state, and by whom the other parts of England are generally governed, foresaw that most dangerous consequences would ensue, unless they stepped forward, as they had wisely done formerly against king Edward and the Despencers, who had forced queen Isabella and the prince of Wales out of the kingdom, and wanted to destroy them. The king had no cause for so doing, but they were absent from England three years. When the Londoners perceived king Edward so besotted with the Despencers, they provided a remedy, by sending secretly to queen Isabella information, that if she could collect a body of three hundred armed men, and land with them in England, she would find the citizens of London, and the majority of the nobles and commonalty, ready to join her, and place her on the throne. The queen found a friend in sir John of Hainault, lord of Beaumont and Chimay, and brother to count William of Hainault, who undertook, through affection and pity, to carry her and her son back to England. He exerted himself so much in her service, with knights and squires, that he collected a body of four hundred, and landed them in England, to the great comfort of the Londoners. The citizens joined them, for, without their assistance, they would never have accomplished their enterprise. King Edward was made prisoner at Bristol, and carried to Berkeley-castle, where he died. His advisers were all put to death with much cruelty; and that same day king Edward III. was crowned king of England, in the palace of Westminster.

The Londoners remembered all these circumstances very well; for the children of those days, now become men, had often had them told by their fathers, and others read them in the chronicles of those times. They therefore said to one another privately,—"Our ancestors, in former days, provided a remedy for the mischiefs that afflicted the country, which were not so alarming as at this moment: if this wicked king Richard be suffered to rule according to his pleasure, we must all be ruined, and the country destroyed. Ever since he began his reign, the kingdom has not prospered to the degree in which it did before: he shows no signs of being the son of the prince of Wales; for, if he were his son, he would follow his manners, and take pleasure in imitating his prowess, instead of idly dallying with ladies, and spending his time among them, or putting his confidence in those who have neither weight nor sense but in amassing treasures and destroying England. Have not the traitors near his person infamously murdered that valiant duke of Gloucester, because he saw clearly public affairs were badly governed, going on from bad to worse, and spoke boldly the truth concerning them? Have they not also put to death that gallant knight the earl of Arundel, and banished England, without reason, the gentle sir Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, by whom, and his four promising sons, the kingdom ought to be supported? This cruel conduct is much aggravated; for, while they make the earl suffer many disgusts beyond sea, they have disinherited his children of the estates that devolved to them from their grandmother, the lady Blanche of Lancaster, by dividing and distributing them daily to those who are unworthy to possess them. Because those two gallant knights, the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy, have spoken their minds on this subject, king Richard has also banished them: it is clear there will not soon be any men of courage and honesty in the country, and hatreds and discontents are now increasing everywhere, so that if a remedy be not sought for, all things will fall to ruin. The remedy is in the earl of Derby, who is now

losing his time in France: him we must send for, and, on his arrival, appoint him regent of the kingdom, that he may reform all abuses, and punish those who have used him so ill. Richard of Bordeaux must be arrested and confined in the Tower of London, when all his actions will be examined and put into writing, which are sufficiently numerous, and will prove clearly he is unworthy to govern a kingdom or wear a crown: his acts are so infamous, that they will condemn him."

CHAPTER CVII.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IS SENT TO FRANCE BY THE LONDONERS, AND OTHERS OF THEIR PARTY IN ENGLAND, TO BRING BACK THE EARL OF DERBY.

Such was the language of the Londoners, and of many others throughout England; but, although much was done to excite the people to insurrections, they would never have attempted what they did, if the Londoners had not set them the example. The citizens of London, who, from their power and wealth, lead the rest of England, held several secret councils, to which were admitted some prelates and knights, when they resolved to send in search of the earl of Derby, who was residing at Paris or thereabout, and bring him back to England. On his return, they were to remonstrate with him on the weak government of wicked king Richard, and propose, if he would undertake it, to give him the crown, and elect him and his heirs kings for ever, on condition that he promised to govern according to the ancient usages of the country. They next thought on the most proper person to send on this commission: he must be prudent and brave; for it would be a grand enterprise to seduce the earl from France, when the king and his uncles were showing him every token of love and courtesy; and he would not put any belief in the simple propositions of a low-born person, nor in any letters that were sent him, but rather the contrary. In consequence, they entreated the archbishop of Canterbury*, a man of prudence and wisdom, to undertake it, who, for the good of his country, complied with the request. He made his preparations for the journey so privately, that none knew of his departure but those in the secret. He, with six more, embarked on board a vessel on the Thames, and landed at Sluys, thence he went to Ardembourg, Ghent, Oudenarde, Ath, Condé and Valenciennes, and stopped at the hôtel of the Swan, in the market-place. Having staid there three days to recover himself, he pursued his journey, not as archbishop of Canterbury, but like a simple monk on a pilgrimage, discovering to no one his rank, nor the business he was about. He departed from Valenciennes the fourth day, having hired a guide to conduct him to Paris, giving out that he was on a pilgrimage to Saint Maur des Fossés†. He arrived at length where the earl of Derby resided, which was, I believe, at the hôtel de Vinchester‡, near to Paris.

When the earl of Derby first saw the archbishop, his heart rejoiced and he recovered his spirits. Those about him were well pleased, for they concluded he had brought some important intelligence from England. The archbishop, however, did not discover the cause of his coming, and, to prevent any suspicions of it, said he was on a pilgrimage to Saint Maur des Fossés, which the earl's attendants believed and were satisfied. When the archbishop thought it was time to make the object of his journey known, he took the earl into a private chamber, and there informed him of the miserable state England was in; that violence and desolation ruled in many parts, and that, by the king's fault, there was neither law nor justice: that the Londoners, with some prelates and valiant men, had determined to remedy these evils, and that for this he had been sent by them to say, that if the earl would return to England (for he was wasting his time in France) they would make him king: Richard of Bordeaux had done, or consented to so many atrocious acts, that the

* Thomas Fitz-alan, son to the earl of Arundel.

† Saint Maur des Fossés,—a town in the Isle of France, diocese of Paris.

‡ Froissart has said before, the earl of Derby resided at the hotel de Clisson, near the Temple. This hotel de Vinchester was so called from having been built by John bishop of Winchester 1204. It belonged, at the period we are now speaking of, to the duke of Berry.—*Sauval, Antiquités de Paris.*

There seems a mistake as to the name of the bishop of Winchester. Peter de Rupibus was bishop 1204, and died 1238.

This hotel de Vinchester is pronounced, by corruption, Bicêtre, and is now used as a prison, an hospital, and an asylum for lunatics; the buildings having been much extended in modern times.



The interview of the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Earl of Derby, at Paris.

people were indignant, and resolved to rise against him. "Now is the time, or never," added the archbishop, "for you to seek your deliverance, and the advantage of yourself and children; for, if you do not, no one else will for them, since this Richard of Bordeaux is giving away all their estates to his minions, or to whoever asks for them. The citizens of London, and many other gallant men, are greatly enraged at such conduct, and would amend it if they could, though hitherto they have been silent. He has filled up the measure of his crimes by the murder of the duke of Gloucester, the beheading of the earl of Arundel without cause, the exile of the earl of Warwick, and your banishment; clearly showing his intentions to deprive England of its nobles and the support she might have from them, for he has lately banished the earl of Northumberland and his son because they talked too freely of him and his ministers. The citizens of London and the greater part of the prelates and barons of England entreat you will not sleep over this business, but that you will take leave of the king of France and the French, and return home, where you will be joyfully received, and every promise I have made be punctually fulfilled, for the country desire none other than you for their king, so much are you beloved and respected."

When the earl of Derby had heard this speech of the archbishop, he did not immediately reply, but, leaning on a window that looked into the gardens, mused awhile, and having various thoughts in his mind, turned to the bishop, and said: "My lord, your speech requires much consideration. I would be unwilling to begin an enterprise and be forced to leave it unfinished, for I well know, that unless by the means you propose, it will be a long time before I return to England. I am loth to resort to this, for the king of France and his nobles have paid me every honour and attention, and will continue so to do, as long as I shall please to live among them. Should I accept of the offers and kind promises which you and my good friends the citizens of London make, I must subject myself to their will, arrest king Richard, and put him to death. For this I shall be universally blamed, and I would not willingly do so, if any other means could be adopted." "My lord," replied the archbishop, "I am sent hither with every good disposition towards you. Call in your council, and lay before them the propositions I have made: I will also explain why I am deputed hither, and I do not think they will advise you to act otherwise than to accept them." "I consent," said the earl, "for such matters demand great consideration."

The earl of Derby sent for those knights and squires in whom he had the most confidence, and in their presence desired the archbishop to repeat what he had just told him; which being done, he asked their advice how he should act. They unanimously answered,— "My lord, God has taken compassion on you: be careful how you refuse such offers, for you will never have more advantageous ones made you. Whoever will examine your blood will find that it descends in a straight line from Saint Edward, king of England. Thank your good friends the Londoners for wishing to deliver you from exile, and for having pity on your children and the kingdom of England, which now is sorely troubled. Have you forgotten the many wrongs this Richard of Bordeaux has done you, and who does not dissemble his wishes to add to them daily. When your marriage with the lady Mary of Berry was on the point of being concluded, did he not send over the earl of Salisbury to break off the match, and to accuse you before the king and his whole court of being a false and wicked traitor? Such things are unpardonable, and you should rather seek for means of revenge. If you will not help yourself, no one will do it for you: consider well, therefore, all we have said."

CHAPTER CVIII.—THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING AND LORDS OF FRANCE, TO VISIT HIS COUSIN THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

The earl of Derby's courage was raised on hearing his council thus boldly declare their opinion, and he said,—"I will do whatever you advise, for I have called you together to have your counsel." They unanimously answered, "You say well; and we will advise you, according to circumstances, to the best of our power." After this, they carried on their business so very secretly, that none of the household but those immediately concerned knew

anything of what was going forward. They consulted how they could cross the sea before any news of their intention should reach England, and whether to travel through Hainault and Holland, and embark at Dordrecht, or to go to Brittany under pretence of visiting the duke, sail from one of his ports, and land at Plymouth or any other place whither God might please to send them. Everything considered, they thought the road through Brittany the easiest accomplished: and they advised the earl, saying,—"My lord, you will take leave of the king of France, his brother, and uncles, and thank them warmly for the affection and courtesy they have shown you. After this, you will request the king to grant you an escort to Brittany, to visit the duke and stay some time with him."

The earl of Derby consented, and came to Paris, where all things were prepared for his departure: he waited on the king as usual whenever he pleased, for the doors of the palace were open to him at all hours. At this last visit, he talked to the king very ably, as he knew well how to do, as to his future plans, and said he would go and amuse himself in Brittany and visit the duke, whom he called his uncle, for he had married a sister to his father, daughter to king Edward. The king, not thinking he was plotting mischief, easily assented: and the earl, having requested an escort to Brittany, the king promised to give instant orders for one to be at his command. To shorten the matter, the earl managed his affairs with much discretion, and took leave of all the lords who were then at court: on his departure, he made very handsome presents to the king's officers, for he was bounden so to do; and to the heralds and minstrels resident in Paris, and who attended the farewell supper he gave at the hôtel de Clisson to such of the French knights as chose to partake of it.



Earl of Derby taking leave of the King and Lords of France at Paris. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

These things done, on the next morning he and his attendants mounted their horses and left Paris by the gate of St. James, following the road to Estampes. A knight from Beauce, called sir Guy le Baveux, escorted them. They continued their journey to Blois, where they remained eight days; for the earl had sent forward one of his knights and a herald, to signify to the duke his intention of visiting him, and the circumstance of his being on the road. The duke of Brittany was very happy to learn that his nephew, the earl of Derby, was coming to see him; for he was attached to him, and had always loved the duke of Lancaster and his other brothers. "Why," said the duke to the knight, whose name was sir William de la Perriere, "has our nephew stopped on the road, since he intends to visit us, and has not come directly hither?" The knight excused him as well as he could; but

the duke said,—"It is foolish; for there is no knight whom for these last seven years I should more gladly see in Brittany than my fair nephew the earl of Derby. Let him come to us with a hearty welcome, and he shall find my country and towns open and ready to receive him." The knight was well contented with this answer, and set out on his return as speedily as possible. On his arrival at Blois, he told the earl and his council the words of the duke of Brittany. On the morrow they mounted their horses, and left Blois, with the good wishes of the inhabitants, who had been paid most liberally for everything they had wanted, and all were contented.

In company with the earl of Derby was sir Peter de Craon, who had been so much harassed by the parliament of Paris in his suit with the queen of Naples, that he was in a manner banished France, and all his castles and estates sequestered for payment of the one hundred thousand francs he was indebted to the queen, and various other heavy sums incidental to the costs and expenses of this suit. The earl of Derby journeyed on until he came to Nantes, where he met the duke of Brittany, who received him and his company with much joy. Sir Guy le Baveux returned to France, and the earl staid with the duke, who entertained him in the best manner. The archbishop of Canterbury accompanied the earl, but did not open himself to any one on the cause of his coming, so that it was a perfect secret excepting to the earl and his council. The duke, to show his love, spared no expense in entertaining his nephew and his attendants, although he knew king Richard was very wrath against him, for which he pitied him.

The earl, noticing the great affection of the duke, by the advice of his council discovered some parts of his plan, by way of sounding him on the subject. He asked his advice how to act in respect to his inheritances of the duchy of Lancaster and others which his father had held, and by right of succession had at his death devolved on him; but that the king, far from allowing him to have possession of them, had banished him from England, and was daily giving away the estates of his family to any who asked for them; that numbers of nobles and prelates were exceedingly discontented with the king for this conduct, and that many parts of England were in a state of warfare against each other; that the good people of London had compassion on him, and had given him to understand they would cheerfully receive him, if he would return, and bring about a reconciliation between him and the king, and recover for him his inheritances. When the duke of Brittany heard this, he replied,—"Fair nephew, the straightest road is always the best and surest. You are in a distressing situation, and ask advice: I therefore recommend you to trust to the Londoners: they are powerful, and will force king Richard, who, I understand, has behaved to you very unjustly, to do as they shall please, in conjunction with the prelates and nobles who are attached to you in England. I will assist you with vessels, men at arms, and cross-bows, to convey you over the sea, and to defend you against any dangers you may meet with." The earl of Derby was very thankful to the duke of Brittany for this advice and offer.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE EARL OF DERBY SAILS FROM BRITTANY TO ENGLAND.—HIS RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

Thus were all things settled most amicably between the duke of Brittany and the earl of Derby, who staid some time with the duke, and gave out that he would remain longer; but, in the mean time, his purveyances were preparing at a distant sea-port, which I believe was Vannes, whither the duke and earl came when all things were ready. When the wind was favourable for England, the earl and his attendants embarked on board the vessel prepared for him. He was to be escorted by three ships full of men at arms and cross-bows, as far as the coasts of England. The fleet, having weighed anchor, put to sea, and the farther they advanced towards England, the more favourable was the wind, so that, within two days and as many nights, they arrived at Plymouth, where they landed few at a time, and entered the town *. The bailiff of Plymouth, to whom the king had intrusted the guard of

* This is a mistake: he probably coasted England, and landed at Ravenspurn in Yorkshire, between Hull and Bridlington.

the town, was astonished to see so many men at arms and cross-bows; but the archbishop of Canterbury satisfied him, by saying they were men at arms whom the duke of Brittany had sent for the good of the realm, and to serve the king and country. The bailiff's suspicions were lulled; and the earl so disguised himself that he was not discovered by any of the townsmen, and retired to a private chamber, where he remained shut up. The archbishop, on their arrival at Plymouth, instantly wrote letters, signed and sealed by him, which he despatched by one of his servants to London, to inform the citizens of the earl's landing

The messenger made such haste, by changing horses in the different towns he passed through, that he arrived at London by break of day on the following morning. He entered the city by London bridge gate, which was not shut, and went to the house of the mayor, who was in bed; but, on hearing a messenger was come from the archbishop, he leaped out of it, and ordered the man into his chamber, who gave him the letters from the archbishop. The mayor opened and read their contents with pleasure, and instantly dressing himself, sent off his servants with the intelligence of the earl of Derby's landing, to the houses of those who had been the most active in sending for him. All were rejoiced at the news; and about two hundred of the principal citizens assembled, who held no long council, for the case did not require it, but cried out,—"Come, let us hasten to make ourselves ready, and go and meet our lord of Lancaster, since we have invited him hither. The archbishop of Canterbury has done well to bring him; and let the earl's arrival be made known to such gallant lords and knights as are desirous to see him, and have him for their sovereign." Many persons were then selected to publish this intelligence, and carry it to the barons, knights, and squires of their party. Upwards of five hundred Londoners mounted their horses, and were so impatient to see the earl of Derby, that they would scarcely wait one for another.

The earl made no long stay at Plymouth, but on the morrow, when the horses were disembarked, mounted them and took the road to London. Sir Peter de Craon and the Bretons still accompanied the earl of Derby. The mayor of London and the chief citizens were the first who met the earl and the archbishop on the road. The meeting was very affectionate on both sides; and as they rode onward, they met more of the Londoners. They lay the first night at Guildford, twenty-eight miles from London. On the morrow, all the city of London knew that the earl of Derby was coming thither, and men, women, children, and clergy, dressed in their best clothes, went to meet him, so eager were they to see him. The moment he came in sight, they shouted out, "Welcome, long wished-for earl of Derby and duke of Lancaster: may all joy and prosperity attend you!" They said,—"that ever since he had left England nothing good had befallen it: by him all things would be restored, and put on a proper footing; for we have lived in a wretched state by the miserable councils of Richard of Bordeaux, but he is most blameable himself; for a king, to succeed in the good government of his kingdom, should have sense and discretion enough to distinguish between good and evil, otherwise he is unfit to wear a crown; but this Richard has, in many respects, acted wrong from design, as shall be proved against him." Such were the greetings the earl of Derby had on his approach to London. The mayor of London rode by the side of the earl, to the delight of the people, who were pleased to see how kindly they were received. The mayor said, "See, my lord, how much the people are rejoiced at your arrival." "It is very true," replied the earl. As he advanced, he bowed his head to the right and left, and noticed all comers with kindness.

In this state they arrived in London, when the earl was escorted to his house; and every one retired to his own until he had dined. Then the mayor, the chief magistrates of London, and many barons, knights, bishops, abbots, at the time in town, came to see the earl and congratulate him. The duchess of Gloucester and her two daughters, who were his cousins-german, waited likewise on him; but their brother Humphrey was with the king on his expedition to Ireland, more through constraint than love. With these ladies came the countess of Arundel and some of her children, as did the lady Warwick and many other ladies resident in London. The whole town was so rejoiced at the earl's return, that every shop was shut, and no more work done than if it had been Easter-day.

CHAPTER CX.—THE EARL OF DERBY, NOW DUKE OF LANCASTER, UNDERTAKES THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, AND, BY THE AID OF THE LONDONERS, DETERMINES TO SEIZE THE THRONE.—HE MARCHES IN ARMS AGAINST KING RICHARD AT BRISTOL.

To bring this matter to a conclusion, it was determined to march against the king, whom the citizens of London and other towns called by no other title than Richard of Bordeaux: and the lower classes had such a hatred to him, as not to be able to speak of him but in his dispraise. The Londoners already treated the earl of Derby as their king, and had formed resolutions accordingly. The earl of Derby engaged to undertake the government of England on condition the crown was settled on him and his heirs for ever, which the Londoners swore to observe, under their hands and seals, and promised that the rest of England should do the same in so solemn a manner that there never should be a question concerning it: they also promised him assistance in men and money. These obligations having been entered into on each side, which did not take much time, for they were in haste to free themselves, twelve hundred*, well armed and mounted, were ordered to accompany the earl of Derby towards Bristol, to make Richard of Bordeaux a prisoner, and conduct him to London. When there, he should be legally tried before the nobles, prelates, and commons of England, and judged according to the proof of the charges laid against him. It was also ordered, to avoid slanderous reports, that the men at arms and cross-bows, who had been lent by the duke of Brittany to the earl, as his escort, should be sent back, for they had men sufficient for the purpose they were about. The earl, in consequence, called the Bretons before him, thanked them warmly for the services they had rendered him, and on their departure, gave them so much money that they were contented. They returned to their vessels at Plymouth, and thence sailed to Brittany.

The earl of Derby was prepared to march to Bristol as commander-in-chief of these Londoners, for he was more interested in the matter than any one else, and set out in grand array. He pressed his march as much as he could, and was joined by all the countries he passed through. News was carried to the army of king Richard†, of the march of the earl of Derby and the Londoners; but it was known to many knights, squires, and archers, before the king; and several heard it who were afraid to tell him. When it became more public, there were many murmurings in the army; and those about the person of the king were exceedingly alarmed, for they now saw matters were ripe with every mischief and danger to the king and to themselves. They knew they had many enemies in the kingdom; and that such as had hitherto kept up fair appearances, now the earl of Derby was come back, would turn against them. Thus did it happen; for numbers of knights and squires who had served the king in this campaign, dissembled, and quitted him without taking leave, or saying they were going away. Some retired to their houses, and others went straight to the earl of Derby and joined his army. As soon as Humphrey of Gloucester, and Richard of Arundel, son to the late earl, knew for certain of the earl of Derby's approach, they left the king, and never stopped until they had joined him. The earl and his army had passed Oxford, and were then at a town called Cirencester: he had great joy in receiving his cousins, and asked the state of king Richard, where he was, and how they had managed to quit him. They replied, that they had not spoken to him of their departure: but the moment they had heard of his march, they had mounted their horses, and hastened to offer him their services, and to revenge the loss of their fathers, whom Richard of Bordeaux had put to death. The earl bade them welcome, and said,—"We will mutually assist each other. Richard of Bordeaux must be carried to London, for so have I promised the Londoners, and will keep my word, and they are willing to aid me with all their power. We have men enough to fight with him; and, if he wish it, we will give him battle."

* "Twelve hundred,"—the MSS. say twelve thousand, which is more probable.

† Richard was in Ireland when the news arrived.—Ed.

CHAPTER CXI.—KING RICHARD IS INFORMED THAT THE EARL OF DERBY IS MARCHING AGAINST HIM WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.—HE RETIRES TO FLINT-CASTLE*.

When matters could not longer be concealed, it was told to king Richard,—"Sire, take care of yourself: you must have good and speedy counsel, for the Londoners have risen with a mighty power, and intend to march against you. They have elected the earl of Derby, your cousin, their commander, and by his advice they act: you may be assured that some strong treaties, have been entered into between them, since he has crossed the sea by their invitation." The king was thunderstruck at hearing this, and knew not what answer to make; for his courage forsook him, and he foresaw affairs would end badly unless proper steps were immediately taken. Having mused a while, he replied to the knights who had given him this information,—"Instantly make ready our men at arms and archers, and issue a special summons throughout the kingdom for the assembling of all my vassals, as I will not fly before my subjects." "By God," answered the knights, "everything goes badly, for your men are leaving you and running off. You have already lost half your army, and the remainder are panicstruck and wavering." "What can I do then?" asked the king. "We will tell you, sire: quit the field, for you cannot hold it longer, and make for one of your castles, where you can remain until your brother, Sir John Holland, who is enterprising and courageous, and must now have heard of the rebellion, come to you: he will, by force or negotiations, bring your affairs into a different state from that in which they are at present. When it is known that he has taken the field, many who have fled from you will join him." The king agreed to this advice. The earl of Salisbury was not then with him, but in another part of the country; and, when he heard that the earl of Derby was marching a large army against the king, he judged things would turn out badly for his master, and for all who had been his advisers. He therefore remained quiet, waiting for further intelligence.

The duke of York had not accompanied the king on this expedition: but his son, the earl of Rutland, had been induced to join him, for two reasons; one, in return for the great affection king Richard had shown him; the other, because he was constable of England. It was therefore necessary he should attend his king. Other news was brought the king, as he supped: they said,—"Sire, you must determine how you will act; for your army is as nothing compared to the force marching against you, and a combat will be of no avail, and appease the malcontents as you have formerly done, by kind words and fair promises, and punish them afterwards at your leisure. There is a castle twelve miles from hence, called Flint, that is tolerably strong: we therefore advise that you fly thither and remain shut up as long as you please, or until you hear other news from sir John Holland and your friends. We will send to Ireland for succour; and when the king of France, your father-in-law, shall hear of your distress, he will assist you."

King Richard listened to this advice, and thought it good: he selected such as he wished to accompany him, and ordered the earl of Rutland to remain at Bristol with the remnant of the army, ready prepared to advance when they should hear other news, or when they should be sufficiently strong to combat their enemies. These commands were obeyed; and the king, attended by his household only, departed on the ensuing morning for Flint-castle, which they entered without showing any appearance of making war on any one, but solely to defend themselves and the place, should they be attacked†.

CHAPTER CXII.—KING RICHARD SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO THE EARL OF DERBY, TO BE CONDUCTED TO LONDON.

The earl of Derby and the Londoners had spies who brought them daily accounts of the state of the king, which were confirmed by knights and squires, who had left his army to join the earl. The intelligence of the king having fled to Flint-castle was soon known to him;

* It was Conway castle to which Richard retired.

† This account of Froissart is very incorrect, and I refer to the different English chronicles.

and that he had there shut himself up with a few men at arms, of his household, showing no symptoms of making war, but to get out of his difficulties, if possible, by a treaty. The earl was advised to march thither, and get possession of his person by force or otherwise. This was followed; and, when the army was within two miles of Flint, they came to a village, where they halted, and the earl refreshed himself with meat and drink. He there resolved in his own mind, without consulting others, to march with only two hundred horse, leaving the rest behind, and, when near the castle wherein the king was, to endeavour, by fair speeches, to enter the castle, and cajole the king to come forth and trust to him, who would insure him against all perils on his road to London, engaging that he should not suffer any bodily harm, and promising to mediate between him and the Londoners, who were greatly enraged against him. This plan was approved of by those to whom he mentioned it; but he was told,—"My lord, beware of any dissimulation in the business: Richard of Bordeaux must be taken, dead or alive, with all the traitors who have been his advisers, and conducted to the Tower of London. Neither the Londoners nor we will hear anything to the contrary." The earl of Derby replied,—"Do not fear: what I have proposed shall be executed. If I can by fair words get him out of the castle, I will do it; but if he refuse to listen to me, I shall instantly make you acquainted with it. You will advance the main army immediately, and we will besiege the castle, and by assault have him dead or alive, for the place is to be taken."

The Londoners were now satisfied, and the earl left the army with two hundred horse. They soon came before the castle, where the king was shut up in one of the chambers much cast down. The earl and his men rode to the gate, which was closed, for the case required it, and knocked loudly. Those within asked, "Who is there?" The earl replied, "I am Henry of Lancaster, and am come to demand from the king my inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster. Tell him so from me." "My lord," answered those who heard him, "we will cheerfully do it," and instantly ascended to the hall where the king was with those of his knights that had for a long time been his chief counsellors, and related the message, for he was eager to hear who had so rudely knocked at the gate—"Sire, it is your cousin the earl of Derby, who is come to demand his inheritance from you." The king looked at his knights, and asked how he should act. "Sire," replied they, "this request is no way improper: you may allow him to come into your presence, with only eleven others, and hear what he has to say. He is your cousin, and a great lord of the country, and can besides, if he please, make up all differences; for he is exceedingly beloved in England, more especially by the Londoners, who sent for him beyond sea, and are now in rebellion against you. You must dissemble until matters be appeased, and the earl of Huntingdon, your brother, arrived. It is unfortunate for him and you that he is at this moment at Calais; for there are many in England who now rebel against you, that, were he by your side, would remain quiet, and not dare take any part. He is married to the sister of the earl of Derby, and by his good sense and exertions, we hope and suppose he will make peace between you and your people."

The king consented to this proposal, and said, "Go to him: have the gates opened that he and eleven more may enter." Two knights then left the king, and, crossing the court of the castle, came to the gate, and had the wicket opened. Having passed it, they bowed to the earl of Derby and to his knights, addressing them in courteous language; for they felt they had no force to resist them, and that they were hated by the Londoners. They wished therefore to accommodate matters by fair speeches and outward appearances. They said to the earl, "My lord, what is your pleasure? The king is at mass, and has sent us hither to speak with you." "I will tell you," answered the earl. "You know that I ought to have possession of the duchy of Lancaster: I am come partly on that account, and on some other business I wish to speak of to the king." "My lord," replied they, "you are welcome: the king will see and hear you with pleasure, and has told us that you and eleven more may enter the castle." The earl said it pleased him; and he and eleven others passed the wicket, which was instantly shut on the others who remained without.

Consider the great risk and danger the earl of Derby ran, for they could as easily have slain him, when in the castle (which they should have done, right or wrong), and his companions, as birds in a cage. He never thought of the peril he was in, but went straight

forward and was conducted to the king. The king, on seeing, him, changed colour, as one who knew he had greatly misconducted himself. The earl spoke aloud, without paying any reverence or honour to the king, and asked him, "Have you broken your fast?" The king answered, "No: it is yet early morn: why do you ask?" "It is time you should breakfast," replied the earl, "for you have a long way to ride." "What road?" said the king. "You must come to London," answered the earl: "and I advise that you eat and drink heartily, to perform the journey more gaily." The king was now very melancholy, and frightened at these words: he said, "I am not as yet hungry, nor have I any desire to eat." The knights, desirous to flatter the earl of Derby (perceiving things were taking a serious turn), said, "Sire, have confidence in my lord of Lancaster, your cousin, for he can but wish your good." "Well," said the king, "I am willing so to do: have the tables covered."

They hastened to obey these orders; and the king washed his hands, seated himself at table, and was served. They asked the earl if he would not be seated, and eat. He said, "no; for that he had breakfasted." During the time the king was eating (which was not long, for his heart was too much oppressed to eat) the whole country was covered with men at arms and archers, who could be plainly seen from the windows of the castle. The king, on rising from table, perceived them, and asked his cousin the earl who they were. He replied, "For the most part Londoners." "And what do they want?" said the king. "They want to take you," answered the earl, "and carry you to the Tower of London, and there is not any means of pacifying them, unless you consent to go." "No!" replied the king, who was much frightened at hearing this, for he knew the Londoners hated him, and continued, "cannot you, cousin, prevent this? I would not willingly yield myself into their hands; for I am aware they hate me, and have done so for a long time, although I am their sovereign." The earl of Derby answered,—"I see no other way to prevent it, but to surrender yourself to me, and, when they know you are my prisoner, they will not do you any harm. You must make preparations to be conducted and imprisoned in the Tower of London with your attendants." The king, not knowing how to act in his distress, and fearing the Londoners would put him to death, yielded himself prisoner to the earl of Derby, promising to do whatever he should advise. His knights, squires and officers, surrendered in like manner, to avoid greater danger. The earl, in the presence of those who had accompanied him, received the king and his attendants as his prisoners, and ordered the horses to be instantly saddled, brought to the court, and the gates of the castle to be thrown open, on which many men at arms and archers entered it.

The earl of Derby now issued a proclamation, that no one should dare to touch anything in the castle, or lay hands on any servant or officer of the king, under pain of being instantly hanged, for that every person and thing were under his special protection and guard. This was obeyed, for there was not one bold enough to act contrary. The earl conducted his cousin, king Richard, down stairs to the court of the castle, continuing in close conversation with him, where he had his usual state, without the smallest change having been made in it. While they were saddling the horses, and making ready, they talked on different subjects, and were much looked at by the Londoners.

I heard of a singular circumstance that happened, which I must mention. King Richard had a greyhound called Math*, beautiful beyond measure, who would not notice nor follow any one but the king. Whenever the king rode abroad, the greyhound was loosed by the person who had him in charge, and ran instantly to caress him, by placing his two fore feet on his shoulders. It fell out, that as the king and the duke of Lancaster were conversing in the court of the castle, their horses being ready for them to mount, the greyhound was untied, but, instead of running as usual to the king, he left him, and leaped to the duke of Lancaster's shoulders, paying him every court, and caressing him as he was formerly used to caress the king. The duke, not acquainted with this greyhound, asked the king the meaning of this fondness, saying, "What does this mean?" "Cousin," replied the king, "it means a great deal for you, and very little for me." "How?" said the duke: "pray

* The Museum MSS. call this greyhound Blemach, mine Mach. The greyhound seems to have been a favourite prognosticator in these times; for, when the armies of the two rivals, John of Montford and Charles de Blois, were on the point of engaging, the lord Charles's greyhound left him and caressed John of Montford, who gained the battle.

explain it." "I understand by it," answered the king, "that this greyhound fondles and pays his court to you this day as king of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed, for the natural instinct of the dog shows it to him. Keep him therefore by your side, for he will now leave me, and follow you." The duke of Lancaster treasured up what the king had said, and paid attention to the greyhound, who would never more follow Richard of Bordeaux, but kept by the side of the duke of Lancaster, as was witnessed by thirty thousand men.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE LADY OF COUCY IS TAKEN AWAY FROM THE YOUNG QUEEN OF ENGLAND, AND A NEW HOUSEHOLD APPOINTED FOR HER.—KING RICHARD IS CONFINED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Having mounted their horses, they departed from Flint-castle*, and Henry duke of Lancaster, whom we shall no longer call earl of Derby, rode by the king's side, and at times conversed with him. They were surrounded by a large body of men at arms and archers. Those of the king's party advanced by themselves, and the first town they lay at was Oxford†; for the duke of Lancaster avoided all the large towns and castles, by keeping in the open country, for fear of insurrections of the people. The duke disbanded a great part of his army, saying, "he had enough for the completion of his business, as the king could not now fly nor escape from him. We will carry him and his advisers to London, and securely place them in the Tower. They are my prisoners, and I can take them any where: return, therefore, to your homes until you shall again hear from me." All assented to this proposal of the duke, who took the direct road to Windsor; and the Londoners, except those he had kept with him, went to their homes. The duke of Lancaster, on leaving Windsor, did not follow the road to Colnbrook, but that to Shene, and dined with the king at Chertsey. King Richard had earnestly requested his cousin not to carry him through London, which was the reason they had gone this road.

As soon as the Londoners were masters of the king, they sent some of the principal citizens to queen Isabella, who resided with the lady of Coucy at Leeds castle. She was next in rank to the queen; and they addressed her,—"Lady, make preparations of departure, for you must not longer remain here. Take care, on quitting the queen, that you show not any tokens of anger at being dismissed; but say, that your husband and daughter have sent for you. This we advise you to do, if you regard your life; for, should you act any way contrary, it will be forfeited. You have no need to ask questions, nor make inquiries: you shall be conducted to Dover, and embark on board a passage-boat to convey you to Boulogne." The lady of Coucy, afraid of these manaces, and knowing those who made them to be cruel and full of hatred, replied, "that in God's name, she would do as they wished." Preparations were soon made: palfreys and hackneys were provided for herself and attendants; and all the French of both sexes set off, escorted as far as Dover, when they were liberally paid, according to their degrees. The first tide, they embarked on board a vessel, with a favourable wind to Boulogne. The household of the queen was thus broken up, and neither French nor English were left with her who were attached to king Richard. A new one was formed of ladies, damsels, officers, and varlets, who were strictly enjoined never to mention the name of king Richard in their conversations with her.

* Conway castle.

† "After the king had been carried to the duke of Lancaster at Chester, on the third day the duke departed with his prisoner thence to Nantwich; the next day to Newcastle, and there the earl of Warwick's son met them; and so journeying forth, the next day they came to Stafford, and after they departed to Lichfield, where the king thought to have escaped, slipping down into a garden, out of a window of a great tower; but he was espied, and brought into the tower again. From Lichfield, the duke went to Coventry; but, before they could come thither, the Welshmen did them much mischief, and slew many of them; and the Englishmen, when they by great chance could take any of them, they tied to their horses' tails, and drew them after them through ways full of stones, and caused them to die miserably.

"The duke passed from Coventry to Daventry, the next day to Northampton, from thence to Dunstable, and then to Saint Albans. Within five or six miles before his coming to London, the mayor and the companies in their liveries, with great noise of trumpets, met the duke, doing more reverence to him than to the king, rejoicing that God had sent them such a prince, that had conquered the realm within one month's space," &c.—*Stowe's Chronicle*, by Howes, pp. 322, 323.

The duke of Lancaster and his company, on their departure from Chertsey, rode to Shene, and, during the night, conducted the king and such of his knights and others as they wished to confine, to the Tower of London. On the morrow, the Londoners heard the king was in the Tower, and were much rejoiced; but there were many murmurings that he had been brought thither privately, and the people were very angry with the duke of Lancaster because he had not carried him publicly through the streets in open day, not to do him honour, but that they might show their scorn, so much was he hated by them. Consider how serious a thing it is when the people rise up in arms against their sovereign, more especially such a people as the English. In such a case, there is no remedy; for they are the worst people in the world, the most obstinate and presumptuous; and of all England the Londoners are the leaders, for, to say the truth, they are very powerful in men and in wealth. In the city and neighbourhood, there are twenty-four thousand men, completely armed from head to foot, and full thirty thousand archers. This is a great force, and they are bold and courageous; and the more blood is spilt, the greater their courage.

CHAPTER CXIV.—THE EARL OF RUTLAND, CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND, HEARING THE KING HAS SURRENDERED, DISMISSES HIS MEN AT ARMS.—FOUR KNIGHTS OF THE KING'S CHAMBER, HAVING BEEN PUT TO DEATH BY THE LONDONERS, HE IS ADVISED BY THOSE WHO WERE IMPRISONED WITH HIM TO RESIGN HIS CROWN TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

We will speak of the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, at this time constable of England, who had remained at Bristol with his brother-in-law the lord de Spencer, and their men. When they learnt that the castle the king had retired to was invested, and that the king, on his surrendering, was carried to London, they instantly foresaw the event, and that it must end badly for king Richard. They determined not to stay longer where they were, but dismissing their men at arms, except such as were attached to their persons, left Bristol, and rode to a very handsome seat* the lord de Spencer had in Wales, where they remained until they heard other intelligence. The duke of York resided at his own castle with his people, and interfered not in what was passing in the country, nor had done so for a long time, but taking all things as they happened, although he was very much vexed that there should be such great differences between his nephew, the king, and his relations.

We will return to king Richard. When the duke of Lancaster had imprisoned him and those of his council in the Tower, and placed sure guards over them, the first thing he did was to recall the earl of Warwick from his banishment, and to give him his liberty. He next sent to summon the earl of Percy and his son sir Harry Percy to attend him, which they did. He then inquired how he could lay hands on those four companions who had strangled his uncle in the castle of Calais, and at length succeeded in arresting the whole four, and would not have taken twenty thousand nobles for their deliverance. He had them confined in separate prisons in London. The duke then consulted with his council and the citizens what should be done with Richard of Bordeaux, who was confined in the great Tower of London, wherein king John of France was once imprisoned, during the campaign of king Edward in France. It was resolved that the king should be deprived of all his state and outward marks of royalty, if they wished to act prudently, for the news of his arrest would make a great noise throughout Christendom, as they had acknowledged him twenty-two years as their king, and now held him a prisoner.

They examined the whole acts of his reign, and drew up twenty-eight articles against him, with which they came to the Tower, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, and some knights and squires of his council. They entered the king's apartment without speaking to him, or paying any kind of respect, and read to him these charges. He did not deny them, for he knew they were true, but said that everything he had done was by the advice of his council. He was told to name those who had been his principal advisers, which he did, hoping to escape by throwing the blame on them, as he had formerly done, and they to receive the

* D. Sauvage calls this seat Heulle. My MS. says only a very handsome manor, which I suppose must have been Caerphilly in Glamorganshire.

punishment; but this was not the intention of those Londoners who had confined him. At this time they said nothing further, but went away: the duke of Lancaster to his own house, leaving the mayor and men of law to act as they pleased.

The mayor went to the town-house of London, called the Guildhall, where justice is administered to the citizens, followed by crowds of people, expecting something effective to be done, as indeed there was. I will detail what passed. First, all the articles which had been drawn up against the king and read to him, were again read aloud, with comments by the person who read them, adding, that the king had not denied their truth, but confessed he had done them through the advice of four knights of his chamber, by whose counsels he had put to death the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Arundel, and sir Thomas Corbet, and that they had for a long time excited him to these acts. Such deeds were unpardonable, and must be punished; for by them and their fellows had the courts of justice been shut at Westminster, and all the other royal courts throughout England, which had caused great mischiefs, and encouraged bands of robbers to pillage merchants travelling from town to town, and to plunder the houses of farmers. By these means the kingdom of England had been almost irrecoverably ruined; and it was to be supposed, from this wanton neglect of England, that Calais or Guisnes, or both, would have been given up to their enemies the French. Such speeches as the above made an impression on the minds of the people, so that many of the discontented said,—"These things are deserving punishment, that others may take example; and Richard of Bordeaux has so much disgraced himself, that he is unworthy of wearing a crown, and ought to be deprived of all honours, and confined to pass his future life on bread and water, and subsist on that as he could." Some of the lower classes cried out,—"Sir mayor, you and your companions, who are the distributors of justice, look that it be done: we insist upon it, and spare no man. You see, by what you have told us, that the case requires it, and immediately, for they have convicted themselves."

The mayor and the lawyers retired to the judgment-seat, and the four knights were condemned to death. They were sentenced to be brought before the apartment of the Tower of London in which king Richard was confined, that he might see them from the windows, and thence drawn on sledges by horses through the streets to Cheapside, each person separately, and there beheaded, their heads affixed to spikes on London-bridge, and their bodies hung on a gibbet, and there left. When this sentence was pronounced, they hastened to execute it. Everything being prepared, the mayor of London, and the lords who had assisted him in this judgment, set out from Guildhall with a large body of people, and came to the Tower of London, where they seized the four knights of the king, sir Bernard Brocas, the lord Marclais, master John Derby, receiver of Lincoln, and the lord Stelle, steward of the king's household. They were brought into the court, and each tied to two horses, in the sight of all in the Tower, who were eye-witnesses of it as well as the king, who were much displeased, and in despair; for the remainder of the king's knights that were with him looked for similar treatment, so cruel and revengeful did they know the Londoners to be. Without saying a word, these four were dragged from the Tower, through the streets to Cheapside, and, on a fishmonger's stall, had their heads struck off, which were placed over the gate on London-bridge, and their bodies hung on a gibbet. After this execution every man retired to his home.

King Richard was much afflicted at finding himself in such danger from the citizens, and that his power was completely gone. He saw that all England was against him; and, if he had some few friends left, they could not assist him, for his enemies were too numerous. Those about him said; "Sire, we have not, as it seems, any great hope of saving our lives. When your cousin of Lancaster prevailed on you to yield yourself up to him, he promised that you and twelve of your knights should be his own prisoners, and no harm done to them: of these, four have just been put to a disgraceful death: we must expect the same, and will give you our reasons for it. The Londoners, who have urged him to do this deed, have made him enter into such engagements with them that he cannot act in any other manner. God will be very merciful to us if we are suffered to die here a natural death, for to die a disgraceful one makes us shudder." King Richard, on hearing them thus talk, wept bitterly, wrung his hands, and cursed the hour he had been born, when his end was so miserable.

Those around him pitied his distress, and comforted him as well as they were able. One of his knights said—"Sire, you must not be too much cast down. We see, as well as you, that this world is nothing, and that the fickleness of fortune is wonderful, sparing neither princes nor poor persons. The king of France, whose daughter you have married, cannot at this moment assist you, for he is too far off. If you can, by dissembling, escape from this peril, and save your life and ours, you will act well; and, within a year or two, your fortune may change."

"What would you have me do?" replied the king, "for there is nothing I will not attempt to save us." "Sire, we tell you for a truth, that from every appearance, the Londoners want to crown your cousin of Lancaster their king; and with this intent they sent for him from France, and have aided him in all his exploits. Now it is impossible, that so long as you shall be alive, this coronation can take place without your consent. Suppose, therefore, you were to offer your cousin terms, that we might escape the imminent danger we are in, and that you send to speak with him on business. On his coming, treat him affectionately, and say that you wish to resign the crown into his hands, and that he be king: by this means, you will soften him and appease the citizens. You will earnestly beg, that he allow you to finish your days here, or elsewhere; and for us to remain with you, or be separated, or banished abroad for our lives, at his pleasure; for he who loseth his life loseth everything." King Richard heard these words with comfort to his heart, and said he would act accordingly, for he saw his danger was very great. He gave his keepers to understand he would willingly speak with the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CXV.—KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND RESIGNS HIS CROWN AND KINGDOM INTO THE HANDS OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

Intelligence was carried to the duke of Lancaster that Richard of Bordeaux had a great desire to speak with him. The duke left his house in the evening, entered his barge with his knights, and was rowed down the Thames to the Tower, which he entered by a postern gate, and went to the apartment of the king. The king received him with great kindness, and humbled himself exceedingly like to one who perceives he is in a dangerous state. He addressed him—"Cousin, I have been considering my situation, which is miserable enough, and I have no longer any thoughts of wearing my crown or governing my people. As God may have my soul, I wish I were at this moment dead of a natural death, and the king of France had his daughter again; for we have never enjoyed any great happiness together, nor since I have brought her hither have I had the love my people bore me formerly. Cousin of Lancaster, when I look back, I am convinced I have behaved very ill to you, and to other nobles of my blood, for which I cannot expect peace nor pardon. All things, therefore, considered, I am willing freely to resign to you the crown of England; and I beg you will accept the resignation as a gift."

The duke replied, "that it would be necessary the three estates of the realm should hear this. I have issued summonses for the assembling the nobles, prelates, and deputies from the principal towns; and within three days a sufficiency will be collected for you to make your resignation in due form. By this act, you will greatly appease the hatred of the nation against you. To obviate the mischiefs that had arisen from the courts of justice being shut, and which had created an almost universal anarchy, was I sent for from beyond sea. The people wanted to crown me, for the common report in the country is, that I have a better right to the crown than you have. This was told to our grandfather, king Edward of happy memory, when he educated you, and had you acknowledged heir to the throne; but his love was so strong for his son, the prince of Wales, nothing could make him alter his purpose, but that you must be king. If you had followed the example of the prince, or attended to the advice of his counsellors, like a good son, who should be anxious to tread in the steps of a father, you might still have been king; but you have always acted so contrary, as to occasion the rumour to be generally believed throughout England and elsewhere, that you are not the son of the prince of Wales, but of a priest or canon.

"I have heard several knights, who were of the household of my uncle the prince, declare, that he was jealous of the princess's conduct. She was cousin-german to king Edward, who began to dislike her for not having children by his son, since he had, by her former marriage with sir Thomas Holland, stood godfather to two sons. She knew well how to keep the prince in her chains, having, through subtlety, enticed him to marry; but, fearful of being divorced by his father, for want of heirs, and that the prince would marry again, it was said she got connected with some one, by whom she had you and another son, who died in his infancy, and no judgment can be formed of his character: but you, from your manners and mode of acting, so contrary to the gallantry and prowess of the prince, are thought to be the son of a priest or canon; for, at the time of your birth, there were many young and handsome ones in the household of the prince at Bordeaux. Such is the report of this country, which your conduct has confirmed: for you have ever shown great affection to the French, and an inclination to live on good terms with them, to the loss and dishonour of England. Because my uncle of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel wished you would loyally defend the honour of the kingdom, by following the steps of your ancestors, you have treacherously put them to death.

"With regard to me, I have taken you under my protection, and will guard and preserve your life, through compassion, as long as I shall be able. I will likewise entreat the Londoners in your behalf, and the heirs of those you have put to death." "Many thanks,"



Richard II. resigning the Crown into the Hands of the Duke of Lancaster. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

answered the king: "I have greater confidence in you than in any other person in England." "You are in the right," replied the duke; "for, had I not stepped forward between you and the people, they would have seized you, and disgracefully killed you, in return for all your wicked acts, which are the cause of the dangerous state you are now in." King Richard heard all this patiently, for he saw that neither arguments nor force could avail, and that resignation and humility were his only arms. He therefore humbled himself exceedingly to the duke, earnestly begging that his life might be spared. The duke of Lancaster remained with the king upwards of two hours, and continued in his conversation to reproach him for all the faults he was accused of. He then took leave, re-entered his

barge, and returned to his house, and, on the morrow, renewed his orders for the assembly of the three estates of the realm.

The duke of York, and his son, the earl of Rutland, came to London, as did the earl of Northumberland and his brother, sir Thomas Percy, to whom the duke of Lancaster gave a hearty welcome, with numbers of prelates, bishops, and abbots. The duke of Lancaster, accompanied by a large body of dukes, prelates, earls, barons, knights, and principal citizens, rode to the Tower of London, and dismounted in the court. King Richard was released from his prison, and entered the hall which had been prepared for the occasion, royally dressed, the sceptre in his hand, and the crown on his head, but without supporters on either side. He addressed the company as follows: "I have reigned king of England, duke of Aquitaine, and lord of Ireland, about twenty-two years, which royalty, lordship, sceptre, and crown, I now freely and willingly resign to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and entreat of him, in the presence of you all, to accept this sceptre." He then tendered the sceptre to the duke of Lancaster, who took it and gave it to the archbishop of Canterbury. King Richard next raised the crown with his two hands from his head, and, placing it before him, said, "Henry, fair cousin, and duke of Lancaster, I present and give to you this crown, with which I was crowned king of England, and all the rights dependent on it."

The duke of Lancaster received it, and delivered it over to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was at hand to take it. These two things being done, and the resignation accepted, the duke of Lancaster called in a public notary, that an authentic act should be drawn up of this proceeding, and witnessed by the lords and prelates then present. Soon after, the king was conducted to where he had come from, and the duke and other lords mounted their horses to return home. The two jewels were safely packed up, and given to proper guards, to place them in the treasury of Westminster-abbey, until they should be called for when the parliament were assembled.

CHAPTER CXVI.—A PARLIAMENT MEETS AT WESTMINSTER, WHEN THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED KING OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT MAGNIFICENCE OF HIS CORONATION.

On a Wednesday, the last day of September 1399, Henry duke of Lancaster held a parliament at Westminster; at which were assembled the greater part of the clergy and nobility of England, and a sufficient number of deputies from the different towns, according to their extent and wealth. In this parliament, the duke of Lancaster challenged the crown of England, and claimed it as his own, for three reasons: first, by conquest; secondly, from being the right heir to it; and, thirdly, from the pure and free resignation of it to him, by king Richard, in the presence of the prelates, dukes and earls in the hall of the Tower of London. These three claims being made, he required the parliament to declare their opinion and will. Upon this, they unanimously replied, that it was their will he should be king, for they would have no other. He again asked, if they were positive in this declaration; and, when they said they were, he seated himself on the royal throne. This throne was elevated some feet from the floor, with a rich canopy of cloth of gold, so that he could be seen by all present. On the king's taking his seat, the people clapped their hands for joy, and held them up, promising him fealty and homage. The parliament was then dissolved, and the day of coronation appointed for the feast of Saint Edward, which fell on a Monday, the 13th of October.

On the Saturday before the coronation, the new king went from Westminster to the Tower of London, attended by great numbers, and those squires who were to be knighted watched their arms that night: they amounted to forty-six: each squire had his chamber and bath, in which he bathed. The ensuing day, the duke of Lancaster, after mass, created them knights, and presented them with long green coats, with straight sleeves lined with minever, after the manner of prelates. These knights had on their left shoulders a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging down. The duke of Lancaster left the Tower this Sunday after dinner, on his return to Westminster: he was bare-headed, and had round his



The Coronation of Henry IV.

neck the order of the king of France. The prince of Wales, six dukes, six earls, eighteen barons, accompanied him; and there were, of knights and other nobility, from eight to nine hundred horse in the procession. The duke was dressed in a jacket, after the German fashion, of cloth of gold, mounted on a white courser, with a blue garter on his left leg. He passed through the streets of London, which were all handsomely decorated with tapestries and other rich hangings: there were nine fountains in Cheapside, and other streets he passed through, which perpetually ran with white and red wines. He was escorted by prodigious numbers of gentlemen, with their servants in liveries and badges; and the different companies of London were led by their wardens clothed in their proper livery, and with ensigns of their trade. The whole cavalcade amounted to six thousand horse, which escorted the duke from the Tower to Westminster. That same night the duke bathed, and on the morrow confessed himself, as he had good need to do, and according to his custom heard three masses. The prelates and clergy who had been assembled then came in a large body in procession from Westminster-abbey, to conduct the king thither, and returned in the same manner, the king and his lords following them. The dukes, earls, and barons, wore long scarlet robes, with mantles trimmed with ermine, and large hoods of the same. The dukes and earls had three bars of ermine on the left arm, a quarter of a yard long, or thereabout: the barons had but two. All the knights and squires had uniform cloaks of scarlet lined with minever. In the procession to the church, the duke had borne over his head a rich canopy of blue silk, supported on silver staves, with four golden bells that rang at the corners, by four burgesses of Dover, who claimed it as their right. On each side of him were the sword of mercy and the sword of justice: the first was borne by the prince of Wales, and the other by the earl of Northumberland, constable of England, for the earl of Rutland had been dismissed. The earl of Westmoreland, marshal of England, carried the sceptre.



Coronation of Henry IV. From MSS. of 15th century.

The procession entered the church about nine o'clock; in the middle of which was erected a scaffold covered with crimson cloth, and in the centre a royal throne of cloth of gold. When the duke entered the church, he seated himself on the throne, and was thus in regal state, except having the crown on his head. The archbishop of Canterbury proclaimed from the four corners of the scaffold, how God had given them a man for their lord and sovereign, and then asked the people if they were consenting to his being consecrated and crowned king.

They unanimously shouted out, "Ay!" and held up their hands, promising fealty and homage. After this, the duke descended from his throne, and advanced to the altar to be consecrated. This ceremony was performed by two archbishops and ten bishops: he was stripped of all his royal state before the altar, naked to his shirt, and was then anointed and consecrated at six places; that is to say, on the head, the breast, the two shoulders, before and behind, on the back and hands: they then placed a bonnet on his head; and, while this was doing, the clergy chanted the litany, or the service that is performed to hallow a font.

The king was now dressed in a churchman's clothes like a deacon; and they put on him shoes of crimson velvet, after the manner of a prelate. Then they added spurs with a point, but no rowel, and the sword of justice was drawn, blessed and delivered to the king, who put it into the scabbard, when the archbishop of Canterbury girded it about him. The crown of Saint Edward, which is arched over like a cross, was next brought and blessed, and placed by the archbishop on the king's head. When mass was over, the king left the church, and returned to the palace in the same state as before. There was in the court-yard a fountain that constantly ran with white and red wine from various mouths. The king went first to his closet, and then returned to the hall to dinner.

At the first table sat the king, at the second the five great peers of England, at the third the principal citizens of London, at the fourth the new-created knights, at the fifth all knights and squires of honour. The king was served by the prince of Wales, who carried the sword of mercy, and on the opposite side by the constable, who bore the sword of justice. At the bottom of the table was the earl of Westmoreland with the sceptre. There were only at the king's table the two archbishops and seventeen bishops. When dinner was half over, a knight of the name of Dymock entered the hall completely armed, and mounted on a handsome steed, richly barbed with crimson housings. The knight was armed for wager of battle, and was preceded by another knight bearing his lance: he himself had his drawn sword in one hand, and his naked dagger by his side. The knight presented the king with a written paper, the contents of which were, that if any knight or gentleman should dare to maintain that king Henry was not a lawful sovereign, he was ready to offer him combat in the presence of the king, when and where he should be pleased to appoint. The king ordered this challenge to be proclaimed by heralds in six different parts of the town and the hall, to which no answer was made. After king Henry had dined, and partaken of wine and spices in the hall, he retired to his private apartments, and all the company went to their homes. Thus passed the coronation day of king Henry, who remained that and the ensuing day at the palace of Westminster. The earl of Salisbury could not attend these feasts, for he was in close confinement under secure guards; and the king's ministers, with many of the nobles and citizens of London, were anxious that he should be publicly beheaded in Cheapside. They said that he was deserving of every punishment, for having carried such a message from Richard of Bordeaux to the French king and his court, and publicly proclaiming king Henry a false and wicked traitor, and that these were unpardonable crimes. The king was naturally good-tempered, and, far from inclining to put him to death, took compassion on him, and listened to the excuses he made for what he had done, by throwing the blame on the four knights who had been beheaded, as he had only obeyed their orders. The council and Londoners would not hear his excuses, and would have him executed, for they said he had deserved it. The earl of Salisbury therefore continued in prison, in great danger of his life.

Sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, who was governor of Calais, had been duly informed of all that had passed; how his brother, king Richard, had been arrested and carried to the Tower of London, where he had been condemned to pass his life, after resigning his crown to Henry of Lancaster, who was acknowledged king of England. The earl of Huntingdon, notwithstanding the vexation the state of his brother, king Richard, gave him, weighed well the times and circumstances, and found that he alone could not pretend to withstand the whole power of England. His countess, sister-german to king Henry, told him, on his return from Calais to England,—"My lord, you must prudently lay aside your anger, and not hastily do anything you may repent of, for my lord the king, my brother, can show you



The landing of the Lady de Court at Boulogne on her return from England in the Year 1599.

much kindness. You see the whole kingdom is in his favour, and should you commit yourself by any rash act, you are ruined. I advise and entreat you to dissemble your vexation, for king Henry is as much your brother as king Richard. Attach yourself to him, and you will find him a good and faithful friend; for there has not been any king of England so rich as he is, and he may be of the greatest service to you and to your children." The earl of Huntingdon listened to what the countess said, and followed her advice. He waited on his brother-in-law, king Henry, paid him many respects, and did his homage, promising fealty and service: the king received him with much pleasure. The earl, afterwards, with the support of other friends, pressed the king so strongly in favour of the earl of Salisbury, that his excuses were heard and accepted: his mission to France was pardoned, and he regained the favour of the king and people.

CHAPTER CXVII.—INTELLIGENCE OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF KING RICHARD IS CARRIED TO FRANCE BY THE LADY OF COUCY.—KING CHARLES IS MUCH DISPLEASED THEREAT.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON ATTEMPTS IN VAIN TO REDUCE BORDEAUX, AND OTHER TOWNS IN AQUITAINE, TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

The lady of Coucy, on landing at Boulogne, hastened her affairs, that she might begin her journey to Paris; for there were already great murmurings in many parts of France at the events which were happening in England. Some imperfect intelligence had been carried of them thither by merchants of Bruges, but when the lady of Coucy, who had been attached to queen Isabella, returned, the whole truth was known. This lady, on her coming to Paris, went, as was natural, to the hotel of her lord, who had arrived the preceding night. News of it was instantly carried to the king of France, who sent directly for the lord de Coucy to come and bring him intelligence of king Richard and his queen Isabella. On his entering the king's chamber, he asked him the state of England. The knight, not daring to conceal anything, told him the full particulars he had learnt from his wife. The king was much affected at the melancholy account he heard, for he knew the English to be determined, and hard to appease; and, although he had been for a considerable time in a good state of health, the rage he got into, on learning the events passing in England, brought back his frenzy, to the grief of his brother, uncles, and the barons of France, but they could not prevent it.

The duke of Burgundy said,—"The marriage of king Richard with Isabella was ill advised: I spoke of it when in agitation, but was not attended to. The Londoners never sincerely liked king Richard, and all this misery has been hatched by the duke of Gloucester. We must learn how the English mean to proceed, and take our measures accordingly. Since they have imprisoned their king, they will put him to death (for they never loved him, because he preferred peace to war), and crown the duke of Lancaster. He will be forced to enter into such engagements from his obligations to them, that whether he will or not, he must act as they shall please." The duke of Burgundy added, "that it would be proper to know the inclinations of the inhabitants of Bordeaux; for king Richard, having been born there, was greatly beloved by them, as well as by those of Dax, Bayonne, and that whole country. It would not be amiss (he said) that the constable, lord Louis de Sancerre, should have notice of what was proposed, and that he should advance toward the frontiers of Aquitaine, taking with him sir Reginald d'Espagne, Barrois des Barres, and other barons and prelates, who knew how to negotiate; that his brother of Berry should go into Poitou, and hover over the borders of Saintes, Blaze and Mirabel, in order that, if those of Bordeaux should be inclined to enter into any treaty, they might be received; for we must gain them now, or never." These propositions of the duke of Burgundy were heard attentively, and his advice followed. He understood the matter well, and what ensued proved it. The inhabitants of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, were lost in astonishment when they heard that their lord, king Richard, had been arrested and was confined in the Tower of London, his principal counsellors executed, and duke Henry of Lancaster crowned king, and would not at first believe that such melancholy events had happened in England: but,

as the reports were confirmed daily by fresh intelligence, they were constrained to think them true. The gates of the three cities were closed, and no person whatever suffered to go out, from the sorrow they were in, more particularly those of Bordeaux, for king Richard had been educated among them. They were sincerely attached to him, and he always received them kindly when they waited on him, inclining naturally to comply with every request they made him. On first hearing of his misfortune, they said,—"Ah, Richard, gentle king! by God, you are the most honourable man in your realm. This mischief has been brewed for you by the Londoners, who never loved you, and their dislike was still increased by your alliance with France. This misfortune is too great for us to bear. Ah, king Richard! they have acknowledged you their sovereign two-and-twenty years, and now they imprison you, and will put you to death; for, since they have crowned the duke of Lancaster king, that consequence must follow." Such were the lamentations of the townsmen of Bordeaux, and that whole country; and they continued so long that the sénéschal of Bordeaux, a valiant and able English knight, determined to send home intelligence of these complaints in Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, and that they were on the point of surrendering themselves to the king of France. Having written and sealed his letters, he gave them to a trusty varlet, whom he embarked on board a vessel; and, having a favourable wind, he was landed in Cornwall, and thence pursued his journey to London, where king Henry at that time was holding his parliament. These letters were addressed generally to the king and citizens of London, and being opened and read, the king and his parliament consulted on them. The Londoners said, like men no way dismayed,—"Those of Bordeaux and Bayonne will never turn to the French: they cannot bear them nor suffer their tricks. They are free under us; but, if the French govern them, they will be taxed and taxed over again two or three times a-year. This they have not been accustomed to, and will find it hard to endure. These three cities are beside surrounded by the lands of great barons, who are and always have been loyal to England, such as the lords de Pommiers, de Mucident, de Duras, de Landuras, de Copane, de Rosem, de Langurant, and many other barons and knights, who will instantly make war upon them: they cannot issue out of their gates without being made prisoners. Notwithstanding, therefore, what the sénéschal of Bordeaux writes to us, we do not fear they will ever turn to the French: let us however send them some man of valour and prudence, whom they esteem, and who has governed them before: and we recommend sir Thomas Percy." What they had advised was done, and sir Thomas Percy was entreated by the king and citizens to undertake the voyage and the government of that country. Sir Thomas could not refuse, and made his preparations.

It was now about Christmas, when the winds are high, and the sea rough: he made, therefore, his purveyances in Cornwall, at the port nearest to Bordeaux, and his equipment was two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers. Sir Thomas vas accompanied by his nephew, Hugh de Hastings, Thomas Colleville, William Lisle, John de Grailly, bastard-son to the captal de Buch, William Drayton, John d'Ambreticourt, and several others. He had likewise with him Robert bishop of London*, and master Richard Rowhall. It was, however, the middle of March before they were able to embark.

Before these lords arrived at Bordeaux, the duke of Bourbon came to the city of Agen, to treat with those of Aquitaine, and made such progress that the magistrates of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, were deputed to Agen. The duke received them most kindly, and was not sparing of fine words and fair promises: he gave them to understand, that if they would turn to the French, and submit themselves to the obedience of the king of France, they should have granted whatever they might ask, and that the engagements they entered into should be sealed and recorded to last for ever; that whenever they might call on France, they should be supported to the utmost of its power. He made them many other flattering promises; but they replied, they must return to their constituents, and lay before them his offers, and consider how to act. They then left Agen and the duke of Bourbon, on their return home, where, on their arrival, they related all the duke had said; but his offers came to nothing, for the inhabitants of these towns having considered their present situation, and that France was vexed by all sort of taxes, and every oppressive means to extort money,

* Robert Braybrook, dean of Sarum and lord chancellor.

concluded they should suffer similar vexations if they submitted themselves to the French: "It will be, therefore, better for us," they said, "to remain steady to the English, who hold us frank and free. If the Londoners have deposed king Richard, and crowned king Henry, what is that to us? We have still a king; and we understand the bishop of London and sir Thomas Percy are on their way hither, who will fully inform us of the truth. We have more commerce with the English than the French, in wool, wines and cloth, and they are naturally more inclined to us. Let us, therefore, be cautious how we enter into any treaties of which we may hereafter repent."

Thus were the negotiations of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, with the French, broken off. Sir Thomas Percy and the bishop of London arrived safe in the harbour of Bordeaux with their charge of men at arms and archers, to the great joy of some, and grief of others, who were of the party of the king of France. These English lords lodged all together at the abbey of Saint Andrew, and, when they thought it was time, they remonstrated with the commonalty of Bordeaux on the state of England, and the cause of their coming, with such success as they were contented with: Dax and Bayonne were also satisfied. These cities and their dependencies remained steady to the English interest, and hard would it have been to have turned them to the French.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE, BY PERMISSION OF KING HENRY, SEND OVER PERSONS TO VISIT ISABELLA, QUEEN TO RICHARD II.

The council of France, perceiving the king so greatly affected at what had befallen his son-in-law, king Richard, determined to send to England some lord of high rank to see and inquire into the situation of queen Isabella. The lord Charles d'Albreth and Charles de Hangiers were nominated on this embassy, and made their preparations accordingly. On leaving Paris, they rode to Boulogne, where they remained and sent a herald to inform king Henry of their intention of coming to England; for, although there was a truce between the two kingdoms, they would not venture thither without his assurance of safety. King Henry, who had not forgotten the kindness of the king of France when in exile, mentioned the matter to his council; and the herald was told, that it was very agreeable to the king and council that his lords and their company should come to England, and by the direct road to London, not quitting it without license. The French herald returned to tell his lords at Boulogne what he had obtained. They were pleased with the answer, since they could not obtain more. They immediately embarked themselves and horses in two vessels, and, putting to sea, arrived at Dover. On disembarking and entering the town, they were met by one of the king's knights, who had been ordered thither to receive them. Having known him, when he accompanied the king in his banishment to Paris, they were all soon well acquainted. The lord Charles d'Albreth and the lord de Hangiers were handsomely lodged in Dover, where they staid until their horses were landed. They continued their journey through Canterbury to Eltham, and wherever they stopped all their expenses were paid by the king. The king and his council were at Eltham, and they were splendidly entertained in compliment to the king of France, to whom king Henry felt himself under obligations.

The lord d'Albreth explained to the king the cause of his coming, who replied, "You will go to London, and within four days I will consult my council, and you shall have an answer to your demands." This satisfied them. They dined with the king, and, when it was over, remounted their horses and rode to London, attended by the knight, who lodged them conveniently in London, and never quitted them. The king of England came, as he had said, to his palace of Westminster, and the French lords were told of it, and to hold themselves in readiness to attend him, for they would be summoned. The king, having his council with him, and being prepared what answer to make, the French lords were introduced. They said, they had been sent by the king and queen of France to see the young queen of England their daughter. The king answered,—"Gentlemen, we no way wish to prevent you seeing her; but you must promise, on your oaths, that neither yourselves,

nor any of your company, speak to her on what has lately passed in England, nor about Richard of Bordeaux. Should you do otherwise, you will greatly offend us and the country, and put yourselves in peril of your lives."

The two knights replied, they would not infringe this regulation: all they wanted was to see and converse with her, and then they would set out on their return. Not long after this, the earl of Northumberland carried them to Havering-at-the-Bower, where the young queen resided. She was attended by the duchess of Ireland, daughter to the lord de Coucy, the duchess of Gloucester, her two daughters, and other ladies and damsels, as companions. The earl introduced the two knights to the queen, who conversed some time with them, asking questions after her parents, the king and queen of France. They kept the promise they had made, by never mentioning the name of king Richard; and, when they had been with her a sufficient time, took leave and returned to London. They made no long stay there, but, having packed up their things, and had their expenses paid by the king's officers, they rode to Eltham, and dined with the king, who presented them with some rich jewels. On taking leave, the king parted with them amicably, and said,—"Tell those who have sent you, that the queen shall never suffer the smallest harm or any disturbance, but keep up a state and dignity becoming her birth and rank, and enjoy all her rights; for, young as she is, she ought not as yet to be made acquainted with the changes in this world." The knights were very happy to hear the king speak thus, and then departed. They lay that night at Dartford, on the morrow at Ospringe, the next at Canterbury, and then at Dover, the king's officers paying every expense of their journey. Having embarked with a favourable wind, they were landed at Boulogne, and thence proceeded to the king and queen at Paris, to whom they related what you have read.

We will now leave them, and speak of the affairs of England.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE EARLS OF HUNTINGDON AND SALISBURY, AND SOME OTHERS, HAVING FAILED TO MURDER TREACHEROUSLY KING HENRY OF LANCASTER, RISE IN ARMS AGAINST HIM.—THEY ARE DEFEATED AND BEHEADED, AND THEIR HEADS SENT TO THE KING.

It was much disputed among the nobles, and in the principal towns, whether Richard of Bordeaux was put to death, and nothing more was said about him, which was but what he deserved. King Henry declared, that in regard to the charges made against him he much pitied him, and would never consent to his death; that the prison wherein he was confined was sufficient punishment; and that he had engaged his word no other harm should be done him, which promise he was resolved to keep. The enemies of king Richard replied,—"Sire, we see plainly that compassion alone moves you thus to say and act, but, in so doing, you are running great risks; for, so long as he shall be alive, notwithstanding the outward good-humour and sincerity with which he resigned to you his crown, and that in general you have been acknowledged as king, and received the homage of all, there must remain many attached to him, who still preserve their affection, and will instantly rise against you whenever they perceive any hopes of delivering him from prison. The king of France also, whose daughter he married, is so exasperated at the late events, that he would willingly retaliate the first opportunity; and his power is great of itself, and must be increased by his connexions in England." King Henry answered,—"Until I shall observe anything contrary to the present state of affairs, or that the king of France or other persons act against me, I will not change my resolution, but firmly keep the promise I have made." This was the answer of king Henry, for which he narrowly escaped suffering, as you shall presently hear.

The earl of Huntingdon, brother to king Richard, though married to the sister of king Henry, could not forget his treatment of the late king, any more than the earl of Salisbury. They had a secret meeting near to Oxford, on the means to deliver Richard of Bordeaux from the Tower of London, destroy king Henry, and throw the country into confusion. They resolved to proclaim a tournament to be holden at Oxford, of twenty knights and squires, and invite the king to witness it privately. During the time the king was sitting

at dinner they were to slay him (for they were to be provided with a sufficiency of men at arms for their purpose), and to dress out in the royal robes a priest called Magdalen, who had been of king Richard's chapel, and was like him in countenance, and make the people to understand that he was delivered from prison, and had resumed his state. They were, instantly after the business was completed, to send information of it to the king of France, that he might send them large succours, under the command of the count de Saint Pol or any others.

They executed this plan, and proclaimed a grand tournament to be holden by twenty knights and as many squires at Oxford, who were to be accompanied by many ladies and damsels. They had gained to their party the young earl of Kent, nephew to the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord de Spencer, one of the most powerful barons in England. They expected the aid of the earl of Rutland, because king Henry had deprived him of the constableship, but he failed them, and some say that by him their plot was discovered. When all things had been settled for this feast, the earl of Huntingdon came to Windsor, where the king held his state, and with much flattering, like one who, by soft words, thought to deceive, invited, with many marks of affection, the king to be present at it. Not supposing any treason was intended, he readily complied: and the earl of Huntingdon, much rejoiced, thanked and left the king. On going away, he said to the canon de Robersac*, "Get thyself ready for our feast, and I promise thee if thou come, and we meet in the lists, there shall be a sharp conflict between us." Sir John de Robersac replied, "By my faith, my lord, if the king come to your feast, it is necessary that I accompany him." Upon this the earl shook him by the hand, and said, "Many thanks," and passed on. Several knights and squires, hearing of this tournament, made preparations to attend it, and all the armourers in London were fully employed. The king's ministers were attentive to every circumstance that was agitated, and they told him, "Sire, you have no business to go to this tournament, and must not think of it, for we have heard whispers of plots that are very displeasing to us, and in a few days we shall learn the whole." The king believed what they had said, and did not go to the tournament, nor any of his knights, and indeed very few of those who were marked for death.

When the earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon, Kent, and the lord de Spencer, found they had failed in their scheme of seizing the king, they held a council, and said,—"We must go to Windsor and raise the country. We will dress Magdalen in royal robes, and make him ride with us, proclaiming that king Richard has escaped from prison. All who see him will believe it true, and the report will gain such credit that we shall destroy our enemies." This they executed, by collecting their whole party, amounting in all to about five hundred men, and, placing Magdalen in the centre, dressed in royal state, they rode towards Windsor, where king Henry kept his court. God was very kind to the king, for he had early intelligence that the earls of Huntingdon, Salisbury, the young earl of Kent, and the lord de Spencer, were advancing toward Windsor, to seize and murder him; that they were in sufficient force to take the castle, and had with them Magdalen, one of the priests of the chapel royal to Richard of Bordeaux, dressed up as the late king; and that they gave it out everywhere that king Richard had escaped from prison. Many of the country people believed it, saying, "We have seen him," mistaking him for the king.

Those who brought the intelligence said to king Henry, "Sire, depart hence instantly, and ride to London, for they will be here in a short time." He followed this counsel, and, mounting his horse, set off with his attendants from Windsor, taking the road to London. He had not been long departed, before those who intended to put him to death came to Windsor, and entered the castle gate, for there were none to oppose them. They searched the apartments of the castle, and the houses of the canons, in hopes of finding the king, bu were disappointed. On their failure, they were much enraged, and rode away to Colnbrook, where they lay, and forced many to join them by fair or foul means, saying that king Richard was in their company, which some believed, but others not. King Henry, doubtful of the consequences of this conspiracy, hastened to London, and, by a roundabout road, entered the Tower. Some sharp words passed between him and Richard of Bordeaux: he told him,—

* In the MSS. he is called Robessart and Robertsart.

"I saved your life, and had great difficulty in doing it; and, in return, you want to have me murdered by your brother, and my brother-in-law, and by the earls of Salisbury and Kent, your nephew, with the lord de Spencer, but, if you have had any hand in this plot, it shall end badly for you." Richard denied any knowledge of it, saying,—"As God may help me, and have compassion on my soul, I never before heard one word of this plot. I never looked for any change in my situation, for I am perfectly contented with my present state." Nothing more passed. The king sent for the mayor of London and his particular friends, to whom he related everything he knew or had heard of this conspiracy. They were greatly surprised on hearing it, and said,—"Sire, you must summon your forces, and march instantly against them, before they increase more in numbers. We have made you king, and king you shall be, in spite of all that envy and discontent may do against you." The king lost no time in employing clerks and messengers to write and carry letters to the knights of his realm. He wrote himself to his constable, the earl of Northumberland, to his marshal, the earl of Westmoreland, and to other great barons in Essex and Lincoln, from whom he expected assistance. All who received them made haste to join the king.

The earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and their party, determined to march to London, for they imagined there must be some of the citizens attached to king Richard, who would give them support. In consequence, they left Colnbrook, and advanced to Brentford, seven miles from London, where they lay. Not one of the Londoners joined them, but shut themselves up in their town. When they saw this, they marched away towards Saint Albans, a large town, and there staid one day. On the morrow, they went to Berkhampstead. They continued marching through different parts, publishing everywhere that Magdalen was king Richard, and came to a strong town called Soncestre*, which had a bailiff attached to king Henry for the guard of the town and defence of the adjacent parts. The three earls and lord de Spencer took up their lodgings in Cirencester, and were that night left quiet, for the bailiff, being a valiant and prudent man, did not think he was strong enough to combat them, and dissembled his thoughts as well as he could.

The next morning the earl of Salisbury and lord de Spencer left the earl of Huntingdon and his nephew, saying they would advance farther into the country to gain friends, and would visit the lord of Berkeley. They rode down Severn side, but were badly advised thus to separate, for both parties were weakened by it. The earl of Huntingdon remained in Cirencester, and attempted to tamper with the bailiff and townsmen. He told them that the Londoners had delivered king Richard out of prison, and within two days he would be there. The bailiff, having collected a large force, said that not one word was true; for that he had just heard the contrary from king Henry and the citizens of London to assure him of the truth, and that he should act conformably to the orders he had received. The earl of Huntingdon, hearing this, changed colour from disappointment. Finding he could not gain his end, he returned to his lodgings, armed himself, and made his men do the same, determining to conquer these ale-drinkers by force, and set fire to their town as an example, and to terrify the country. The bailiff was not idle in collecting all the men he could: they amounted, archers and all, to two thousand men, which he drew up in the market-place, when the force of the earls of Huntingdon and Kent were not three hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, they made ready to begin the battle, and the archers attacked each other, so that several were wounded. The bailiff and his men, who were very numerous, charged the rebels vigorously, without sparing any one, for he had the king's special orders to take the leaders, dead or alive. The earl's party were forced to retire within their lodgings; and the house wherein the two earls were, the bailiff's men surrounded and conquered.

Many were killed, and more wounded. The earl of Huntingdon defended himself gallantly, like a valiant man at arms as he was; but the numbers against him were too great to withstand; and he was slain fighting, as was the young earl of Kent, who was much lamented by several knights in England and other countries. He was young and handsome, and had very unwillingly taken part in this conspiracy; but his uncle and the earl of Salisbury had forced him into it. The men of Cirencester, who were wroth against them, cut off their heads, and sent them in two panniers, as fish is carried, by a varlet on horseback,

* "Soncestre,"—Cirencester, pronounced Ciçeter.

to rejoice the king and the Londoners. A similar fate befel the earl of Salisbury and lord de Spencer: they were made prisoners by the knights and squires the king had sent against them, who had them beheaded, and sent their heads to London. Great numbers of their partisans, and knights and squires who had accompanied them, were executed, after which the country remained in peace.

The king of France, his brother, uncles, and council, learning that during Easter of the year 1400, the English had sent men at arms and archers to Calais, Guisnes, and the neighbouring castles, and were providing these places with many stores, issued a summons for all knights and squires to prepare themselves to march whithersoever they might be ordered, and specially provided for the frontier of Boulogne and the sea-shore.

CHAPTER CXX.—ON THE DEATH OF JOHN OF MONTFORT, DUKE OF BRITTANY, THE BRETONS UNDERTAKE THE WARDSHIP OF THE YOUNG DUKE, AND TO BE FRIENDLY TO FRANCE. —THE FRENCH KING, DISTRUSTING THE SENTIMENTS OF THE NEW REIGN IN ENGLAND, MAKES PROVISION AGAINST ANY SUDDEN CHANGE.

At this period, John duke of Brittany departed this life, leaving issue two sons and a daughter. The eldest son had been betrothed to the second daughter of the king of France: he could not have the eldest, as she was married to the king of England, as has been related. She had indeed been promised him, and treaties entered into on the subject at Tours in Touraine; but the king was advised to break it off, to marry her more nobly and richly in England. Many of the French lords, however, said, that it would never turn out well thus to break through solemn engagements. On the death of the duke of Brittany, it was determined in the council, that the duke of Orleans should advance to the borders of Brittany with a body of men at arms, to confer with the nobles and chiefs of the principal towns of the duchy, to learn their intentions respecting the young duke, and to demand he should be delivered up to him to carry to the court of France.

The duke of Orleans, in consequence of this resolution, summoned a considerable number of men at arms, and marched them to Pontorson, where he halted, and signified his arrival to the barons of Brittany. The prelates, nobles, and chief magistrates of the great towns, assembled at Pontorson, when the duke of Orleans made them the above request. They were prepared with an answer, and replied they would be guardians to their young duke [and educate him in their own country until he should be of a proper age; that then they would bring him to France, that he might do his homage to the king, as was his duty; that, for the due performance of this, they were willing to enter into bonds, subjecting themselves to the loss of their lands should they break the engagement.] The duke of Orleans, finding that he could not gain more, took an obligation from the principal barons, who had their duke in ward, to deliver him up to the king of France when he should be of a proper age. These obligations being written and sealed, the duke of Orleans had them in charge, and, taking leave of the barons, departed from Pontorson, on his return to Paris, and related to the king, his brother, all that had passed.

It was known in England, that the French, by their king's command, had strongly reinforced, and re-victualled all the towns, castles, and forts in Picardy, and on the borders of the Boulonois, and had closed the river Somme, so that no merchandise nor corn could come to England, nor pass Abbeville. The merchants of the two countries, who were used freely to visit each, were now afraid of doing so; and those on the borders of Calais and Guisnes were ruined, although there were not any hostilities commenced, for orders to that effect had not been given. The king of England was advised by his council to be on his guard; for the French, they said, were making great preparations of ships at Harfleur, and plainly showed they were inclined for war. The count de Saint Pol and the lord Charles d'Albreth were appointed commanders; and it was to be supposed, that if the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury were alive, they would have crossed the sea, for they had many connexions in England. They added, "Sire, so long as Richard of Bordeaux lives, the country will never have peace." "I believe what you say may be true," replied the king;

"but, with regard to me, I will never put him to death. I have given him my word, that no bodily harm shall befal him; and I will keep my promise, until it shall appear that he enters into any plots against me." "Sire," answered the knights, "his death would be more to your advantage than his life: for, so long as the French know he is alive, they will exert themselves to make war against you, in the hope of replacing him on the throne, on account of his having married the daughter of their king." The king of England made no reply, but, leaving them in conversation, went to his falconers, and, placing a falcon on his wrist, forgot all in feeding him.

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE DEATH OF KING RICHARD.—THE TRUCES ARE RENEWED AND KEPT BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—THE EARL MARSHAL, WHO HAD BEEN BANISHED ENGLAND, DIES AT VENICE.

It was not long after this that a true report was current in London of the death of Richard of Bordeaux. I could not learn the particulars of it, nor how it happened, the day I wrote these chronicles*. Richard of Bordeaux, when dead, was placed on a litter covered with black, and a canopy of the same. Four black horses were harnessed to it, and two varlets in mourning conducted the litter, followed by four knights dressed also in mourning. Thus



Funeral Procession of Richard II. From MSS. of 15th century

they left the Tower of London, where he had died, and paraded the streets at a foot's pace until they came to Cheapside, which is the greatest thoroughfare in the city, and there they halted for upwards of two hours. More than twenty thousand persons, of both sexes, came to see the king, who lay in the litter, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered.

Some pitied him, when they saw him in this state, but others did not, saying he had for a long time deserved death. Now consider, ye kings, lords, dukes, prelates, and earls, how very changeable the fortunes of this world are. This king Richard reigned twenty-two years in great prosperity, and with much splendour; for there never was a king of England who expended such sums, by more than one hundred thousand florins, as king Richard did in keeping up his state, and his household establishments. I, John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, know it well, for I witnessed and examined it, during my residence

* It is not to this day certain whether he died by voluntary or compulsory starvation, or was murdered by Piers Exton.—Ed.



The funeral of Richard II.

with him, for a quarter of a year. He made me good cheer, because in my youth I had been secretary to king Edward his grandfather, and the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England. When I took my leave of him at Windsor, he presented me, by one of his knights called sir John Golofre, a silver gilt goblet, weighing full two marcs, filled with one hundred nobles, which were then of service to me, and will be so as long as I live. I am bound to pray to God for him, and sorry am I to write of his death; but, as I have dictated and augmented this history to the utmost of my power, it became necessary to mention it, that what became of him might be known.

I saw two strange things in my time, though widely different. I was sitting at dinner in the city of Bordeaux when king Richard was born: it was on a Wednesday, on the point of ten o'clock. At that hour sir Richard de Pontchardon, then marshal of Aquitaine, came to me and said,—"Froissart, write, that it may be remembered, my lady the princess is brought to bed of a fine son: he is born on Twelfth-day, the son of a king's son, and shall be king himself." The gallant knight foretold the truth, for he was king of England twenty-two years; but he did not foresee what was to be the conclusion of his life. When king Richard was born, his father was in Galicia, which don Pedro had given him to conquer: a curious thing happened, on my first going to England, which I have much thought on since. I was in the service of queen Philippa, and, when she accompanied king Edward and the royal family, to take leave of the prince and princess of Wales, at Berkhampstead, on their departure for Aquitaine, I heard an ancient knight, in conversation with some ladies, say, —"We have a book called Brut*, that declares neither the prince of Wales, dukes of Clarence, York, nor Gloucester, will be kings of England, but the descendants of the duke of Lancaster." Now I, the author of this history, say that, considering all things, these two knights, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in what they said, were both in the right, for all the world saw Richard reign for twenty-two years in England, and saw the crown then fall to the house of Lancaster. King Henry would never have been king, on the conditions you have heard, if his cousin, Richard, had treated him in the friendly manner he ought to have done. The Londoners took his part for the wrongs the king had done him and his children, whom they much compassionated.

When the funeral car of king Richard had remained in Cheapside two hours, it was conducted forward, in the same order as before, out of the town. The four knights then mounted their horses, which were waiting for them, and continued their journey with the body until they came to a village, where there is a royal mansion, called Langley, thirty miles from London. There king Richard was interred: God pardon his sins, and have mercy on his soul!

News was spread abroad that king Richard was dead. This had been expected some time; for it was well known he would never come out of the Tower alive. His death was concealed from his queen, as orders had been given for that purpose, which were prudently obeyed for a considerable time. All these transactions were perfectly well known in France; and such knights and squires as wished for war, looked every moment for orders to attack the frontiers. The councils, however, of both kingdoms, thought it would be for the advantage of the two countries that the truces should be renewed, and for this end different negotiators went to the neighbourhood of Calais. The king of France was not in good health, nor ever had been since he heard of the misfortunes of his son-in-law, Richard; and his disorder was greatly increased when he was told of his death.

The duke of Burgundy took the chief government of the realm: he came to Saint Omer and Bourbourg, where were the duke of Bourbon, the lord Charles d'Albreth, sir Charles de Hangiers, sir John de Châteaumorant, and such prelates as the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops of Paris and Beauvais. On the part of England were the earls of Northumberland, Rutland and Devonshire, Sir Henry Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, sir Evan Fitzwarren, and the bishops of Winchester and Ely. The French proposed having the queen of England delivered to them, but the English would not listen to it, saying they would gladly have her reside in England on her dower, and that if she had lost her husband, they would provide her another, who should be young and handsome, and whom she would love.

* The romance of Brut by Robert Wall.—Ed.

Richard of Bordeaux was too old for her, and the person they should offer was suitable in every respect, being no other than the prince of Wales, eldest son to king Henry. The French would not agree to this, for they dared not come to any final conclusion in this matter without the consent of the king her father. He was now in a very bad state, and much weakened in his constitution, for there had not been found any physician who could conquer his disorder. The treaty was therefore laid aside, and the subject of the truce canvassed. It was so well conducted, that it was resolved to continue it to the original term of thirty years, four of which were already gone, and it was now to last for twenty-six years. This was put into writing, and signed and sealed by those who had full powers so to do from the two kings. When this was done, they separated, and each party returned home.

I have not mentioned what became of the earl marshal, by whom all these late misfortunes originated, but I will now tell you. He was residing in Venice when he first heard that Henry of Lancaster was king of England, and king Richard dead, and took this news so grievously to heart that he fell sick, was put to bed, became frantic, and died. Such were the misfortunes that befell the greatest lords in England.

CHAPTER CXXII.—FRANCE PRESERVES A NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE POPES OF ROME AND AVIGNON.—THE ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR ROBERT.

In the year of grace 1399, pope Benedict, whom the French had formerly supported, was deposed, as well likewise the emperor of Germany* for his wicked deeds. The electors of the empire, and all the great barons of Germany rose against him, and sent him to Bohemia, of which country he was king. They elected emperor in his stead a valiant and prudent man, called Robert, duke of Heidelberg, who came to Cologne, and was there crowned with the crown of Germany; for those of Aix would not admit him within their town, nor the duke of Gueldres submit himself to his obedience, which angered him much. The new emperor promised to restore union to the church. In the mean time, the king of France negotiated with the Liege men, who were determined for the Roman pope, and managed so well, through sir Baldwin de Mont-jardin (who governed in part the bishopric of Liege, and was a knight of the king's chamber), that the whole country complied with the desire of the French king, and became neuter.

The Liege men sent orders to those of their clergy who were at Rome, that if they did not return home by a fixed day, they should be deprived of their benefices. On hearing this, they all came back to Liege; and pope Boniface, who lost much by this order, sent a legate to Germany to preach to the Liege men, and endeavour to make them return to their former creed. The legate dared not advance farther than Cologne, but sent his instructions and letters to Liege. They read them and told the messenger,—"Do not return hither again on the business thou art now come upon, unless thou shalt wish to be drowned; for as many messengers as shall be sent us, so many will we throw into the Meuse."

* Wenceslaus.—Ed.

END OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

INDEX.

ABBEVILLE, the town of, taken by the French forces under sir Hugh de Chatillon, vol. i, 401

Aberdeen, the bishop of, taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 177

Achery sur Aine, the town of, in Picardy, taken by the English under sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, i, 274

Achievement at arms, between the lord de la Rochfoucault and sir William de Montferrant, at Bordeaux, ii, 210

Acquigni, the castle of, taken by the lord de la Riviere, i, 325

Acquitaine, the country of, conquered from the English by the earl of Lisle, i, 76; given to the duke of Lancaster by Richard II. and his council, ii, 566

Acquitaine, the towns of, send ambassadors to England to remonstrate against the gift made of the duchy to the duke of Lancaster, ii, 571; succeed in the object of their remonstrance, 582

Additions to the printed copies of Froissart's Chronicles, from MSS. in the Hafod library, i, 196 et seq.; 495 note; 622 et seq.; 663 note; 664 note; 667; ii, 467; 508; 661

Africa, the town of, besieged by the duke of Bourbon, ii, 468; the siege abandoned, 483

Agace, Gobin, conducts the English army under king Edward III. to a ford on the Somme at Blanchetaque, previous to the battle of Crecy, i, 161

Agen, the town of, taken by the French army under the duke of Anjou, i, 445

Aiguillon, the castle of, in Gascony, surrenders to the earl of Derby, i, 136; besieged by the duke of Normandy, 149; the siege abandoned by order of the king of France, 170; taken by the French, under the duke of Anjou, 445

Aire, the town of, in Artois, besieged by the Flemings in the interest of the king of England, i, 184

Albret, sir Perducas d', takes offence at the conduct of the prince of Wales, i, 356; marries the lady Isabella of Bourbon, 383; complains to the king of France of a tax the prince of Wales was about to impose upon the lands of himself and other lords of Gascony, ib.; returns to the interest of the prince of Wales, 413; receives the investiture of the lands of Chaumont, 716; his death, ib.

Albret, the lord Charles d', obtains permission from Charles VI. to quarter the fleurs de lis of France alternately with his own arms, ii, 424

Alençon, the earl of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 167

Alençon, earl Peter d', returns to France from England, where he had been as one of the hostages for king John, i, 397

Alexandria, the town of, in Lombardy, besieged by the count d'Armagnac, ii, 492; siege raised, 494

Aljubarota, the battle of, between the armies of Spain and Portugal, ii, 121, 162

Aloise, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, i, 569

St. Amand, the town of taken by the earl of Hainault, i, 82

Ambreticourt, sir Eustace d', hospitably receives queen Isabella of England, after she had fled from Paris, i, 9; taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 218; rescued by his own men, 220; defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Nogent-sur-Seine, 261; obtains his freedom and takes several towns in Champagne, 264; takes the town of Achery-sur-Aine, in Picardy, 274; commits great devastations in Picardy, 280; made prisoner and ransomed in Limousin, 458; dies at Carentan, in Normandy, ib.

Ambreticourt, sir John d', appointed ambassador to the king of Castille, ii, 288; on his return from Galicia, goes to Paris, to accomplish a deed of arms, 292

Amurat, the Turkish commander, defeated by the Hungarians, ii, 143; invades Hungary a second time, 519

Anchin, Peter d', takes the town of Ortingas, ii, 76; sells it for 8000 francs, 77

Andreghen, sir Arnold d', captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 219; advises Henry, king of Castille, not to hazard a battle with the prince of Wales, 367; captured at the battle of Navaretta, 373

Andreghien, the castle of, belonging to the earl of Flanders, burnt and pillaged by the Whitehoods, under John Lyon, i, 584

St. Andrews, the bishop of, taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 177

Anghein, the lord d', takes the town of Grammont, in Flanders, for the earl, i, 671; slain before Ghent, 672

Angle, sir Guiscard d', appointed marshal of Guienne, i, 302; travels through France to Acquitaine in disguise, 400; created a knight of the garter, 469; captured by the Spaniards before La Rochelle, 473; ransomed, 502; appointed tutor to Richard the Second, 511; dies in London, 603, 667

Angoulême, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 141; by the duke of Normandy, 148; surrenders a second time to the French, 481

Anjou, the duke of, left as a hostage for the payment of the ransom of king John of France, i, 291; breaks his parole, 305; summons his vassals to make war on the prince of Wales in Acquitaine, 402; heads an army against Guienne, 445; breaks up his expedition, 450; leads an army into Upper Gascony, 500; takes the town of Lourde, ib.; makes a truce with the duke of Lancaster, 501; takes several places in Upper Gascony, 502; undertakes an expedition against the English in the Bordelois, 518; takes the town of Bergerac, 523; takes several other places in Gascony, 524 et seq.; returns to Toulouse. 528; col-

lects another army against the English in Gascony, 543; makes war on Brittany, 567; receives the territories of the queen of Naples as a gift from pope Clement, 574; seizes the jewels of his brother king Charles the Fifth, 617; seizes the government of France as regent during the minority of Charles the Sixth, ib.; makes preparations to march for Naples, 677; sets out for Italy, 683; enters Naples, 685; dies at a castle near Naples, ii, 24; takes Malvoisin, 83;* besieges Lourde, but being unable to take the castle, he burns the town and retreats, 88

Anjou, madame d', queen of Naples, advised, on the death of her husband, the duke of Anjou, to solicit the pope for possession of Provence, ii, 24; urges her claims to this country, 31; makes her public entry into Paris in company with her son Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, &c., 344; institutes a lawsuit in the courts of Paris against sir Peter Craon, 593; obtains judgment against him, 598

Anjou, Lewis of, son of the duke of Anjou, makes his public entry into Paris as king of Sicily, &c., ii, 344; sets out from Avignon to Arragon, 405; marries the daughter of the king of Arragon, 406; embarks with his young bride for Sicily, ib.

Anne, of Bohemia, sets out for England, i, 681; married to Richard the Second, ib.; her death, ii, 566

Annequin, sir Baldwin d', captured by sir Bartholomew Burghersh, i, 274

Apologue, delivered to the cardinals respecting the papacy, by friar John de la Rochetaillade, ii, 145

Appearances, wonderful, in the heavens, seen by the army of Philip von Artaveld on the eve of the battle of Rosebecque, i, 740

Ardembourg, the town of, taken by the men of Ghent, i, 755; narrowly escapes being taken a second time by them, ii, 37

Ardres, the town of, in Picardy, attacked ineffectually by the French forces, i, 410; surrenders to the duke of Burgundy, 513

Ardvick, the castle of, in Picardy, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 513

Armagnac, the lord of, complains to the king of France of a tax the prince of Wales was about to impose upon the lands of himself and other lords of Gascony, i, 383

Armagnac, the count d', obtains the remission of sixty thousand francs of his ransom of the count de Foix, at the intercession of the princess of Wales, ii, 73; endeavours to prevail on the free companies to sell their forts, 298; is thwarted by the count de Foix, 299; leads an army into Lombardy against the duke of Milan, 488; applies to sir John Hawkwood for his assistance, 490; besieges Alexandria, 491; his death, 493

Armagnac, sir Bernard d', does homage to the king of France, ii, 520

Arnaut, sir Peter, appointed governor of Lourde, in Gascony, ii, 74; murdered by the count de Foix, 89

Arragon, the king of, promises to assist king Henry of Castille against don Pedro, and the prince of Wales. i, 350; his death, ii, 206

Arras, a conference held there with the view of bringing about a peace between the kings of France and England, i, 87

Artaveld, Jacob von, a citizen of Ghent, governs all Flanders, i, 41; sends ambassadors to Edward the Third, to invite him over, 45; joins the earl of Hainault with a large army before Thin-l'Evêque, 70; attempts to disinherit the earl of Flanders, and to give the country to the king of England, 142; Murdered at Ghent, 144

Artaveld, Philip von, son of the above, appointed governor of Ghent, i, 647; leads the men of Ghent to attack the earl of Flanders at Bruges, 700; defeats the earl, and takes Bruges, 703; returns to Ghent in great state, 708; besieges Oudenarde, 710; writes to the king of France to solicit his interference to make peace between the country of Flanders and the earl, 715; his letters treated with contempt, 715; imprisons a messenger from the king of France, 719; his answer to the letters he had brought him, ib.; takes measures to guard the passes of the country against the army of the king of France, 723; after the defeat of Peter du Bois, collects a force to oppose the king of France in person, 734; defeated and slain at the battle of Rosebecque, 744

Artois, lord James d', captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 220

Artois, lord John d', captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 220

Artois, lord Philip d', marries the lady Mary of Berry, and is appointed constable of France, ii, 555

Artois, the lord Robert d', befriends Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, after she had been commanded to quit France, i, 8; is himself banished by king Philip, 34; takes refuge in England, and is created earl of Richmond, 36; sent into Brittany to aid the countess of Montford against the lord Charles of Blois, 117: engages the lord Lewis of Spain at sea, 118; lands in Brittany, 119; takes the town of Vannes, 120; is besieged in it, ib.; killed, ib.

Arundel, the earl of, besieged with king Edward the Second in Bristol by the queen's forces, i, 11; condemned to death and beheaded, 12

Arundel, Richard earl of, defeats the Flemish fleet under sir John le Bucq, ii, 215; appointed to the command of a naval expedition, 333; lands near la Rochelle, 347; defeats the Rochellers in a skirmish, 348; lands in Normandy, and overruns the country, 349; returns to Southampton, 391; joins the duke of Glocester in his attempts to excite disturbances in England, 637; committed to the Tower, 656; beheaded, 657

Arundel, sir John, heads an armament against France, and lands at Cherbourg, i, 544; sent with a force to the assistance of the duke of Brittany, 593; perishes at sea, ib.

Asai, Guy d', steward of Toulouse, endeavours to prevent the free companies from entering France, on their return from Spain, i, 352; is defeated by them before Montauban, and made prisoner, 354

Assembly, of the lords of England and France, held at Amiens, to treat of a peace between the two countries, ii, 516; breaks up without having accomplished the object of its meeting, 519

* It may not be improper to observe here, once for all, upon a circumstance which will doubtless excite the surprise of the reader, that in this instance, as well as several others in different parts of the Index, events are inserted subsequently to the account of the death of the agent. This has arisen unavoidably from the manner in which Froissart composed his history, and from new and additional information communicated to him many years after he had completed the former part of his work, and had mentioned the death of the person to whom such information related. But it was considered that it would have been a vain and fruitless attempt to rectify this imperfection; it has, therefore, been deemed advisable to leave things as they were found, and to insert the events selected for the Index in the order and rotation in which they appear noticed by the author himself.

Assembly, held at Rheims by the king of France and the emperor of Germany, to consult on measures to put an end to the schism in the church, ii, 659
Assueton, sir John, a Scots knight, performs a gallant deed of arms at Noyon, i, 448
Athenis, the town of, taken from the English by the duke of Normandy, i, 147
Athens, the duke of, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Atremen, Francis, a citizen of Ghent, surprises the town of Oudenarde, ii, 7; defeats a party of the French at Ardembourg, 30; makes an unsuccessful attempt to take Ardembourg, ii, 37; murdered at Ghent, 177
Attigny, the town of, in Champagne, taken by sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, i, 264
Aubenton, the town of, taken by the earl of Hainault, i, 62
Auberoche, the town of, in Perigord, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 132; retaken by the duke of Anjou, 525
Aubriot, Hugh, liberated by the insurgents at Paris, i, 676
Audley, sir James, handsomely rewarded by the prince of Wales for his conduct at the battle of Poitiers, i, 224; his generosity to his squires, 226; his death, 421
Audley, sir Peter, makes an ineffectual attempt to take the town of Chalons, i, 257
Avesbury, Robert of, his history of the progress of Edward the Third in Normandy, quoted, i, 157 *note*
Aulnay, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171
Auray, the castle of, in Brittany, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, i, 110; taken by the lord John de Montford, 336; surrenders to the French forces, 516
Auray, the battle of, between the lord John de Montford and the lord Charles of Blois, i, 332
Austarde, Wantaire, commands a troop of the free companies at Roullebois, i, 311
Auterme, Roger d', bailiff of Ghent, murdered by the Whitehoods, i, 581
Auterme, Oliver d', revenges himself on the men of Ghent for the murder of his brother, i, 596; banished from Flanders, 599
Auxerre, the earl of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 167
Auxerre, the earl of, captured at the battle of Auray, i, 334; imprisoned on account of his alliance with don Henry of Castille, 378
Aymery, sir John, captured by the French, ii, 103; slain at Sancerre, 105

B.

Bacon, a robber in Languedoc, takes the castle of Cobourne, in Limousin, and does other mischief, i, 190
Bailleul, sir William de, defeated in a skirmish at Pont a Tressin, i, 80
Bajazet, the sultan, raises a large force to oppose the king of Hungary and John of Burgundy, who had invaded Turkey, ii, 607; marches for Nicopoli, 622; defeats the combined Christian armies with great slaughter, 624; put his prisoners, with very few exceptions, to death, 626; disbands his army, 630; a singular instance of his justice, 648
Ball, John, a refractory priest, excites the people of Kent to rebellion, i, 652; enters London at their head, 658; taken and beheaded, 664
Balon, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, i, 569
Barfleur, the town of, in Normandy, taken by Edward the Third, i, 152
Barres, sir Barrois de (with other French knights), goes to the assistance of the king of Castille, ii, 167; enters Corunna to defend it against the duke of Lancaster, 170; acquires great wealth by destroying the country before the English army, 174
St. Basile, the castle of, in Gascony, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 135; retaken by the duke of Anjou, 525
Bassere, La, the castle of, taken by the French under sir Walter de Passac, ii, 130
Batefol, sir Seguin de, chosen commander of a band of freebooters in Gascony, i, 294; takes the city of Brioude in Auvergne, 300
Battle, the noted, between thirty Bretons and thirty English, i, 191 *note*
Bayeux, the city of, taken by the French under the lord de Coucy, i, 542
Bayonne, the town of, besieged by the king of Castille, i, 544; taken by the duke of Lancaster, ii, 192
Bearn, Peter de, his strange dreams, ii, 99
Bearnois, Perrot le, captain of some free companies, takes the town of Montferrant, in Auvergne, by stratagem, ii, 323; abandons it, and retires to his forts, 324; takes the field by order of the earl of Arundel, 346; overruns the country of Berry, 347
Beaufort, the cardinal de, elected pope, under the name of Gregory the Eleventh, i, 458
Beaulieu, William de, captured by the English garrison of Cherbourg, i, 568
Beaumanoir, the lord of, endeavours to make peace between the lord John de Montford and the lord Charles of Blois, i, 331
Beaumont, sir Henry, takes Edward the Second prisoner, while endeavouring to escape from Bristol, i, 12
Beaumont-en-Laillois, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 131
Beauvais, the country of, invaded by the English, under Edward the Third, i, 159
Becherel, the town of, in Brittany, besieged by the French under the lord de Clisson, i, 490; surrenders on terms, 501, 503
Bel, John le, his chronicles adopted by Froissart, as the foundation of his own, i, 1, 3
Belleperche, the town of, taken by the free companies in the interest of the prince of Wales, i, 418; retaken by the duke of Bourbon, 442
Benedict, pope, elected at Avignon, ii, 564; forced to resign his dignity by the king of France and the emperor of Germany, 674; deposed, 710
Benon, the town of, taken by the English under the earl of Derby, i, 171; retaken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 484
Bergerac, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130; retaken by the duke of Anjou, 523
Berkeley, Thomas, lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 222
Berly, the town of, taken by the forces of the king of Navarre, i, 250
Berry, John duke of, returns to France from England, where he had been a hostage for king John, i, 396; collects his vassals to make war on the prince of Wales in Acquitaine, 402; invades Limousin, 445; takes the town of Limoges, 450; takes the town of St. Severe, in Saintonge, 479; appointed governor of Languedoc, 622; betrothes his daughter to the son of the count de Blois, ii, 28; besieges the castle of Ventadour, 314; endeavours to win over the duke of Brittany to the French interest, 327; proposes to marry the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 336; having failed, he sends to the count de Foix, to demand his ward, the daughter of the count de Boulogne, in marriage, 385; is married to her, 395; accompanies the king of France in his visit to the pope at Avignon, 409; claims the liberation of his agent

Bethisac, who was under prosecution for mal-administration, 418
Berry, John of, son of the duke of Berry, marries the lady Mary of France, sister of Charles the Sixth, ii, 326
Berry, the duchess of, petitions her husband in behalf of the lord de la Riviere, ii, 544; supports the lord de la Riviere, in opposition to the duchess of Burgundy, 553
Bersat, the town of, taken by the English, i, 554
Berwick, the castle of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 34; taken by the Scots, 530; retaken by the earl of Northumberland, 532
Besenghen, the fort of, in Gascony, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, i, 556
Bete, sir Symon, a citizen of Ghent, put to death for having endeavoured to make peace between that town and the earl of Flanders, i, 675
Bethisac, John, the confidential agent of the duke of Berry in Toulouse, tried at Beziers for mal-administration, ii, 417; having confessed himself guilty of heresy, &c. he is burnt to death, 420
Bethune, sir Robert de, takes the fort of La Roche Vandais, ii, 461
Blanchetaque, the battle of, between the king of England and sir Godemar du Fay, i, 161
Blancquefort, Henry de, brother of the emperor of Germany, forcibly marries Margaret of Hungary, who had been betrothed to Louis de Valois, ii, 46
Blayes, the town of besieged by the earl of Derby, i, 141
Blois, the earl of, slain at the battle of Cressy, i, 167
Blois, lord Charles of, claims the duchy of Brittany, i, 92; declared the lawful duke of Brittany by the parliament of Paris, 93; enters Brittany with a large force, assisted by the king of France, 94; conquers several towns in the duchy, ib.; takes his adversary, the earl of Montfort, prisoner, 95; takes the town of Rennes, 105; Besieges the countess of Montfort in Hennebon, ib.; takes the castle of Auray, 110; takes the town of Vannes by storm, ib.; takes the town of Carhaix, 112; obtains possession of the town of Jugon by treachery, 115; enters into a truce with the countess of Montfort, ib.; besieges La Roche d'Errien, 182; taken prisoner by the forces of the countess, 183; sent to England, 190; returns to France, 236; raises an army to oppose lord John de Montfort, 327; killed at the battle of Auray, 333; canonised by Urban the Fifth, 335
Blois, Guy, count de, returns from England, where he had been hostage for king John, i, 397; joins the king of France against England, 443; sells the reversion of the county of Blois to the duke of Touraine, ii, 513; dies at Avennes, in Hainault, 655
Blois, John of, marries the widow of William, count of Juliers, ii, 303; his death, ib.
Blois, lord Lewis of, marries the lady Mary of Berry, ii, 326; dies in Hainault, 498
Blois, the county of, the reversion of it sold to the duke of Touraine, ii, 513
Blondeau, sir John, surrenders the castle of La Roche-sur-Yon to the duke of Cambridge, i, 420; put to death in consequence, ib.
Bodenay, sir Theobald de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Bohemia, Charles of Luxembourg king of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 166
Bois, Peter du, a citizen of Ghent, chosen one of the commanders of the Whitehoods in that city, i, 586; narrowly escapes being put to death, 645; besieges Courtray, ib.; obtains the appointment of Philip von Artaveld to be governor of Ghent, 648; defends the pass of Commines against the army of the king of France, 728; defeated, with great slaughter, 733; prevents the town of Bruges from surrendering to the king of France, 738; retreats to Ghent after the defeat of Philip van Artaveld, 747; encourages the men of Ghent to withstand the army of the king of France, 749; after a peace being concluded between the duke of Burgundy, as heir of Flanders, and the men of Ghent, he retires to England, ii, 66
Boniface IX. elected pope by the cardinals of Rome, ii, 427; sends a learned friar to the king of France to endeavour to gain him over to his interest, 522
Bonneval, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 131
Bordeaux, the town of, besieged by the French under the earl of Lisle, i, 76
Bordeaux, the archbishop of, imprisoned at Barcelona, ii, 206; liberated, 208
Bordes, sir William de, captured by the garrison of Cherbourg, i, 568
Boteler, sir John, of Warrington, captured at Roche Perion, i, 111; narrowly escapes being put to death, 113
Boucicault, the lord of, taken prisoner at Romorantin by the prince of Wales, i, 212; appointed to the command of an expedition against the king of Navarre, 310; takes the town of Mantes by stratagem, 312; takes the town of Meulan, ib.
Boucicaut, sir, the younger, with two other French knights, holds a tournament near Calais against all comers, ii. 434
Boucicaut, the lord, taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli, ii, 625; obtains his ransom, 649; arrives at Venice, 651; appointed marshal of France, 654; obliges pope Benedict to submit to the emperor of Germany and the king of France, 673; sent to Hungary against the Turks, 674
Boule, John, a citizen of Ghent, appointed one of the captains of the Whitehoods in that city, i, 586; put to death by the men of Ghent, 639
Bourbon, lord John de, earl of March, appointed to the command of an army, to go into Spain against Don Pedro, i, 341
Bourbon, sir James de, captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223; sent by the king of France to oppose the free companies, 294; completely defeated by them at the battle of Brignais, 297; his death, ib.
Bourbon, duke Peter de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Bourbon, duke Louis de, takes the castle of Belleperche, i, 442; heads an army into Poitou and Limousin, ii, 32; takes Montlieu in Saintonge, 33; besieges Taillebourg, ib.; takes Verteuil and returns to Paris, 47; appointed to the command of an army to assist the king of Castille against the duke of Lancaster, 214; arrives at Burgos, 293; returns to France, 294; magnificently entertained by the count de Foix, 295; appointed commander in chief of an expedition against Barbary, 446; embarks at Genoa, 447; lands with his army before the town of Africa, which he besieges, 468; his army suffers from the heat and insalubrity of the climate, 473; abandons the siege and returns to France, 481; makes an ineffectual attempt to gain over the towns of Acquitaine during the imprisonment of king Richard the Second, in the Tower, 702
Bourchier, sir John, appointed governor of Ghent, ii, 24; retires to England, 66
Bourdeilles, the town of, taken by the English under the duke of Cambridge, i, 417
Bournezel, sir Peter, lord de, sent on an embassy from the king of France to the king of Scotland, i, 564; arrested at Sluys by order

of the earl of Flanders, 564; returns to Paris, ib.
Boutville, the town of, taken by the French, i, 562
Brabant, the duke of, joins the English forces before Cambray, i, 51; purchases three castles belonging to the duke of Gueldres, ii, 304; appointed chief of the Languefride, ib.; invades the country of Juliers, 306; defeated and taken prisoner by the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, 307; obtains his liberty, 308; his death, 309
Brabant, the duchess of, forms a marriage between the children of Burgundy and those of Hainault, ii, 26; causes the daughter of duke Stephen of Bavaria to be brought to France to be married to Charles the Sixth, 39; applies to the emperor to interest himself to obtain the liberation of her husband from the duke of Juliers, 307; sends ambassadors to solicit the assistance of France against the duke of Gueldres, 311; besieges Grave, 334; makes peace with the duke of Gueldres, 382
Brabanters, the, besiege Grave, ii, 334; defeated with great slaughter at the bridge of Ravestein, 353; abandon the siege of Grave, 354; refuse to permit the king of France and his army to march through their country, 357
Bramber, sir Nicholas, beheaded by order of the duke of Gloucester, &c., ii, 281
Brantome, the town of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 455
Brest, the castle of, taken by the earl of Montfort as duke of Brittany, i, 89; besieged by the French under sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 493; succoured by the earl of Salisbury, 494; besieged by sir Oliver de Clisson, 542; besieged a second time by him, ii, 129
Breteuil, the castle of, taken by the king of France, i, 209
Breuse, the viscount de, captured by the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers, i, 213
Brian, sir Guy, defeats a Flemish fleet off the isle of Bas, on the coast of Brittany, i, 465
Brignais, the battle of, between lord James of Bourbon and the freebooters, i, 296
Brignais, the castle of, taken by the freebooting companies, i, 295
Brimeu, the lord de, taken prisoner by the English near Arras, i, 608
Brioude, the town of, taken by sir Seguin Batefol, i, 300; surrenders to the French, ii, 108
Bristol, besieged by Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, to obtain possession of her husband and the two sir Hugh Spencers, i, 11; surrenders to her forces, 12
Brittany, John duke of, his death, i, 87
Brittany, duke of.—Vide Montfort, John de
Brittany, John of, son of the lord Charles of Blois, obtains his ransom, after having been long imprisoned in England, ii, 212; marries the daughter of sir Oliver de Clisson, ib.
Brittany, the lords of, undertake the wardship of their young duke, on the death of his father John de Montfort, 707
Brittany, the duchy of, adjudged to the lord Charles of Blois by the parliament of Paris, i, 93
Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, defeats the English under Edward the Second, at the battle of Bannockburn, i, 5; sends a defiance to Edward the Third, 15; invades England, 18; his dying request to lord James Douglas, 27; his death, ib.
Bruce, David, king of Scotland, dies at Edinburgh, i, 491
Bruges, the town of, enters into an alliance with the men of Ghent, i, 585; taken by the men of Ghent, 703; its gates and walls demolished, 707; submits to the mercy of the king of France, after the defeat of the men of Ghent under Philip von Artaveld, 747
Brunes, lord Bartholomew de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Brux, the town of, taken by the English under sir James Audley, i, 412
Buch, the capta of, defeats the infamous Jacquerie of Beauvoisis, with great slaughter, i, 242; takes the town of Clermont, in Beauvoisis, 252; joins the king of Navarre, 312; captured at the battle of Cocherel, in Normandy, 321; makes peace between the kings of France and Navarre, and obtains his liberty, 338; prevents the town of Linde from being given up to the French, 446; taken by the French at Soubise, 481; imprisoned in the Temple at Paris, 484; his death, 513
Buckingham, the earl of, appointed to the command of an army to go to the assistance of the duke of Brittany, i, 603; arrives at Calais, and marches into France, 604; burns and despoils the country of Champagne, 608; overruns the countries of Gatinois and Beauce, 613; crosses the Sarthe with great difficulty, 617; arrives at Vannes, in Brittany, greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Brittany, 620; besieges Nantes, 624; remonstrates with the duke of Brittany for not having joined him, 625; raises the siege of Nantes, 627; arrives at Vannes, 628; returns to England in disgust, 634; suspected of favouring the rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, 656; created duke of Glocester, ii, 203. [For the remaining particulars of this prince, see GLOCESTER, DUKE OF.]
Bucq, sir John de, admiral of Flanders, defeated and captured by the English fleet under the earl of Arundel, ii, 216; dies in London, 217
Budes, Silvester, makes war on the Romans on the behalf of pope Clement, i, 570; beheaded at Mascon, 574
Buffiere, the lord Pierre de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 222
Burghersh, sir Bartholomew, takes the castle of Cormicy, in Champagne, i, 278
Burgundy, Philip duke of, enters into a composition with Edward the Third to spare his duchy, in his march through France, i, 279; his death, 300
Burgundy, Philip (son of king John of France) duke of, his creation, i, 322; sent against the free companies into Caux, &c. 323; takes the castle of Marcheville, and several other places in Beauce, 325, et seq.; invades great part of the country of Montbelliard, 326; takes the town of La Charité, ib.; marries the daughter of the earl of Flanders, 409; appointed to the command of an armament against England, 419; ordered to march against the duke of Lancaster at Calais, 421; takes the towns of Ardres and Ardvick, 513; makes peace between the earl of Flanders and the men of Ghent, 591; appointed governor of Picardy, 622; instigates the king of France to make war on Flanders, 712; sends succours to the earl of Flanders to oppose the bishop of Norwich, 765; obtains the town of Sluys in exchange for the country of Bethune, ii, 43; makes peace with the men of Ghent, 59; sends forces to the assistance of the duchess of Brabant, against the duke of Gueldres, 315; goes to Blois to meet the duke of Brittany, 343; accompanies the king of France in his visit to the pope, at Avignon, 408; ordered to return, to his great dissatisfaction, 410; appointed regent of France during the derangement of Charles the Sixth, 536; treats sir Oliver de Clisson, the constable of France, harshly, 540; arrests several of the king's council, 542

Burgundy, John of, son of the duke of Burgundy, appointed commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Turks, ii, 593; crosses the Danube with a large force, in company with the king of Hungary, 601; takes by storm the town of Comecte, 603; besieges Nicopoli, 607; defeated by the Turkish army under the sultan Bajazet, 624; taken prisoner, 626; obtains his ransom, 649; returns to France, 654
Burley, sir Simon, taken by the French, i, 405; sent to negotiate a marriage between Richard the Second and the daughter of Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, 593; advises the removal of the shrine of St. Thomas from Canterbury to Dover castle, by which he gives great offence, ii, 197; committed to the Tower by order of the commissioners of accounts, appointed to examine into his conduct during his administration, 267; beheaded, 270
Burley, sir Richard, son of the above, dies in Castille, ii, 270, 290

C.

Cadillac, the town of, taken by storm, i, 526
Cadsant, the island of, taken by the English, i, 44
Caen, the battle of, i, 155
Caen, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 156
Cahors, the town of, turns to the French interest, i, 406
Cahours, Raoul de, defeats the English under sir Thomas Daggeworth in Brittany, i, 201
Calais, the battle of, between the English and French forces, i, 192
Calais, the town of, besieged by Edward the Third, i, 169; surrenders to him, 186
Calverly, sir Hugh, joins the prince of Wales in Acquitaine with a large body of the free companies, i, 404; endeavours to dissuade the bishop of Norwich from entering Flanders with the forces under his command, 758
Cambray, the city of, besieged by Edward the Third, i, 50
Cambridge, the earl of, sent to the assistance of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, i, 403; makes war in Perigord &c. 404; takes the town of Bourdeilles, 417; leads a body of troops to the relief of Belleperche, 440; returns to England, 459; appointed to the command of an army to go to the assistance of the king of Portugal against the king of Castille, 651; arrives at Lisbon, 669; returns with his army, dissatisfied with the conduct of the king of Portugal, 693, ii, 69; created duke of York, 203. [For the remaining particulars of this prince see York, the duke of]
Camerolles, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 325
Campreny, the lord of, captured by the captal of Buch, i, 282
Candorier, John, mayor of La Rochelle, obtains possession of the castle from the English, by stratagem, i, 482
Canterbury, the archbishop of, sent to Bristol by the duke of Gloucester and the Londoners, on an embassy to Richard the Second, ii, 280; conducts him to London, 281; sent to France with an application from the Londoners to the earl of Derby to return to England, 684; conducts the earl to London, 688
Caponnal, Caponnel de, liberated by exchange, i, 438
Captal, the title explained, i, 213 *note*
Carcilhart, the fort of, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, i, 556
Carentan, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 153; retaken by the French under the lord de Coucy, 543
Carhaix, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, i, 113
Carogne, sir John de, kills James le Gris in a mortal combat, ii, 205
Carquefou, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, i, 95
Cassel, the battle of, i, 30
Casseres, the town of, taken by the count de Foix, ii, 78
Cassuriel, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, i, 568
Castillon, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, i, 524
Cervole, Arnauld de, the archpriest, collects a body of armed men and pillages Provence, i, 238; captured at the battle of Brignais, 297
Chalons, the town of, unsuccessfully attacked by sir Peter Audley, i, 257
Chalons, the bishop of, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Chandos, sir John, receives the lands of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte as a gift from the king of England, i, 290; appointed regent over all the possessions of the king of England in France, 293; appointed constable of Guienne, 302; sent to the assistance of the lord John de Montfort in Brittany, 327; prevents a peace being concluded between John de Montfort and the lord Charles of Blois, 331; defeats the army of lord Charles at the battle of Auray, 332; advises the prince of Wales not to persevere in his design of enforcing the fouage or hearth-tax, and failing to succeed retires to his country seat, 384; recalled by the prince, and sent to make war on the French and Gascon lords, 399; takes the town of Terrieres, and several others in the Toulousain, 405, et seq; appointed seneschal of Poitou, 421; invades and pillages the territories of Anjou and Rochechouart, 422; killed in a skirmish at the bridge of Lussac, 437
Chargny, the lord de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Chargny, sir Geoffry de, endeavours to gain possession of Calais by bribing the governor, sir Amery de Pavie, i, 192; defeated by the king of England, 195; embarks for Scotland to offer his assistance against England, ii, 18; returns, and is in great danger from the Zealanders, 22
Chargny-en-Dormois, the castle of, taken by sir John Chandos, i, 274
Charité, La, the town of, in the Nivernois, taken by the lord Lewis of Navarre, i, 324; taken by the duke of Burgundy, 326; taken a second time by the French, ii, 103
Charles, emperor of Germany, his death, i, 592
Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, collects a large army to make war on the duke of Gueldres in the cause of the duchess of Brabant, ii, 307; receives his submission, 308
Charles the Fourth, king of France, takes measures to assist his sister Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, against her husband and the Spencers, i, 6; is prevailed upon by sir Hugh Spencer to break up the expedition which he had encouraged his sister to raise in France, 7; commands her to quit the kingdom, 8; his death, 29
Charles the Fifth, king of France, crowned at Rheims, i, 322; makes peace with the lord John de Montfort, and acknowledges him lawful duke of Brittany, 338; makes peace with the king of Navarre, ib.; raises an army to make war on Don Pedro, king of Castille, 340; is advised to declare himself lord paramount of Guienne, and to renew the war with England, 390, 393; summonses the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris to answer the complaints of some Gascon lords, 394; makes preparations to renew the war against the English, 396;

gains over several captains of the free companies, 399 ; sends his challenge to the king of England, 400 ; prepares an armament for the invasion of England, 419 ; breaks up the expedition in consequence of the arrival of the duke of Lancaster at Calais, ib. ; assembles a large force, to make war on Acquitaine, 443 ; makes peace with the king of Navarre, 444 ; enters into an alliance with don Henry, king of Castille, 468 ; makes peace with the king of Navarre, 491 ; sends an army to invade the duchy of Brittany, 492 ; enters into a truce with the English, 506 ; fits out a fleet for the invasion of England, which does considerable mischief, 512 ; declares war against the king of Navarre, 514 ; instigates the king of Scotland to make war on England, 529 ; seizes the possessions of the king of Navarre in Normandy, 540 ; sends an ambassador to the king of Scotland, 563 ; his ambassador detained by the earl of Flanders, 564 ; orders the earl of Flanders to send the duke of Brittany out of his dominions, 565 ; puts himself under obedience to Clement as the lawful pope, 570 ; afflicted with a singular disorder, 615 ; his last words and advice on his death-bed, 616 ; dies at Paris, 617

Charles the Sixth, of France, crowned at Rheims, 621 ; sends an army to the assistance of the king of Castille, 680 ; determines to make war on Flanders in behalf of the earl, 712 ; on account of a dream, he chooses a flying hart for his device, 714 ; endeavours to treat with the Flemings, 718 ; collects a large force to reduce them to obedience, 722 ; defeats the Flemish army at the bridge of Commines, 735 ; receives the submission of Ypres and several other places, 737, *et seq.* ; defeats the Flemings, under Philip von Artaveld, with great slaughter, 743 ; enters Courtray, 747 ; receives the submission of Bruges, 748 ; returns to France, 750 ; makes his entrance into Paris, 752 ; assembles a large army to oppose the bishop of Norwich in Flanders, 767 ; takes Cassel, ii, 3 ; and Bourbourg, 11 ; returns to France, 12 ; enters into a truce with England, 13 ; prepares to renew the war, 25 ; marries the lady Isabella, of Bavaria, 42 ; makes great preparations to invade England, 174 ; promises to assist the king of Castille, 180 ; joins his armament at Sluys, 198 ; puts off his design, and disbands his army, 203 ; makes preparations to assist the king of Castille, 214 ; prepares another armament against England, under sir Oliver de Clisson, 236 ; his designs frustrated by the arrest of sir Oliver by the duke of Brittany, 242 ; receives an insulting defiance from the duke of Gueldres, 249 ; commands the duke of Brittany to restore to sir Oliver de Clisson the places which he had unjustly taken from him for his ransom, 261 ; receives a haughty answer from him, 262 ; promises to assist the duchess of Brabant against the duke of Juliers, 312 ; invites the duke of Ireland (who had been banished England by the duke of Gloucester and his party) to reside in France, 331 ; prepares an army to invade Guelderland, 355 ; sends ambassadors to explain his intentions to the emperor of Germany, 356 ; receives favourable answers, 360 ; enters the duchy of Juliers, 379 ; receives the submission of the duke of Gueldres, 382 ; returns to France, ib. ; takes upon himself the government of France on coming of age, 384 ; sends ambassadors to the king of Castille, to remonstrate with him on the marriage of his son, the infanta of Spain, with the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 385 ; enters into a truce with the king of England, 395 ; orders the duke of Ireland to quit France, 407 ; visits the pope at Avignon, 408 ; visits Montpelier, &c. 410, *et seq.* ; receives the homage of the count de Foix at Toulouse, 424 ; travels with great speed from Montpelier to Paris, for a wager against the duke of Touraine, ib. ; reproves the count d'Ostrevant for accepting the order of the Garter from the king of England, 480 ; proposes to march to Italy to restore the union of the church, 484 ; receives ambassadors from the king of England with propositions for a peace, 486 ; on the death of the count de Foix, sends ambassadors to Orthes, to make some arrangements respecting the country, 502 ; meets the duke of Brittany at Tours, to make an amicable settlement of the differences between them, 507 ; acknowledges the viscount de Chateaubon heir and successor to the count de Foix, 510 ; agrees to marry his daughter to the son of the duke of Brittany, 512 ; receives the commissioners from the king of England at Amiens, 516 ; not being able to conclude a peace, he enters into a truce for a year, 519 ; commands the duke of Brittany to deliver up sir Peter de Craon. who had fled to Brittany, after attempting to assassinate sir Oliver de Clisson, 527 ; after receiving the duke's refusal, he leads an army against him towards Brittany, 529 ; arrives at Mans, 530 ; is accosted by a madman in the forest of Mans, who orders him to return, 533 ; becomes deranged, 534 ; his expedition is in consequence broken up, ib. ; removed to Creil for the benefit of his health, 536 ; recovers his senses, 546 ; returns to Paris, 549 ; in great danger of losing his life at a masqued dance, 550 ; appoints commissioners to negotiate a peace with the king of England at Leulinghen, 558 ; prolongs the truce with him, 561 ; relapses into his former malady, 563 ; sends Robert the hermit to England, to assist in bringing about a peace between the two countries, 584 ; liberates the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, who had been imprisoned by his uncles, during his derangement, 588 ; appoints John, son of the duke of Burgundy, commander in chief of an expedition against the Turks in Hungary, 593 ; betroths his daughter, the lady Isabella, to Richard the Second of England, 599 ; sets out for St. Omer, to meet the king of England, 611 ; has an interview with him at Ardres, 619 ; delivers up his daughter to him, 620 ; proposes to lead an army into Lombardy against the duke of Milan, 621 ; meets the emperor of Germany at Rheims, to confer upon measures to restore the reunion of the church, 659 ; sends ambassadors to pope Boniface, to acquaint him with the resolutions of the assembly, 669 ; sends the same to pope Benedict at Avignon, 670 ; informed of the imprisonment of Richard the Second in the Tower of London, 701 ; relapses again into his derangement. ib. ; his council send persons over to England to visit his daughter, queen Isabella, during the confinement of the king, 703

Charles, lord of Navarre, causes the constable of France to be murdered, i, 203 ; obtains the king's pardon, 205

Charles, son of the king of Navarre, marries the daughter of Henry of Castille, i, 560

Charles, of Spain, earl of Angoulême, appointed constable of France, i, 202 ; murdered by order of Charles of Navarre, 204

Charter of peace, between the king of England and the duke of Normandy, i, 284

Chateau-ceaux, the castle of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, i, 94

Chatel-bon, the viscount de, claims

the succession of Foix, ii, 504; his claim acknowledged by the king of France, 510; takes possession of the county as his inheritance, 515; does homage to the king of France, 549
Chatelheraut, the town of, taken by the French, i, 440
Chatelmorant, sir John de, carries over from England truces for three years, signed by king Richard and his allies, ii, 405; sent to Turkey, to treat for the ransom of the duke of Burgundy and the other officers taken at the battle of Nicopoli, 629
Chatillon, sir Hugh de, conquers Ponthieu from the English, i, 401; captured at Abbeville, 433; escapes from England, 503
Chaumont, the hermit, taken prisoner at Romorantin by the prince of Wales, i, 211
Chauvigny, the lord of, taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, i, 213; quits the party of the prince of Wales for that of the king of France, 411
Chauvigny, the town of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 476
Cherbourg, the town of, burnt and pillaged by Edward the Third, i, 153; besieged by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 515
Chimay, the town of, pillaged by the French, i, 59
Civray, the town of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 489
Civray, the battle of, i, 488
Clement the Sixth, pope, dies at Avignon, i, 203
Clement the Seventh, pope, elected during the lifetime of Urban the Sixth, which causes a schism in the church, i, 569; is acknowledged by the king of France &c., 570; goes to Avignon, 571; presents the duke of Anjou with the territories of the queen of Naples, which she had given up to his disposal, 573; dies at Avignon, ii, 563
Clermont, the town of, in Beauvoisis, taken by the captal of Buch, i, 252
Clermont, the cardinal of, elected pope, under the name of Innocent the Sixth, i, 203
Clermont, lord John, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 219
Clisson, the lord of, captured at Vannes, i, 122; exchanged for lord Stafford, 124; beheaded at Paris, 125
Clisson, sir Oliver de, besieges the town of Becherel, i, 490; besieges la Roche-sur-Yon, 493; takes the town of Dinant, 593; appointed constable of France, 622; besieges Brest, ii, 129; his fleet dispersed by a storm on his voyage to Sluys, to join the armament of the king of France, 201; obtains the liberation of John of Brittany from England and marries him to his daughter, 213; makes preparations to invade England, 236, 239; arrested by the duke of Brittany at the castle of Ermine, 242; obtains his liberty, 245; complains to the king of France of the conduct of the duke of Brittany, and offers to resign his office of constable, 248; retires to Montlehery, 249; takes the towns of St. Malo and St. Matthieu de Fine-Pôterne, 335; his castles restored to him by the duke of Brittany, 339; waylaid and severely wounded by sir Peter de Craon, 521; on account of his wealth, he incurs the suspicions and hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, 528; treated with great harshness by the duke of Burgundy, 540; retires from Paris, 541; summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, 545; not answering the summons, he is banished the kingdom, ib.; wages a violent warfare against the duke of Brittany, 556; makes peace with him, 589
Clisson, sir Walter de, slain at Brest, i, 89
Cobourne, the castle of, in Limousin, taken by a robber of the name of Bacon, i, 190
Cocherel, the battle of, in Normandy, i, 317
Combat, the noted, between thirty Bretons and thirty English, i, 191 *note*
Combat between sir Bertrand du Guesclin and sir Nicholas Dagworth, at Rennes, i, 236
Combat between sir Aymon de Pommiers and sir Foulque d'Archiac, before the king of France at Villeneuve, i, 303
Combat, remarkable one at Larre, between the garrison of Lourde and Tarbe, ii, 85
Combat, a mortal, at Paris, between sir John de Carogne and James le Gris, ii, 204
Comecte, the town of, in Turkey, taken by storm by the combined Christian armies under the king of Hungary and John of Burgundy, ii, 603
Comfit Box (drageoir) a spice-box used in the dessert of the great, some account of it, ii, 423 *note*
Commissioners sent to France, to execute the condition of the peace between France and England, i, 292
Commissioners appointed to examine into the conduct of the managers of the finances under Richard the Second, ii, 267; commit sir Simon Burley to the Tower, 268; condemn him to death, 269; appoint a new council for the king, 270
Concarneau, the town of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Conferences held at Avignon between the French and English to negotiate a peace, i, 205
Conferences held at Leulinghen for the same purpose, ii, 560
Connie, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 324
Conquet, the castle of, taken by the forces of the lord Charles of Blois, i, 109; retaken by sir Walter Manney, ib.
Constance, the lady, daughter of don Pedro, king of Castille, married to the duke of Lancaster, i, 467
Convalle, the castle of, taken by the French under sir Walter de Passac, ii, 134
Copeland, John, captures the king of Scotland at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 176; delivers him up to the queen of England by order of king Edward, who was at Calais, 178
Corasse, the lord of, said to have been served by a familiar spirit called Orthon, ii, 127
Cormicy, the castle of, taken by sir Bartholomew Burghersh, i, 277
Coucy, the lord de, declines taking any part in the wars between the kings of France and England, i, 438; leads a large army into Austria, 507; returns without having effected anything, ib.; takes the town of Bayeux, &c., 542; takes the town of Evreux, 547; appointed governor of Picardy, 602; appeases the Parisian insurgents, 676; endeavours to gain over the duke of Brittany to the French interest, ii, 337; accompanies the lord Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, to Arragon, 405; refuses to accept the office of constable of France after the disgrace of sir Oliver de Clisson, 554; defeats a large Turkish force near Nicopoli, 607; captured at the battle of Nicopoli, 625; dies at Bursay in Turkey, 644
Coucy, the lord Raoul de, captured at Mauconseil, i, 249
Coulogne, sir Robert de, slain in a skirmish at Tournehem, i, 429
Council of State, a new one appointed for Richard the Second by the commissioners of accounts, ii, 270
Courtray, the town of, turns to the interest of the earl of Flanders, i, 640; besieged by the men of Ghent under Peter du Bois, 644; burnt by order of the king of France, 750

Coutantin, the battle of, between the French and English, i, 232
Craon, the lord of, taken prisoner by the prince of Wales at Romorantin, i, 212
Craon, sir Peter de, incurs the displeasure of the king of France, ii, 497; retires to Brittany, ib.; waylays and endeavours to assassinate sir Oliver de Clisson, 521; takes refuge in Brittany, 527; endeavours to make his peace with the king of France, 592; prosecuted in the courts of Paris by the duchess of Anjou, 593; judgment being given against him, he is committed to prison, 599; obtains his liberty, 600; accompanies Henry, earl of Derby, into England, 687
Crecy, the battle of, i, 164
Creil, the town of, taken by the king of Navarre, i, 248
Croisade, preached against the Saracens, i, 38; against the free-booting companies by pope Innocent the Seventh, 298
Croquart, a page, turns robber, i, 191; killed by the fall of his horse, 192
Crotoy, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 162; retaken by sir Hugh de Chatillon, 401

D.

Daggeworth, sir Thomas, sent into Brittany to the assistance of the countess de Montford, i, 127; taken prisoner before La Roche d'Errien, 182; killed in Brittany, 201
Daire, John, a citizen of Calais, his patriotic conduct during the siege of that city by Edward the Third, i, 187
Dalkeith, the castle of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 37
Damazan, the castle of, taken by the duke of Normandy, i, 148
Dammartin, the earl of, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Dampmartin, the lord de, resists the dukes of Berry and Burgundy in their attempts to break off the marriage of his daughter with the son of the lord de la Riviere, ii, 544
Damme, the town of, taken by the men of Ghent, i, 706; ii, 41; taken by the king of France, 44
David the Second, king of Scotland, retires to France, i, 46; enters into an alliance with king Philip, 47; returns to Scotland, 97; assembles an army to invade England, ib.; takes the town of Durham, 99; besieges Wark castle, 100; returns to Scotland, 102; invades England a second time, 173; defeated and taken prisoner at Nevil's Cross, 175; sent to the tower of London, 179; liberated by a treaty of peace, 235; comes to England to meet the king of Cyprus, 306; enters into a truce with the king of England, 447; his death, 491
Death, remarkable, of a soldier, who had sacrilegiously robbed the church of Ronay, in Champagne, i, 262
Deed of arms, between sir Thomas Harpurgan and sir John des Barres, ii, 346
Deed of arms, between five English and five French knights, before the duke of Lancaster at Bordeaux, ii, 392
Deputations from the different towns of England wait on Richard the Second at Windsor to lay their grievances before him, and to demand redress, ii, 266
Derby, the earl of, appointed to the command of a large army to go into Gascony, i, 127; takes Bergerac and several other places in Gascony, 128, *et seq*; created duke of Lancaster, 197
Derby, Henry earl of, marries the lady Mary, daughter of the earl of Hereford, i, 624; appointed the lieutenant of his father, the duke of Lancaster, during his absence in Spain, ii, 166; challenged by the earl marshal of England in the presence of the king, 661; banished the kingdom, 666; goes to Paris, 667; the people of England rise in his favour, 682; receives a request from the people of London to return to England, 684; arrives in London, 687; undertakes the government of England, and determines to seize the throne, 688; marches towards Bristol against Richard the Second, 689; takes him prisoner, and conducts him to London, ib.; crowned king of England under the title of Henry the Fourth, 698; in danger of being murdered by the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, 704
Derval, the castle of, besieged by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 493; relieved by sir Robert Knolles, 495
Desponde, Dinde, a rich merchant, employed to negotiate the ransom of John of Burgundy and his companions from the sultan Bajazet, ii, 634
Destournay, the lord, takes the town of Oudenarde by stratagem, ii, 23
Devereux, sir John, takes the castle of Uzes, in Auvergne, i, 465
Dighos, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster's army, 230
Dinant, the town of, in Brittany, taken by the forces of the lord Charles of Blois, i, 109; taken by the English under Edward the Third, 96; surrenders to the lord John de Montfort, 336; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492; taken by sir Oliver de Clisson, 593
Dissensions at York between the archers of England and the Hainaulters, i, 16
Dormans, sir William de, preaches the justice of the cause of the French king, i, 407
Doublet, Oliver, beheaded at Rouen, i, 208
Douglas, sir Archibald, defeated and captured by sir Thomas Musgrave, near Melrose, i, 534
Douglas, lord James, departs for the Holy Land to fulfil the request of Robert Bruce the First, i, 28; killed in Spain, fighting against the Saracens, ib.
Douglas, lord William, takes the castle of Edinburgh by stratagem, i, 77; taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 177 *note*
Douglas, the earl of, invades England with a large orce, ii, 364; takes the pennon of sir Henry Percy before Newcastle, 365; slain at the battle of Otterbourne, 369
Dream, remarkable, of Charles the Sixth of France, i, 713
Drue, the castle of, taken by the duke of Normandy, i, 325
Duel, at Paris, between James le Gris and John de Carogne, ii, 203
Dumbarton, the castle of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 36
Dundee, the town of, burnt by Richard the Second, ii, 53
Dunfermline, the town of, destroyed by Richard the Second, ii, 53
Dunkirk, the town of, taken by the bishop of Norwich, i, 763
Duras, the town of, taken by storm by the duke of Anjou, i, 527
Duras, the lord de, captured by the French under the duke of Anjou, i, 522; turns to the French interest, but quits it afterwards, 523
Durazzo, the lord Charles de, defends the kingdom of Naples against the pretensions of the duke of Anjou, i, 684; put to death in Hungary, ii, 38
Durham, the city of, taken and destroyed by the Scots, i, 99.—[This account supposed to be fabulous, 102 *note*.]

E.

Edinburgh, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 36; retaken by sir William Douglas, 77; destroyed by Richard the Second, ii, 53
Edward the First, king of England, his character and successes, i, 4;

his singular request on his death-bed, 38
Edward the Second, his character, i, 4; an account of his family relations, 5; influenced in his government by sir Hugh Spencer, ib.; shuts himself up in Bristol against the queen and her party, 11; taken prisoner by them, 12; confined in Berkeley castle, 13; publicly deposed, and sentenced by the people of England to be imprisoned during his life, 14
Edward the Third, crowned king of England, i, 14; receives a defiance from Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, 15; leads a large army to oppose the invasion of the Scots, 19; returns, 25; marries the lady Philippa of Hainault, 26; enters into a truce with the Scots, ib.; does homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, 32; raises an army to invade Scotland, 36; takes Edinburgh and several other places, ib. *et seq.*; returns to England, 37; takes measures to make war on the king of France, 39; solicits the friendship of the Flemings, 42; passes over to Flanders, and makes great alliances in the empire, 45; appointed vicar-general of the empire of Germany, 47; sends his defiance to the king of France, 48; besieges Cambray, 50; marches into France, 52; returns to Hainault, 57; assumes the arms of France, 58; returns to England, ib.; sails with a large armament for Flanders, 72; defeats the French at sea, and arrives at Ghent, 73; besieges Tournay, 74; returns to England in consequence of a truce being entered into, 86; receives the homage of lord John de Montfort for the duchy of Brittany, 92; assembles an army to oppose an invasion of the Scots, 97; is enamoured with the countess of Salisbury, 100; sends a force to the assistance of the lord de Montfort, 105; makes great feasts out of affection for the countess of Salisbury, 115; sends reinforcements into Brittany, 117; heads a large army into Brittany, 121; besieges the town of Vannes, ib.; besieges and takes several other places, ib. *et seq.*; enters into a truce with the French, and returns to England, 124; institutes the order of the garter, 125; founds the chapel of St. George at Windsor, ib.; sends his defiance to the king of France, 126; appoints the earl of Derby to the command of an expedition into Gascony, 127; heads a large army into Normandy, 152; takes the town of Barfleur, and several others, 153, *et seq.*; marches towards Paris, destroying the country on his way, 158; distressed to find a passage over the Somme, 160; is conducted to one by a peasant named Gobin Agace, 161; engages the French under king Philip, at Crecy, and totally defeats them, 166, *et seq.*; besieges the town of Calais, 169; solicits the friendship of the Flemings, 179; obtains possession of Calais, 186; orders six respectable citizens, who, for the security of the other inhabitants, had generously volunteered to submit themselves to his pleasure, to be put to death, 187; is dissuaded from his purpose by the queen, 188; orders all the old inhabitants of the town to be expelled, 189; makes his public entry into Calais, ib.; enters into a truce with the king of France, ib.; the expense of his establishment at Calais, 190 *note*; fights incognito near Calais, under the banner of sir Walter Manny, 192; takes sir Eustace de Ribeaumont prisoner, 194; presents him with a chaplet of pearls in honour of his prowess, 195; defeats the Spaniards at sea, 198; leads a large army into France during the imprisonment of king John in England, 267; besieges Rheims, 273; takes the town of Tonnerre, 278; enters into a composition with the duke of Burgundy to spare his duchy, 279; proceeds towards Paris, destroying the country in his march, ib.; enters into a treaty of peace with the king of France, 284; entertains him at Calais, 291; returns to England, ib.; declines embarking in the croisades, 306; receives a defiance from the king of France, 400; sends reinforcements into Ponthieu, &c., 401; sends to Brabant and Hainault for assistance, 407; enters into alliance with the king of Navarre, 409; sends the duke of Lancaster with a large body of men to Calais, 419; applies to sir Robert de Namur for his assistance, ib.; enters into a truce with the Scots, 447; makes peace with the Flemings, 466; prepares an army to invade France, 470; sails from Southampton, but is obliged to return by contrary winds, 485; enters into a truce with the French, 506; dies at Shene, 510
Edward, the Black Prince of Wales, his valour at the battle of Crecy, i, 167; heads an army into Gascony, 206; invades the county of Berry, 209; takes the town of Romorantin, 211; defeats and captures the king of France at the battle of Poitiers, 223; embarks for England with his prisoner king John, 233; arrives in London, 234; accompanies the king of England in an expedition against France, 269; sets out for Acquitaine, 302; makes preparations to assist Don Pedro, king of Castille, 349; promises the king of Majorca to assist him against the king of Arragon, 355; offends the lord d'Albret, 356; sets out on his expedition into Spain, 359; takes the town of Salvatierra, 363; defeats the army of Don Henry de Trastamare, king of Castille, at the battle of Navarreta, 369; takes the town of Najarra, 374; sets out on his return to Acquitaine, displeased with the conduct of Don Pedro, 379; arrives with his army at Bordeaux, 380; endeavours to impose the fouage, or a hearth-tax, in Acquitaine, 383; excites the discontent and opposition of many of the lords of Gascony, ib.; summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris to answer their complaints, 394; his resolute answer to the summons, 395; prepares to make war on France, 398; recalls sir John Chandos from his retirement, and appoints him to the command of a force against the French and Gascon lords, 399; receives succours from England under the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, 404; prepares to oppose the dukes of Anjou and Berry, 446; takes the town of Limoges by storm, 453; on the death of his eldest son Edward gives up the duchy of Acquitaine to the care of his brother the duke of Lancaster, and returns to England, 459; his death, 508; visits the count d'Armagnac at Tarbes, ii, 73; is visited by the count de Foix, 74; appoints sir Peter Arnaut governor of Lourde, ib.
Elmham, sir William, committed to the Tower by the commissioners of accounts, on a charge of having sold Bourbourg and Gravelines to the French, ii, 12
English, the, their manners in the time of Froissart, ii, 136
Entença, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster, ii, 222
Escaudoure, the castle of, in Hainault, taken and destroyed, i, 68
Espaign, the bourg d', his remarkable strength, ii, 87
Estampes, the count d, sent to endeavour to win over the duke of Brittany to the French interest, ii, 326
Eu, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English under Edward the Third, i, 155; beheaded at Paris, 202

Eu, the count de. See Artois, Philip d'
Evan, of Wales, receives a naval command under the king of France, i, 474; defeats the English in the island of Guernsey, ib.; sent to Spain to solicit assistance from king Henry, ib.; insults the earl of Pembroke at St. Andero, 475; blockades the town of La Rochelle, 480; takes the castle of Soubise, 481; besieges Mortmain-sur-mer, 528; assassinated by John Lambe, 546
Evreux, the county of, subdued for the king of France by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 514
Europe, desolated by the plague, i, 200
Eustace de St. Pierre, a citizen of Calais, his patriotic conduct during the siege of that town, i, 187

F.

Famine, a great one, in France, i, 251
Faucille, John de, a citizen of Ghent, retires from the town after the murder of the bailiff by the Whitehoods, i, 582; dies at Lisle, 647
Fay, sir Godemar du, defends the ford of Blanchetaque against Edward the Third and his army, i, 161; defeated by the English, ib.; narrowly escapes being put to death, 170
Felton, sir William, killed in Spain, i, 366
Felton, sir Thomas, captured by the French under the duke of Anjou, i, 522
Fenestrages, the lord Broquart de, takes the town of Hans, i, 260; defeated and captured by sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, 261
Ferdinand, king of Portugal, declares war against John, king of Castille, i, 649; applies to England for assistance, 650; takes the field against the Spaniards, 691; makes peace with the king of Castille, 692; marries his daughter the infanta to him, 694; his death, ib.; marries the wife of one of his knights, ii, 152
Ferrol, the town of, taken by the king of Portugal, ii, 256
Flanders, the origin of the civil wars in, i, 575
Flanders, the nobility of, make war on the men of Ghent, i, 60
Flanders, the earl of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 167
Flanders, Lewis earl of, betrothed through the constraint of the Flemings, to Isabella, daughter of the king of England, i, 179; escapes into France, 181; marries the daughter of the duke of Brabant, 196; detains an ambassador from the king of France to the king of Scotland, 564; supports the cause of pope Urban in his dominions, against the Clementists, 570; endeavours to put down the Whitehoods, which had been revived at Ghent, 580; collects a force to make war on them, 584; makes peace with them, 591; comes to Ghent at the entreaty of the inhabitants, 595; endeavours to prevail on them to lay aside the Whitehoods, ib.; causes John Pruniaux to be beheaded, 599; goes to Bruges at the request of the inhabitants, 637; renews the war with the men of Ghent, ib.; besieges the town, 640; defeats the men of Ghent under Rassa de Harzelle, and burns a body of them in the church of Nevele, 643; besieges again the town of Ghent, 670; defeated by the men of Ghent at Bruges, 703; escapes with great difficulty to Lisle, 706; applies to the king of France for assistance, 722; becomes an object of hatred to the English, 756; applies to the duke of Burgundy for assistance to oppose the bishop of Norwich, 757; dies at St. Omer, ii, 14; the ceremony of his funeral, 15
Flemings, the, under Colin Donnequin, defeated at Cassel by Philip of Valois, i, 30
Flemings, under Jacob van Arteveld, promise to assist Edward the Third against the king of France, i, 58; remain firm to their alliance, notwithstanding the solicitations of the king of France, 63
Flemings, the, under Robert d'Artois, flee in confusion from before St. Omer, i, 85
Flemings, the, refuse to disinherit the earl of Flanders, i, 142; constrain him to be betrothed to the daughter of the king of England, 180; besiege the town of Aire, 184; defeated by the English off the island of Bas, 466; make peace with the king of England, ib.
Foix, Gaston Phœbus, count of, his passion for dogs, i, xxi; defeats the infamous Jacquerie of Beauvoisis, with great slaughter, at Meaux, 242; visits the prince of Wales at Tarbes, ii, 74; remits, at the entreaty of the princess of Wales, sixty thousand francs of the ransom of the count d'Armagnac, ib.; takes the town of Casseres from the Armagnacs, 78; his riches and liberality, 84; murders sir Peter Arnaut, 89
Foix, the count de, obtains Malvoisin from the king of France as a gift, ii, 90; origin of the wars between him and the Armagnacs, 92; his character and manner of life, 94; kills his son and heir Gaston, 95; his manner of keeping the feast of St. Nicholas, 100; rapidly and in a secret manner informed of the battle of Aljubarota, 126; grants permission to the French army to pass through his territories, on their way to Castille, 225; magnificently entertains the duke of Bourbon on his return towards France, 293; prevents the count d'Armagnac from succeeding in his attempt to purchase the forts occupied by the free companies, 299; marries his ward, the daughter of the count of Boulogne, to the duke of Berry, 394; does homage to the king of France at Toulouse for the county of Foix, 424; his death, 499; and funeral, 503
Foix, Evan of, burnt to death at a masked dance in Paris, ii, 551
Fongasse, Laurence, an ambassador from Portugal to England, relates to the duke of Lancaster the events which had happened in Portugal after the departure of the earl of Cambridge, ii, 152
Fontenay le Comte, the castle of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 484
St. Forget, the castle of, taken by sir Walter de Pascal, ii, 130
Forsath, in Gascony, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130
Fouage, the nature of the tax so called, i, 381, *note*
Friesland, invaded by the count of Hainault, ii, 615
Froissart, sir John, his preface to his chronicles, i, 1; his reasons for visiting the count de Foix, ii, 68; sets out for Bearn, in company with sir Espaign du Lyon, who informs him of many particulars relative to the wars in Guienne, 75; arrives at Orthes, 94; becomes acquainted with the Bastot de Mauleon, 101; his description of the manners of the English and Gascons in his time, 136; travels to Middleburgh, in Zealand, 148; receives information relative to the affairs of Portugal, ib.; is informed of the particulars of the arrest of sir Oliver de Clisson by the duke of Brittany, 259; returns to France from Bearn, in company with the lord de la Riviere and sir William de la Tremouille, 397; goes to Holland, ib.; returns to Paris to witness queen Isabella's public entrance into that city, 398; visits England in the reign of Richard the Second, ii, 568; presents his book of love poems to the king, 577

G.

Gabelle, the, a tax upon salt, imposed through France, i, 206

Galande, the castle of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Garliz, Gomez, beheaded by order of don Pedro, i, 376
Gars, the abbé de, beheaded at Amiens, i, 251
Gascons, the, oppose the attempt of the prince of Wales to impose a hearth tax on the country, i, 383
Gascons, the, their manners in the time of Froissart, ii, 136
Geneva, the cardinal de, elected pope during the life-time of Urban the Sixth, i, 570
Genoa, its state and condition in the time of Froissart, ii, 138
Genoese, the, raise a large army to invade Barbary, ii, 446; besiege the town of Africa, 468; break up their expedition, 483
Gente, sir Guisebert, a citizen of Ghent, killed for having endeavoured to make peace between the town and the earl of Flanders, i, 675
Genville, the earl of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
St. George, the chapel of, at Windsor, founded by Edward the Third, i, 125
Germany, the emperor of, attends a great assembly at Rheims, with the king of France, to consult upon means to restore the union of the church, ii, 659; deposed, 710
Ghent, the town of, besieged by the earl of Flanders, i, 640, 670
Ghent, the men of, put to death Jacob van Artaveld, i, 142; revive the custom of the Whitehoods, and elect John Lyon their captain, 578; apply to the earl of Flanders to preserve their franchises, 579; murder the bailiff of Ghent, 581; endeavour to make their peace with the earl, 583; enter into alliance with other towns of Flanders, 586; choose new leaders, after the death of John Lyon, ib.; enter into alliance with the town of Ypres, 587; besiege Oudenarde, ib.; march to attack the earl of Flanders, in Dendremonde, 588; make peace with the earl, 591; take the town of Oudenarde, 597; surrender it to the earl's forces, 599; destroy the houses of the nobility, 600; put to death John Boule, one of their commanders, 639; take several towns in Flanders, 641; defeated with great slaughter at Nevele, where several hundreds of them are burnt in a church, 643; besiege Courtray, 645; greatly distressed for provisions, but relieved by the men of Liége, 694; defeat the earl of Flanders at Bruges, 703; take the town of Bruges and several others, ib. *et seq.*; besiege Oudenarde, 709; endeavour to form an alliance with England, 716; defeated at the pass of Commines, under Peter du Bois, 733; defeated, under Philip van Artaveld, at the battle of Rosebecque, 743; endeavour to make peace with the earl, 751; take the town of Ardembourg, 755; assist the English at the siege of Ypres, 765; defeat a party of the French at Ardembourg, ii, 30; take Damme, 41; make peace with the duke of Burgundy, the heir of Flanders, 62
Gloucester, the duke of, [for the preceding particulars of this prince see BUCKINGHAM, THE EARL OF,] his creation, ii, 203; confederates with the duke of York and others against Richard the Second and his council, 263; defeats the king's forces, under the duke of Ireland, near Oxford, 278; thwarts the king in his intentions of making peace with the king of France, 495; plots the destruction of the king, 635; instigates the Londoners to petition for a repeal of the war taxes, 638; arrested by order of the king, 644; put to death at Calais, 656
Gomegines, the lord of, defeated and taken prisoner on his way to join the king of England before Rheims, i, 275
Goodman, James, chosen leader of the infamous Jacquerie of Beauvoisis, i, 240
Goy la Foret, the castle of, taken by sir Walter Manny, i, 112; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492
Gramat, the town of, taken by sir John Chandos, i, 415
Grammont, the town of, in Flanders, taken by the lord d'Anghein, i, 671
Grave, the town of, besieged by the Brabanters, ii, 334
Gravelines, the town of, taken by the bishop of Norwich, i, 759
Gravelle, the lord of, beheaded at Rouen, i, 208
Gregory the Eleventh, pope, elected at Avignon, i, 458; endeavours to make peace between the kings of France and England, 499; removes to Rome, 537; his death, ib.
Griffith, a Welshman, commands a troop of the free companies, and pillages several places in France, i, 238
Gris, James le, killed in a duel at Paris by sir John de Carogne, ii, 203
Gueldres, the duke of, promises to assist the king of England against France, i, 407; enters into an alliance with England, ii, 249, 310; sends an insulting defiance to the king of France, 249; endeavours to obtain possession of three castles belonging to his duchy, which had been sold to the duke of Brabant, 310; obtains possession of Grave, 334; defeats the Brabanters at the bridge of Ravestein, 353; makes peace with the king of France and the duchess of Brabant, 382; taken prisoner in Prussia, 389; delivered by the Teutonic knights, ib.; returns to Prussia to keep his faith with his capturer, and obtains his liberty, ib.
Guerrande, the town of, taken by the forces of the lord Charles of Blois, i, 109
Guesclin, sir Bertrand du, chosen commander of the French forces in Normandy, i, 318; defeats the forces of the king of Navarre at the battle of Cocherel, 321; obtains possession of the castle of Roulleboise, 323; goes to the assistance of the lord Charles of Blois, 327; taken prisoner at the battle of Auray, 333; ransomed, 341; leads an army into Spain, ib.; appointed constable of Castille, 343; goes to the assistance of Henry of Castille against don Pedro and the prince of Wales, 359; captured at the battle of Navaretta, 373; obtains his ransom, 381; joins king Henry before Toledo, 386; again appointed constable of Spain, 390; joins the duke of Anjou in an expedition against the prince of Wales, 444; invades the viscounty of Limoges, 453; takes the town of Yrier, ib.; appointed constable of France, 455; defeats the forces of sir Robert Knolles at Pontvalin, 456; takes the castle of Monmorillon and several other places in Poitou, 476, *et seq.*; heads an army against Brittany, 492; takes the town of Rennes and several others, ib., *et seq.*; sent with a large army against the king of Navarre, 514; makes war on Brittany, 567; dies at Auvergne, 601; the etymology of his name, ii, 260; see also 261, *note*
Guesclin, sir Oliver du, made prisoner by the garrison of Cherbourg, i, 553
Guincamp, the town of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Guistelles, the lord de, appeases an insurrection at Bruges against the French troops, ii, 202

H.

Hainault, the country of, invaded by the French, i, 58, 65; in danger of being pillaged by the

Bretons belonging to the army of Charles the Sixth, of France, 748
Hainault, sir John of, offers his assistance to Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, i, 9; escorts her to England, 11; assists her at the siege of Bristol, ib.; assists the king of England in an expedition against the Scots, 16; his territories invaded by the king of France, 58; appointed governor of Hainault during the absence of the earl in England, 62; quits the allegiance of England for that of France, 145
Hainault, William earl of, father of Philippa, queen of England, his death, i, 43
Hainault, William earl of, son of the above, sends his defiance to the king of France, i, 61; takes the town of Aubenton, &c., ib.; visits England, 62; Germany, 69; returns to Hainault, 70; assembles a large army to raise the siege of Thin-l'Evêque, ib.; burns the town of Seclin, &c. 76; takes the town of St. Amand, 83; Utrecht, 145; slain in Friesland, ib.
Hainault, the count of, raises an army to invade Friesland, ii, 612; overruns the country, and disbands his forces, 617
Harcourt, the earl of, beheaded at Rouen, i, 208
Harcourt, the young earl of, makes peace with the duke of Normandy, i, 259
Harcourt, sir Godfrey de, banished from France, i, 142; accompanies the king of England in an expedition into Normandy, 151; created one of the marshals of his army, 152; defeats a body of men from Amiens on their march to join the king of France, 159; carries on the war in Normandy for the king of England, 232; defeated and slain at the battle of Coutantin, 233
Harcourt, sir John, returns to France from England, where he had been as hostage for king John, i, 397
Harlestone, sir William, appointed governor of Cherbourg, i, 516; defeats a body of French troops under sir William de Bourdes, whom he captures, 517
Harsley, William de, a physician of France, cures king Charles the Sixth of France of his first derangement, ii, 547; dies at Laon, 548
Harzelle, Rasse de, chosen one of the commanders of the Whitehoods of Ghent, i, 586; takes several towns in Flanders, 642; killed in an engagement with the earl of Flanders, 643
Harzelles, the lord de, killed at Ghent, ii, 24
Haspres, the town of, burnt by the French, i, 60
Hawkwood, sir John, an English commander, enters into the service of Urban the Sixth in Italy, i, 574
Helly, sir James de, taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli, ii, 624; sent to France with information of the defeat of the army of John of Burgundy, 627; obtains his liberty, 631; returns to France, 635
Hennebon, the town of, in Brittany, taken by the earl of Montford, as duke of Brittany, i, 91; besieged by the lord Charles of Blois, 105, 113; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492
Henry the Fourth, of England, crowned during the life-time of Richard the Second, ii, 699
Henry de Trastamare, enters Castille with a large army to dethrone his brother don Pedro, i, 342; acknowledged and crowned king of Castille by the Spaniards, 343; takes measures to oppose don Pedro and the prince of Wales, 349; defeated at the battle of Navarretta, 374; escapes to Arragon, 377; makes war on the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, 378; makes war on don Pedro, assisted by the king of Arragon, 384; defeats don Pedro near Montiel, 387; puts him to death, 389; obtains the submission of Castille, 390; enters into alliance with the king of France, 467; makes war on the king of Navarre, 514; concludes a peace with him, 560; his death, ib.
Henry, the infant of Spain, marries the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, ii, 393; crowned king of Castille, 488
Henrielle, the castle of, taken by the king of Navarre, i, 248
Holland, sir John, kills lord Ralph Stafford, ii, 50
Hostages, sent to England for king John of France, i, 291
Huet, sir Walter, killed in a skirmish in Brittany, i, 498
Hungary, the king of, applies to the court of France, for assistance against the sultan Bajazet, ii, 593; crosses the Danube with a large army, accompanied by John of Burgundy and his forces, 601; takes the town of Comecte by storm, 603; besieges Nicopoli, 607; his army defeated by Bajazet, 624
Huntingdon, the earl of, proclaims a tournament at Oxford with the view of murdering king Henry, ii, 704; slain at Cirencester, 706

I.

St. Iago de Compostella, the town of, in Galicia, taken by the duke of Lancaster, ii, 171
Innocent the Sixth, pope, elected at Avignon, i, 203; endeavours to make peace between the kings of France and England, and the kings of France and Navarre, 212; orders a croisade to be preached against the free companies, 298; his death, 301
Insurrection in Paris against Charles the Sixth, i, 676
Insurrection at Rouen, i, 677
Insurrection, a general, in England, in favour of the earl of Derby against Richard the Second, ii, 682
Interview between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, ii, 186
Interview between the kings of France and England at Ardres, ii, 620
Ireland, the earl of Oxford created duke of, ii, 203; incurs the hatred of the people of England, 264; obtains a divorce from his wife, the lady Philippa, ib., 271; endeavours to counteract the measures of the commissioners of accounts and the new council of state, 272; marches from Bristol towards London as lieutenant for the king, 276; defeated near Oxford by the Londoners, under the duke of Gloucester, 278; flies the kingdom, 279; invited to France, 331; ordered thence, 408
Irish, their manners and mode of warfare, ii, 578
Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, declared ineligible to the crown of France, i. 5; incurs the hatred of sir Hugh Spencer, 6; lays her grievances before her brother, Charles the Fourth of France, and solicits his advice and assistance, ib.; commanded to quit France, 8; lands in England with a considerable force, and is joined by the English barons, 10; takes her husband prisoner at Bristol, 11; confines him in Berkeley castle, 12; enters London amidst great rejoicings, 13; obtains the coronation of her son Edward the Third, 14; suspected of being pregnant by sir Roger Mortimer, 31; committed to prison by order of the council, ib.; dies in London, 302
Isabella, daughter of Edward the Third of England, betrothed to Lewis earl of Flanders, i, 179
Isabella, the lady, of Bavaria, married to Charles the Sixth of France, ii, 42; makes her public entry into Paris, 398
Isabella, daughter of Charles the

Sixth, betrothed to Richard the Second of England, ii, 599; delivered to him by king Charles at Ardres, 620; married to him at Calais, 621

J.

Jacquerie, the rise of an infamous body of men in Beauvoisis under this appellation, i, 240; their atrocities, ib.; a large number of them destroyed by the king of Navarre, 241; thousands of them slain at Meaux by the earl of Foix and the captal of Buch, 242

James, king of Cyprus, interests himself to obtain the liberation of John of Burgundy and his companions, who were prisoners in Turkey, ii, 645

St. Jean d'Angely, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171; surrenders to the French, 202, 481

Jews, the, persecuted through Europe, i, 200

John, son of Philip of Valois, crowned king of France, i, 202; makes his public entry into Paris, ib.; prevents a combat between the duke of Lancaster and the duke of Brunswick, 203; takes possession of the lands of the king of Navarre in Normandy, 205; coins florins of gold, which were called *lamb florins*, ib.; marches an army against the king of England, 207; gives the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son, the dauphin of Vienne, ib.; arrests the king of Navarre, 208; marches an army against the duke of Lancaster, 209; collects an army to oppose the prince of Wales, 210; defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 223; surrenders to the prince of Wales, 224; embarked for England, 234; rides through London, ib.; confined in Windsor castle, ib.; enters into a treaty with the king of England and the prince of Wales, 263; the French council refuse to ratify it, ib.; sent to the Tower of London, 269; obtains his liberty, and returns to France, 290; magnificently entertained at Paris, 292; quarrels with the king of Navarre, 300; visits the pope at Avignon, 301; puts on the cross, 303; returns to England, 307; his death, 310; buried at St. Denis, 314, and *note*

John, don, son of Henry de Trastamare, crowned king of Castille, i, 560; makes war on Portugal, 649; takes the field against the king of Portugal and the earl of Cambridge, 691; makes peace with the king of Portugal, 692; marries his daughter, 694; sends his defiance to the new king of Portugal, and raises an army to make war on him, ii, 71, 155; besieges Lisbon, 72, 156; applies to the king of France for assistance, 73; abandons the siege of Lisbon, 113; takes the field against the king of Portugal, 116; defeated, with great slaughter, at the battle of Aljubarota, 121, 163; enters into a truce with the king of Portugal, 126; applies to France for assistance against the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, 180; grants permission to the duke of Lancaster to send his men into Castille to recruit their health, 289; regains possession of Galicia after the departure of the duke of Lancaster, 329; sends ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster, to demand his daughter for the infant of Spain, 341; makes peace with the duke, 391; marries his son to the lady Catherine of Lancaster, 393; his death, 488

John, don, grand master of Avis, declared king of Portugal, i, 694; ii, 71, 153; crowned, 71, 158; sends ambassadors to England to solicit the alliance of Richard the Second, 72, 109; raises an army to make war on the king of Castille, 116; defeats him at the battle of Aljubarota, 121, 163; enters into a truce with him, 126; sends ambassadors to solicit the assistance of the duke of Lancaster, 149; receives favourable answers, 165; writes friendly letters to the duke of Lancaster on his arrival in Galicia, 180; has an interview with him, 186; marries the lady Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 221; takes the field against the king of Castille, 251; burns the town of Santarem, 254; takes Ferrol, 255; forms a junction with the duke of Lancaster at Orense, 282; dismisses his army, 290

John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, created duke of Lancaster, i, 302

John, friar, de la Rochtaillade, delivers an apologue before the cardinals concerning the papacy, ii, 145

Joigny, the earl of, captured by the prince of Wales, i, 213; taken prisoner at the battle of Auray, 334

Joigny, the lord Raoul de, taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, i, 213

Joinville, the fort of, taken by the free-booting companies, i, 293

Jouel, sir John, joins the king of Navarre, i, 313; slain at the battle of Cocherel in Normandy, 321

Jouy, the count de, burnt to death at a masked dance at Paris, ii 551

Jugon, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois through treachery, i, 115; retaken by the lord John de Montfort, 336; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492

St. Julien, Louis de, takes the town of Chatelheraut, i, 439

Juliers, William count de, made duke of Gueldres, ii, 303

Juliers, the duke of, promises assistance to the king of England against France, i, 408; defeats the duke of Brabant with great slaughter, ii, 307; makes his peace with the emperor, 308; makes his submission to the king of France, 378; makes peace between the duke of Gueldres and the king of France, 382

K.

Kent, the earl of, beheaded through the jealousy of sir Robert Mortimer, i, 30

Knights Bachelors, the signification of their title, i, 83; *note*

Knights Bannerets, an account of their title and rank, i, 26; *note*

Knights of the Garter, the order instituted at Windsor by Edward the Third, i, 125; the names of the first knights, ib.; *note*

Knights of the Hare, the origin of their title, i, 57

Knights of the Star, the first of that order, i, 202

Knolles, sir Robert, commands a troop of the free companies in Normandy, i, 288; makes an incursion into Berry and Auvergne, 265; goes to the assistance of the prince of Wales, 412; appointed captain of the prince of Wales's companies, 413; summoned to England by king Edward, 442; leads an army into Picardy, 447; enters into a composition to save the country from being pillaged, 448; defeated at Pont Valin by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 457; he retreats into Brittany, ib.; incurs the displeasure of the king of England, 465; some account of his life, ib. *note*; reinstated in his favour, ib.; appointed governor of Brittany, 492; captures the lord de Mauvoisin, 617

L.

Lac, Le, the town of, takenby the earl of Derby, i, 130

Lamb florins, first coined, i, 205

Lambe, John, assassinates Evan of Wales at Mortmain-sur-mer, i, 546

Lancaster, Thomas, earl of, beheaded through the enmity of sir Hugh Spencer, i, 6
Lancaster, Henry, earl of, brother of the former, joins the party of queen Isabella against Edward the Second and the Spencers, i, 11
Lancaster, the duke of, son of earl Henry, lands in Coutantin to assist Philip of Navarre against the king of France, i, 209; takes the town of Verneuil, ib.; besieges Rennes, 235; leads a large army into Picardy, 266; persuades the king of England to make peace with the duke of Normandy, 283; dies of the plague, 300
Lancaster, John of Gaunt, duke of, his creation, i, 302; embarks with a large army for Aquitaine, 355; leads a large army into France, 419; returns to England, 433; embarks with a large force for Aquitaine, 444; appointed governor of Aquitaine, 459; takes Mont Paon, 462; Marries the lady Constance, daughter of don Pedro of Castille, 467; returns to England, 468; leads an army through France to Bordeaux, 496, *et seq.*; enters into a truce with the French, and returns to England, 506; made regent of England, during the minority of Richard the Second, 511; heads an army into Brittany, 514; besieges St. Malo, ib., 544; abandons the siege, 552; informed of the death of don Henry, king of Castille, 562; sent to treat with the Scots, 651; makes a truce with them, 665; refused admission into Berwick castle, ib.; returns to Scotland with the earl of Douglas, 666; sent for by king Richard, 667; offended with the earl of Northumberland, 668; appeased by the king, 669; obtains an army to make war on Castile, ii, 165; embarks for Portugal, 166; forces the French to raise the blockade of Brest, 168; arrives at Corunna, 170; takes the town of St. Iago de Compostella and several others in Galicia, 171, *et seq.*; makes war on Arragon, 207; marries his daughter, the lady Philippa, to the king of Portugal, 221; takes the towns of Entença, &c., 225, *et seq.*; suffers greatly from the heat of the climate, 282; forms a junction with the king of Portugal, 283; passes the Duero, 284; dispirited by the sickness of himself and army, 286; disbands his men, 287; obtains permission from the king of Castille for them to recruit their health in his towns, 289; quits Galicia and returns to Bayonne, 296, 329; applies to England for fresh assistance, 330; betroths his daughter Catherine to the infant of Spain, 384; makes peace with the king of Castille, 391; marries his daughter to the infant, 393; receives the duchy of Aquitaine as a gift from king Richard and his council, 566; embarks for Aquitaine, 568; ordered to return in consequence of the remonstrances of the towns of Aquitaine against the king's gift, 582; marries his concubine, 599; offended with king Richard for the murder of the duke of Gloucester, 658; makes peace with him, ib.; his death, 676
Lancaster, the duchess of, takes her daughter to Castille, and marries her to the infant, ii, 393; finds the bones of her father, don Pedro, and has them buried at Seville, ib.
Langon, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 502
Langurant, the lord de, captured by the duke of Anjou, i, 521; turns to the French interest, 523; slain near Cardillac, 561
Launoy, John de, one of the commanders of the men of Ghent, slain at the church of Nevele, i, 644
Lauton, sir John, slain before La Rochelle, i, 473
Le Clerc, Arnold, one of the commanders of the men of Ghent, defeats a party of the Flemish nobility at Oudenarde, i, 646; Defeated and slain at Berchem, ib.
Leon, king of Armenia, arrives in France, after losing his dominions, ii, 137; relieved by the king of France, 142; his death, 144, *note*; endeavours to negotiate a peace between the kings of France and England, 199
Leon, sir Hervé de, captured before Vannes, i, 122; liberated by king Edward, 126; dies at Paris, ib.
Letter, from Edward the Black Prince to the bishop of Worcester, after the battle of Poitiers, i, 229, *note*
Letter, sent by the king of England to Aquitaine, i, 439
Lewis, the lord, of Spain, raises the siege of Hennebon, i, 108; takes the town of Dinant, &c., 109; defeated at Quimperlé by sir Walter Manny, 110; engages lord Robert d'Artois at sea, 118
Libourne, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 132
Liége, the bishop of, endeavours to make peace between the earl of Flanders and the bishop of Norwich, i, 706
Lieux, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 132
Lignac, sir Helion de, sent to treat with the duke of Lancaster for the marriage of his daughter to the duke of Berry, ii. 336
Lignac, sir William de, seneschal of Saintonge, takes the castle of Aigle, ii, 33; accompanies the duke of Bourbon to the assistance of the king of Castille, 214; arrives at Burgos, 233
Limoges, the town of, surrenders to the duke of Berry, i, 450; taken by storm by the prince of Wales, 453
Linde, the town of, besieged by the duke of Anjou, i, 446; delivered by the captal of Buch, ib.
Linieres, sir Maubrun de, dies at Noya, ii, 291
Lionel, earl of Ulster, created duke of Clarence, i, 302; marries the daughter of the lord Galeas of Milan, 382; his death, 390
Lisbon, the city of, besieged by the king of Castille, ii, 72, 156
Lisle, the earl of, makes war in Gascony for the king of France, i, 76; besieges Auberoche, 132; taken prisoner by the earl of Derby, 134
St. Lo, the town of, taken by the English under king Edward, i, 154
London, the bishop of, appointed to accompany the duke of Lancaster in an expedition against Spain, i, 757
Londoners, the, dissatisfied with king Richard and his council, apply to the duke of Gloucester to take upon him the government of the realm, ii, 265; wait upon the king at Windsor to lay their grievances before him, and to demand redress, 266; prevail upon the king to fix a day to examine into the conduct of those who had had the management of the finances, 267; defeat the duke of Ireland and the king's forces, near Oxford, 278; wait upon the king, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, to demand the repeal of the taxes which had been imposed to carry on the war with France, 638; take part with the earl of Derby in his quarrel with the earl marshal, 664; rise in favour of the earl of Derby against Richard the Second, 683; send the archbishop of Canterbury to France to bring back the earl of Derby, 684
Longueval, sir William de, takes the castle of Mont Paon, i, 460; surrenders it to the duke of Lancaster, 462
Lorraine, the duke of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 167
Lorris, sir Launcelot de, mortally wounded at Cherbourg, i, 567
Louis, de Valois, marries, by procuration, Margaret of Hungary, ii, 39

Lourde, the garrison of, take several places in France, ii, 75, *et seq.*
Louvaine, sir Nicholas, governor of Abbeville, taken prisoner by sir Hugh de Chatillon, i, 401
Louvier, the town of, taken by the English, under Edward the Third, i, 158
Luna, the cardinal de, elected pope at Avignon, under the title of Benedict the Eleventh, ii, 564
Lusignan, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 489
Lusignan, Peter de, king of Cyprus, arrives at Avignon, i, 303; visits Germany to exhort the emperor to join the croisade against the Saracens, 304; visits the king of Navarre, 305; endeavours to prevail on the king of England to put on the cross, 306; goes to Aquitaine to solicit the prince of Wales to do the same, 307; returns to Paris, 313; put to death, ii, 138
Lussac, the town and castle of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 476
Luxembourg, sir Peter de, his body said to show miraculous powers, ii, 312
Luzumont, the castle of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Lyon, John, a citizen of Ghent, revives the custom of the Whitehoods, i, 578; instigates the men of Ghent to demand of the earl of Flanders the preservation of their franchises, 579; burns and pillages the castle of Andreghein, belonging to the earl, 583; dies at Ardembourg, 586
Lyon, sir Espaing du, accompanies Froissart to Bearn, and relates to him many particulars relative to the wars in Guienne, &c.; ii, 75

M.

St. Mahé, the town of, in Brittany, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Maillart, John, a citizen of Paris, prevents the city being betrayed by the provost of merchants, i, 246
Majorca, James, king of, applies to the prince of Wales for his assistance against the king of Arragon, i, 355; accompanies the prince and Don Pedro into Spain, 361; taken prisoner at Valladolid, by king Henry of Castille, 384; ransomed by his wife, the queen of Naples, 466: makes war on the king of Arragon, ib.; dies at Val di Soria, 467
St. Maixant, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the duke of Berry, i, 483
Maleval, sir Louis de, turns to the French interest, i, 438
St. Malo, the town of, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492; besieged by the duke of Lancaster, 544
Malvoisin, the castle of, taken by the duke of Anjou, ii, 83
Mandarant, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130
Manners of the English and Gascons in the time of Froissart, ii, 136
Manny, sir Courageous, left for dead at the battle of Nogent-sur-Seine, i, 261
Manny, sir Giles, killed before Cambray, i, 59
Manny, sir Walter, makes an incursion into France, i, 49; sent with an English force into Brittany, to the assistance of the countess of Montfort, 105; arrives at Hennebon, 108; retakes the castle of Conquet, 109; defeats the lord Lewis of Spain, at Quimperlé, 110; takes the castle of Goy la Foret, 111; accompanies the earl of Derby into Gascony, 128; finds the sepulchre of his father at La Reole, 138; defeats the French under sir Geoffrey de Chargny, before Calais, 192; dies in London, 468
Mantes, the town of, taken by the French under the lord de Boucicaut, i, 312
Marans, the town of, in the Rochellois, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 48
Marcel, Amerigot, takes the castle of Cassuriel, and other places, in Auvergne, 568, *et seq.*; takes by surprise the castle of Marquel, ii, 8; fortifies himself in La Roche Vandais, 451; besieged by the viscount de Meaux, 454; sends to England to solicit the duke of Lancaster for assistance, 455; during his absence at Perigord, his fort surrenders, 462; betrayed by a relative, to whom he had applied for an asylum, 463; beheaded at Paris, 465
Marcel, Etienne, provost of the merchants of Paris, kills three knights in the apartment of the regent, i, 239; builds a wall round Paris, 241; killed by John Maillart, while attempting to betray the city to the English and Navarrois, 246
March, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 177; appointed constable of the English army under Edward the Third, 269
Marchiennes, the monastery of, taken by the Hainaulters, i, 83
Marcheville, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 325
Marêt, John de, unjustly executed at Paris, i, 754
Margaret, countess of Hainault, takes possession of the country, as her inheritance, after the death of earl William, i, 145
Margaret of Hungary, married by procuration to Louis de Valois, ii, 38; forcibly married by Henry de Blancquefort, brother to the emperor of Germany, 46
Marneil, sir Raymond de, turns to the French interest, i, 438; taken prisoner by the English, 458; makes his escape, 459
Marquel, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, ii, 8
Marriage, concluded between the children of Burgundy and those of Hainault, ii, 28
Marshal, the earl, of England, challenges the earl of Derby in the presence of king Richard, ii, 661; banished the kingdom, 666; dies at Venice, 710
St. Maubert, the fort of, taken by the English under the lord Neville, i, 550
Maubué, lord, beheaded at Rouen, i, 208
Mauconseil, the castle of, taken by the king of Navarre, i, 248; besieged by the duke of Normandy, 249; razed to the ground, 262
Maudurant, Geronnet de, captured by sir John de Bonnelance, ii, 317; taken to Montferrant, ib.; ransomed, 319; gains possession of the town of Montferrant for Peter le Bearnois, 321
Mauléon, le Bastot de, relates his adventures to Froissart, at Orthes, ii, 101
Mauny, sir Oliver de, makes the king of Navarre prisoner, i, 363
St. Maur, the abbey of, on the Loire, taken by the English under the earl of Pembroke, i, 431
Mauvoisin, lord de, captured by sir Robert Knolles, i, 617
Maxwell, sir John, captures sir Ralph Percy at the battle of Otterbourn, ii, 369
Meaux, the battle of, i, 242
St. Mecaire, the town of, surrenders to the duke of Anjou, i, 525
Melrose, the abbey of, destroyed by Richard the Second, ii, 52
Melval, lord Louis de, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, i, 222
Melun, the town of, on the Seine, besieged by the duke of Normandy, i, 258
Menstreworth, sir John, with his followers, quits the army of sir Robert Knolles, i, 456; executed in London, 465
Mercier, sir John le, one of the ministers of Charles the Sixth of France, committed to prison during the regency of the duke

of Burgundy, ii, 541; his property confiscated, 543; released from prison, 588.
Mesclin, the little, captain of some free companies, put to death at Luxembourg, ii, 304
Meulan, the town of, taken by the French under the lord de Boucicaut, i, 312
Milhaud, the castle of, in Rouergue, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 464
Mirabeau, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171
Miraculous appearances, said to have been seen by the Saracens during the siege of Africa, ii, 472
Miramont, the castle of, taken by the duke of Normandy, i, 146
Moissac, the town of, in Quercy, taken by the English under sir John Chandos, i, 414; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 445
Moncontour, the castle of, in Poitou, taken by the English under lord Thomas Percy, i, 463; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 477
Monmorillon, the castle of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 477
Monsac, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, i, 502
Monstier, lord Peter de, appointed chief of the croisade against the free companies in France, i, 299
Montacute, sir William, created earl of Salisbury, i, 38
Montagu, lord William de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 222
Montauban, battle of, between sir Guy d'Asai and the free companies, i, 354
Montbeliard, the earl of, invades the duchy of Burgundy, i, 325
Montebourg, the town of, burnt and pillaged by the English under king Edward the Third, i, 153
Montendre, the lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Montferrant, the town of, taken by stratagem by Perrot le Bearnois, ii, 322
Montferrat, the marquis de, leads the free companies into Lombardy, i, 299; conquers several places from the lord of Milan, ib.
Montfort, the earl of, takes measures to secure to himself the duchy of Brittany, after the death of his brother, i, 87; takes the town of Brest and several others, 90, *et seq.*; does homage to the king of England for the duchy of Brittany, 92; summoned before the parliament of Paris, at the suit of the lord Charles of Blois, ib.; captured by the French at Nantes, 96; dies in the Louvre at Paris, ib. [See this account corrected, ib. *note*]
Montfort, the lord John de, defeats the forces of the lord Charles of Blois, at the battle of Auray, i, 332; his behaviour on seeing the body of his adversary, who had been slain in the battle, 334; takes Auray and other places, 336, *et seq.*; makes peace with the king of France, and is acknowledged duke of Brittany, 338; marries the daughter of the princess of Wales, ib.; applies to England for assistance against the king of France, 487; retakes several places in Brittany, 505; besieges Quimperlé, 506; disbands his army, and retires to England, 507; returns to Brittany, 591; solicits king Richard for succours, 602; excuses himself to the earl of Buckingham, who had come to his assistance, for not meeting him on his march, 619; makes peace with the king of France, 633; arrests sir Oliver de Clisson in the castle of Ermine, and causes the expedition against England to be given up, ii, 242; liberates sir Oliver, 247; required by the king of France to explain his conduct towards the constable, and to deliver up to him the castle he had taken from him as his ransom, 261; his answer, 262; disregards the overtures made by the duke of Berry to gain him over to the French interest, 328; enters into an alliance with England, 333; with Navarre, ib.; restores the castles of sir Oliver de Clisson, 339; goes to Paris at the entreaty of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, 343; makes his peace with the king of France, 344; returns to Brittany, 356; meets the king of France at Tours to make an amicable settlement of the differences existing between them, 507; agrees to marry his son to the daughter of the king of France, and his daughter to John of Brittany, 511; grants an asylum to sir Peter de Craon after his attempt to murder sir Oliver de Clisson, 527; involves himself in a war with the king of France, ib.; wages a destructive war against sir Oliver de Clisson, 556; makes peace with him, 589; grants assistance to the earl of Derby to embark for England, 687; his death, 707
Montfort, the countess de, carries on the war against the lord Charles of Blois, after the capture of her husband, i, 96; solicits assistance from England, 105; besieged by the lord Charles of Blois, in Hennebon, ib.; displays great courage in the defence of the town, 106; enters into a truce with the lord Charles of Blois, and goes to England, 115; returns to Brittany with reinforcements, under sir Robert d'Artois, 118; her forces take the lord Charles of Blois prisoner at La Roche d'Errien, 183
Montgis, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130
Montiel, the battle of, i, 387
Montlieu, the castle of, taken by the duke of Bourbon, ii, 33
Montmorency, sir Charles de, taken prisoner at Pont-à-Tressin, i, 84
Mont-paon, the castle of, surrenders to the French under sir William de Longueval, i, 460; retaken by the duke of Lancaster, 462
Montpellier, the towns and lordships of, belonging to the king of Navarre, seized by the French, i, 540
Montpezat, the village of, taken by the duke of Anjou, i, 445
Montpin, the fort of, taken by sir Thomas Trivet, i, 556
Montpouillant, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 140
Montreuil Bonin, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 172
Monsegur, the village of, surrenders to the earl of Derby, i, 136; taken by the duke of Anjou, 525
Moray, Randolph, earl of, his death, i, 27
Moray, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English before Newcastle upon Tyne, i, 99: exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, 104
Morbeque, Denys de, captures king John at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Moron, Castel, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 140
Mortain, the town of, in Normandy, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 514
Mortain-sur-Mer, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171; besieged by Evan of Wales, 528; the siege raised by the English, 550
Mortemer, the castle of, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 489
Mortimer, sir Roger, ignominiously put to death, i, 31
Mouton, a French coin so called, the origin of its appellation, i, 231, *note*
Mucident, the lord of, killed before Chargny in Dormois, i, 274
Mucident, the lord of, taken prisoner by the duke of Anjou, i, 522; turns to the French interest, 523; returns to the English party, 560
Muros, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster, ii, 220
Murray, the earl of, captured by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 176
Musgrave, sir Thomas, defeated and captured by the Scots at Melrose, i, 534

N.

Najarra, the town of, taken by the prince of Wales, i, 374
Namur, sir Philip de, slain at Dendremonde, i, 641
Namur, sir Robert de, does homage to the king of England, before Calais, i, 181; promises to assist him against France, 419; joins the English forces, under the duke of Lancaster, before Tournehem, 422; defeats a party of the French in a skirmish, 429
Namur, sir William de, gives the town of Sluys to the duke of Burgundy, in exchange for the country of Bethune, ii, 43
Nantes, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, i, 95; besieged by Edward the Third, 121; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 494; besieged by the earl of Buckingham, 624
Naples, Joan, queen of, surrenders her dominions to pope Clement, i, 573
Narbonne, the viscount de, captured by the free companies before Montauban, i, 354
Naval engagement, before Sluys, between the navies of France and England, i, 72; between the Spaniards and the English under king Edward the Third, 198; off the island of Bas in Brittany, between the English and Flemings, 465; before La Rochelle, between the earl of Pembroke and the Spaniards, 470
Navarretta, the battle of, between the prince of Wales and don Henry of Castille, 369
Navarre, Charles, king of, lands with a large army at Cherbourg, i, 206; arrested by the king of France, 208; escapes from the castle of Alleres, 239; makes peace with the duke of Normandy, ib.; harangues the Parisians, 240; destroys many of the infamous Jacquerie, of Beauvoisis, 241; declares war against France, 247; takes several towns and fortresses in France, 248; makes peace with the duke of Normandy, 259; declares war against him, 275; makes war on France, 304; makes peace with the king of France, 338; enters into alliance with don Pedro of Castille, 348; conducts the prince of Wales and don Pedro to Pampeluna, 360; enters into an alliance with the king of England, 409; makes peace with the king of France, 444, 491; applies to king Richard of England for assistance against the king of France, 541; enters into an alliance with him in England, ib.; solicits aid from the English at Bordeaux, to raise the siege of Pampeluna, 554; concludes a peace with the king of Spain, 560; his extraordinary death, ii, 313
Navarre, the young king of, goes to Paris, to endeavour to gain back his inheritance of Evreux, ii, 660
Navarre, the lord Lewis of, takes the town of La Charité, i, 324; marries the queen of Naples, 339
Navarre, Philip of, defends the possessions of his brother in Normandy against the king of France, i, 209; raises an army to raise the siege of St. Valery, 255; refuses to accept the peace which had been concluded between his brother and the duke of Normandy, 259
Necromancer, a, offers to deliver up the castel del Ovo to the duke of Anjou by enchantment, i, 685; beheaded by order of the earl of Savoy, 686
Negociations, carried on at Bilinges respecting a peace between the English and the French, i, 12
Nesle, Guy de, defeated and taken prisoner by the English in Saintonge, i, 202; slain, 203
Nesle, lord William de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Nevele, the church of, burnt by the earl of Flanders, with several hundreds of the men of Ghent in it, i, 643
Nevil's Cross, the battle of, i, 176
Neville, the lord, raises the siege of Mortain, i, 549; takes St. Maubert, 550; dismissed from his command in Northumberland, ii, 361
Newtoun, sir John, sent on an embassy to Richard the Second from the rebels of Kent, i, 656
Nicopoli, the town of, in Turkey, besieged by the king of Hungary and John of Burgundy, ii, 601; the siege raised by the sultan Bajazet, 622
Niort, the town of, stormed by the English, i, 480; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 489
Nogent-sur-Seine, the town of, sold to the bishop of Troyes, i, 262; the battle of, 260
Normandy, the duchy of, invaded by Edward the Third, i, 152
Normandy, the duke of, invades Hainault, i, 65; besieges Thin-l'Evêque, 69; enters Brittany with the lord Charles of Blois, 94; leads a large army to oppose the king of England in Brittany, 123; enters into a truce with him, 124; leads an army into Gascony to oppose the earl of Derby, 146: takes the town of Miraumont and others, ib. *et seq.*; marries Jane, countess of Boulogne, 196; appointed regent of France during the imprisonment of king John in England, 233; besieges Paris, 243; makes peace with the king of Navarre, ib.; enters Paris, 246; lays siege to Melun, 258; collects a force to drive the English out of Champagne, 260; refuses to ratify the peace concluded between king John and the English, 263; declines to accept the challenge of the king of England, 281; endeavours to make peace with him, 283; appointed regent on the departure of king John for England, 308; crowned king of France at Rheims, under the title of Charles the Fifth, 322
Northumberland, the earl of, takes Berwick castle, i, 530; enters Scotland with a large army, 533; appointed lieutenant of Northumberland, &c. 651; enters Scotland with a large force, ii, 18; banished by Richard the Second, 682; recalled by the earl of Derby, 694
Norwich, the bishop of, appointed commander-in-chief of a croisade against the Clementists, i, 756; enters Flanders contrary to the advice of sir Hugh Calverley, 758; takes the town of Gravelines and other places, 759, *et seq.*; besieges Ypres, 765; abandons the siege, and returns to England, ii, 2; badly received on his return, 12
Noyon, the bishop of, taken prisoner at Mauconseil, i, 249

O.

Oliferne, Agadinquor, an African chief, his conduct at the siege of Africa, ii, 470
Orchies, the town of, burnt by the earl of Hainault, i, 76
Orenze, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the forces of the duke of Lancaster, ii, 252
Oriflamme, the sacred banner so called, displayed by the king of France at the battle of Rosebecque in Flanders, i, 744
Orleans, the duchess of, suspected of causing the illness of the king of France, ii, 633
Orthon, a familiar spirit, serves the lord of Corasse, ii, 127
Ortingas, the town of, taken by Peter d'Anchin, ii, 76
Ostrate, Waustre, takes the castle of Roulebois-sur-Seine, i, 275
Ostrevant, the country of, burnt by the garrison of Douay, i, 68
Ostrevant, the count of, created a knight of the garter, ii, 480; gives offence to the king of France, ib.; does homage to the king of France for the county of Ostrevant, 481; raises an army to invade Friesland, 612; invades

Friesland, 615; disbands his army, 617; invites the earl of Derby to Hainault after he had been banished from England, 668
Otho, sir, of Brunswick, demands his pay from pope Clement at Avignon, ii, 144
Otterbourne, the battle of, ii, 366; [see also 372, *note*]
Oudenarde, the town of, besieged by the men of Ghent, i, 587, 709; taken by Francis Atremen, ii, 7; retaken by the lord Destournay, 23
Oxford, the earl of, taken prisoner in Gascony, i, 131; endeavours to dissuade the king of England from assisting his uncles in their pretensions to the crown of Castille, ii, 70; created duke of Ireland, 202

P.

Pampeluna, the town of, besieged by the king of Castille, i, 544
Paris, the city of, besieged by the duke of Normandy, i, 243
Parisians, the, rebel against Charles the Sixth, i, 676; appeased by the lord de Coucy, ib.; fined by the king, 753
Partenay, the lord de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Passac, sir Walter de, takes St. Forget, and several other places in the Toulousain, ii, 131; accompanies the duke of Bourbon in an expedition into Castille, 214; arrives at Burgos, 233
St. Patrick's Hole, in Ireland, its singular properties, ii, 570, and *note*
Pavie, sir Aymery de, governor of Calais, enters into a treaty with sir Geoffry de Chargny to deliver the town up to him, i, 192; prevented by the king of England, ib.; taken prisoner by sir Geoffry de Chargny, and beheaded, 200
Peace, concluded between France and England, i, 284; at Leulinghen, ii, 561
Pedro the Fourth, don, king of Castille, summoned to appear before pope Urban the Fifth at Avignon, i, 340; excommunicated, ib.; endeavours to raise a force to oppose his brother don Henry, and the duke of Burgundy, 342; flies to Corunna, ib.; goes to Aquitaine to solicit the assistance of the prince of Wales, 345; enters Spain, accompanied by the prince and a large force, 359; defeats the army of don Henry, 369; obtains the submission of Castille, 375; incurs the displeasure of the prince of Wales, 379; defeated by don Henry at Montiel, 387; taken prisoner, 388; killed by his brother, 389
Pembroke, the earl of, sent to the assistance of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, i, 403; makes war in Perigord, &c., 404; invades the territories of Anjou, 422; returns to England, 459; appointed governor of Aquitaine, 469; defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards before La Rochelle, 473; insulted by Evan of Wales at St. Andero, 475; obtains his ransom, 501; dies at Arras, ib.
Pennon, the nature of the military ensign so called, explained, i, 214, *note*
Percy, sir Henry, dies in Castille, i, 290
Percy, sir Henry, appointed commander in chief of the forces in Northumberland, ii, 361
Percy, sir Ralph, captured at the battle of Otterbourne, ii, 369
Percy, sir Thomas, appointed seneschal of Poitou, i, 438; takes the castle of Montcontour, 463; captured by the French at Soubise, 481; resigns his office of steward of the household to king Richard the Second, ii, 642; appointed governor of Aquitaine, 702
Perigord, the cardinal de, endeavours to make peace between the king of France and the prince of Wales previous to the battle of Poitiers, i, 215; makes peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, 259
Perigord, the earl of, defeats the high steward of Rouergue, i, 398; besieges Realville, 406
Perth, the town of, destroyed by Richard the Second, i, 53
Peterson, John, admiral of the Flemish fleet, defeated and captured by the English off the island of Bas, i, 465
St. Phagon, the town of, in Spain, pillaged by some Breton soldiers, ii, 296
Philip, lord, of Burgundy, killed before Aiguillon, i, 169
Philip of Valois, chosen king of France, to the exclusion of Isabella, queen of England, i, 5, 29; makes war on the Flemings, ib.; banishes Robert d'Artois from France, 34; puts on the cross, 38; enters into an alliance with the king of Scotland, 46; receives a defiance from the king of England, 48; leads an army to oppose his forces, 54; destroys the territories of sir John of Hainault, 58; invades Flanders, 63; sends forces into Scotland to assist the Scots against the English, 78; assembles a large army to raise the siege of Tournay, ib.; enters into a truce with the king of England, 86; assists the lord Charles of Blois to recover the duchy of Brittany from the earl of Montfort, 93; assembles an army to oppose the earl of Derby in Gascony, 146; collects another army to oppose king Edward in Normandy, 154; defeated at the battle of Crecy 167; collects a large army to raise the siege of Calais, 184; enters into a truce with the king of England, 189; marries the lady Blanche, daughter of Philip, king of Navarre, 195; dies at Nogent-le-Roi, 202
Philip, son of king John of France, created duke of Burgundy, i, 322
Philippa, daughter of the earl William of Hainault, married to Edward the Third, i, 26; in the absence of the king raises an army to oppose the Scots, 173; defeats them at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 175; receives the king of Scotland as her prisoner at York, 178; her three last requests to king Edward, 428; her death, ib.
Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, married to the king of Portugal, ii, 221
Picardy, the country of, invaded by king Edward the Third, i, 159
Pierrepont, the town of, taken by sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, i, 280
Piquigny, sir John de, delivers the king of Navarre from the castle of Alleres, i, 239; forces the duke of Normandy to raise the siege of Mauconseil, 249; endeavours to take the town of Amiens, 250; dies at La Herrielle, 262
Plague, the, desolates all Europe, i, 20, and *note*
Plaisac, Heliot de, governor of Boutville, taken by the French, i, 562
Poinings, lord, dies in Castille, ii, 290
Poitiers, the city of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 172; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 479
Poitiers, the battle of, between the king of France and the prince of Wales, i, 217
Poitiers, sir Charles de, burnt to death at a masked dance at Paris, ii, 551
Poix, the town of, destroyed by the English under Edward the Third, i, 159
St. Pol, the count de, captured by the English at Lique, and sent to England, i, 503; marries the lady Maude, daughter of the princess of Wales, 566; leads an army into Friesland, ii, 615
St. Pol, the earl of, slain at the battle of Crecy, i, 167
St. Pol, the town of, besieged by the duke of Lancaster, i, 432
Pommiers, the lord de, beheaded at Bordeaux for treason, i, 519
Pompadour, the lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223

Pondaire, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130
Pons, the lord de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223; turns to the French interest, i, 462
Pont au Demer, the town of, in Normandy, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 514
Pont du St. Esprit, the town of, taken by the free companies, i, 298
Pontevedra, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the army of the duke of Lancaster, ii, 190
Ponthieu, the country of, conquered by the forces under sir Hugh de Chatillon, i, 401
Ponthieu, the earl of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Populace, of England, rebel against king Richard and the nobility, i, 655; enter London and do much mischief, 657; dispersed by the king, 660
Porcien, the earl of, ransomed, i, 402
Porkers of la Respaille, a set of pillagers so called, commit several depredations in Flanders, ii, 30
Port St. Marie, taken by the duke of Anjou, i, 445
Portboeuf, Peter, governor of Dinant, taken prisoner, i, 122
Portelet, don Juan Ferdinando de, informs Froissart of many particulars relative to the affairs of Portugal, ii, 148
Poulat, the castle of, in Gascony, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, i, 557
Poursuivant d'Amour, the meaning of the title explained, i, 402, *note*
Pressigny, sir Reginald de, put to death, i, 205
Preux, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 325
Prie, the lord of, captured at the battle of Auray, i, 333
Pruniaux, John, a citizen of Ghent, appointed one of the commanders of the Whitehoods in that city, i, 586; destroys the walls of Oudenarde, 597; banished from Flanders, 599; delivered up to the earl, and beheaded, ib.
Pulpiron, the castle of, taken by the French under sir Walter de Passac, ii, 132
Punach, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 130

Q.

Quarrel, between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres, the cause of, explained, ii, 300
Queens, three, besieged in the town of Melun-sur-Seine, i, 258
Quimpercorentin, the town of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492
Quimperlé, the town of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 492; besieged by the duke of Brittany, 506

R.

Raimbaut, Lewis, a captain of the free companies, beheaded, ii, 108
Ramsay, Alexander, takes the castle of Berwick, i, 529; captured in the castle by the earl of Northumberland, 532
Ravenal, lord Raoul de, captured at Mauconseil, i, 249
Realville, the town of, taken by storm by the earl of Perigord, i, 410
Reginald, count of Gueldres, his extravagance, ii, 300; marries the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin, 302; afterwards marries Isabella, daughter of Edward the Second of England, ib.
Rennes, the town of, taken by the earl of Montfort, or duke of Brittany, i, 90; surrenders to the lord Charles of Blois, 105; besieged by the duke of Lancaster, 235; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492
Reole, La, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 138; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 502
Reyneval, lord Raoul de, defeated by the English and Navarrois, under sir Godfrey de Harcourt, i, 232
Rheims, the town of, besieged by Edward the Third, i, 273
Ribadavia, the town of, taken by storm by the duke of Lancaster, ii, 220
Ribadeo, count, of Spain, one of the ministers of Charles the Fourth of France, arrested by the duke of Burgundy while regent, ii, 541
Ribeaumont, sir Eustace de, captured near Calais, i, 194; receives a chaplet of pearls from the king of England, in reward for his prowess, 195; slain at the battle of Poitiers, 221
Ribemmont, sir Galahaut de, mortally wounded in a skirmish with the English, i, 272
Richard, son of the prince of Wales, declared presumptive heir to the throne of England, i, 509; crowned king of England, 511
Richard the Second, placed under the tuition of sir Guiscard d'Angle, i, 511; enters into an alliance with the king of Navarre, 541; sends an army to the assistance of the duke of Brittany, 592; quells the rebellion of the populace under Wat Tyler, &c., 660; Makes a tour through several parts of England to punish the insurgents, 666; marries the lady Anne of Bohemia, 681; enters into a truce with France, ii, 13; heads an army to oppose the Scots and the admiral of France, 50; destroys the abbey of Melrose, and several places in Scotland, 52, *et seq.*; quarrels with his uncles of York and Gloucester, 237; excites the discontent of the people of England, ib.; retires to Wales, 239; constrained by the people to appoint commissioners to examine into accounts of his confidential ministers, 267; retires to Bristol, 271; takes measures to counteract the proceedings of the new council, which had been appointed for him by the commissioners of accounts, 273; sends the duke of Ireland, as his lieutenant, with a large army towards London, 276; his troops defeated near Oxford. 278; returns to London under the conduct of the archbishop of Canterbury, 281; assembles a parliament to receive the homage of his subjects, ib.; enters into a truce with the king of France, 395; holds a grand tournament at London, 477; endeavours to make peace with France, 486; concludes a peace with king Charles, 558; presents the duke of Lancaster with the duchy of Aquitaine, 566; leads an army into Ireland, 567; obtains the submission of four Irish kings, 579; seeks to marry the lady Isabella, daughter of the king of France, 582; recals the duke of Lancaster from Aquitaine, ib.; has an interview with the king of France at Ardres, 619; receives the lady Isabella from king Charles in his tent at Ardres, 620; marries her at Calais, 621; becomes unpopular in England, 638; orders the duke of Gloucester to be arrested, 644; invests the earl of Rutland with the constableship of England, 659; proclaims a feast to be held at Eltham, 661; banishes the earl marshal for life, and the earl of Derby for six years, 666; seizes the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster on the death of the duke, 677; breaks off a marriage which was in contemplation between the earl of Derby and the daughter of the duke of Berry, 678; holds a tournament at Windsor, which is but thinly attended, 681; banishes the earl of Northumberland and his son, 682; the people of England rise in rebellion against him, and in favour of the earl of Derby, 683; retires to Flint [Conway] castle, 690; surrenders to the earl of Derby, 691; imprisoned in the Tower of London, 694; resigns the crown in favour of the earl of

Derby, 696; his death, 708; his funeral, ib.
Rigault, Giles, de Rouffy, presented with the red hat in the presence of king John at Paris, i, 202
Riviere, the lord de la, takes the castle of Aquigni, i, 325; imprisoned by the dukes of Burgundy and Berry during the regency, ii, 543; his estates confiscated, ib.; delivered from prison, 588
Robert, duke of Heidelberg, elected emperor of Germany, 710
Robert, king of Sicily, endeavours to make peace between the kings of France and England, i, 74
Robert, the Hermit, ordered by a vision to interfere in bringing about a peace between France and England, ii, 584; attends the conferences at Leulinghen, 585; sent to England, 586
Robesart, the canon de, defeats the Navarrois near Creil, i, 253; turns to the English interest, 403
Roche, La, sur Yon, the castle of, taken by the duke of Cambridge, i, 420; surrenders to the French under sir Oliver de Clisson, 493
Roche, La, d'Errien, the town of, taken by sir Thomas Daggeworth, i, 182; besieged by the lord Charles of Blois, ib.; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492
Rochechouart, the viscount de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223; imprisoned by the prince of Wales, 411; liberated, 421; his lands invaded by sir John Chandos, 423
Rochelle, the town of, blockaded by the Spaniards and French under Evan of Wales, i, 481; turns to the French interest, 482
Rochemilon, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 135
Roche-posay, la, the town of, taken by the French under sir John de Bueil, i, 411
Rochetaillade, John de, a fanatical cordelier friar, prophesies, i, 280; delivers an apologue to the cardinals respecting the papacy, ii, 145
Romorantin, the town of, taken by the prince of Wales, i, 211
Roquemadour, the town of, taken by sir John Chandos, i, 415
Rosebecque, the battle of, between the king of France and the men of Ghent, i, 743
Rosem, the lord de, captured by the duke of Anjou, i, 522
Roucy, the town of, in Picardy, taken by Robin Scott, i, 253; retaken by the archbishop of Rheims, 262
Rouelles, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster, ii, 181
Rouen, the inhabitants of, rebel against Charles the Sixth, i, 677
Roulleboise-sur-Seine, the castle of, taken by Wanstre Ostrate, i, 275; delivered up to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 353
Routes, a band of armed men so called, make war on Arragon, ii, 207; defeated by Raymond de Bachez, 209
Roye, the lord of, defeats and captures the lord of Gomegines, i, 276
Roye, sir Reginald de, with two other knights, holds a tournament near Calais against all comers, ii, 434
Rue, James de la, executed at Paris for treason, i, 514

S

Saimpi, the lord de, with two other knights, holds a tournament near Calais against all comers, ii, 434
Saintes, the town of, surrenders to the French forces, i, 482
Saintonge, the lord de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Saintré, lord John de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 223
Salisbury, the earl of, taken prisoner by the garrison of Lille, i, 64; exchanged for the earl of Moray, 104; heads an expedition into Brittany, 491; sent on an embassy to France, 677; unites with the earl of Huntingdon in his plan to murder king Henry, 704; beheaded, 707
Salisbury, the countess of, defends Wark Castle against the Scots, i, 101; resists with great spirit the dishonourable overtures of king Edward, ib
Salisbury, sir John, beheaded at Oxford, ii, 289
Salle, sir Robert, governor of Norwich, killed by the insurgents in the reign of Richard the Second, i, 661
Salvatierra, the town of, surrenders to the army of don Pedro and the prince of Wales, i, 363
St. Salvin, the abbey of, besieged by the French, i, 431
Sancerre, the lord Lewis de, appointed marshal of France, i, 418; defeats the earl of Pembroke at Puirenon, 427; visits the count de Foix at Orthes, ii, 391; made constable, 653
Santarem, the town of, rebels against the king of Castille, 112; returns to obedience, 113; burnt by the king of Portugal, ii, 254
Sauveterre, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, i, 525
St. Sauveur le Vicomte, the castle of, taken by the French, i, 507
Saxony, the duke of, sent by the emperor of Germany into England to see the country previous to the marriage of the lady Anne, of Bohemia, to Richard the Second, i, 606
Scarcity, a great one in France, i, 202
Schism, occasioned in the church by the election of two popes, i. 569
Scots, the, invade England under Robert Bruce, i, 18; their character and manners, ib.; retake many of their fortresses, and penetrate as far as Durham into England, 77; retake Edinburgh, ib.; take Stirling Castle, 97; enter into a truce with the king of England, ib.; invade England under king David, 98; take the town of Durham, 99; besiege Wark Castle, 100; defeated by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 174; refuse to abide by the truce which had been agreed upon at Belinge, ii, 19; enter England contrary to the orders of king Robert, 20; invade England with the assistance of sir John de Vienne, 48; treat the admiral with much harshness, 55; invade England under the young earl of Douglas, 364; defeat the English at the battle of Otterbourne, 370
Scott, Robin, takes the town of Roucy, in Picardy, i, 253
Seaule, the town of, taken by the French under sir William de la Tremouille, ii, 316
Seclin, the town of, burnt by the earl of Hainault, i, 76
Segar, John, governor of Nogent, murdered at Troyes, i, 263
Senerach, the lord de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 222
Sequainville, sir Peter de, beheaded at Rouen, i, 323
St. Severe, in Saintonge, taken by the duke of Berry, i, 479
Sluys, the town of, taken by the men of Ghent, i, 706; exchanged for the country of Bethune, ii, 43
Soubise, the castle of, taken by the French under Evan of Wales, i, 481
Southampton, the town of, pillaged by the French, i, 50
Sow, the use of the military machine so called, i, 521
Spaniards, the, defeated at sea by Edward the Third, i, 198
Spencer, sir Hugh, the elder, besieged with Edward the Second in Bristol, i, 11; taken and beheaded, 12
Spencer, sir Hugh, the younger, directs the government of Edward the Second, i, 6; causes the earl of Lancaster to be beheaded, ib.; frustrates the endeavours of queen Isabella to obtain assistance in France, 8; besieged with the

king in Bristol by the queen's forces, 11; ignominiously beheaded at Hereford, 13
Spencer, the lord de, his death, i, 513
Stafford, lord, captured before Vannes, i, 122; exchanged for the lord of Clisson, 124; created an earl, 197
Stafford, lord Ralph, killed by sir John Holland, ii, 50
Standwich, John, puts Wat Tyler to death in Smithfield, i, 662
Star, the order of the, revived by king John of France, i, 202
Stirling Castle, taken by the Scots, i, 97
Straw, Jack, heads the populace of England in the rebellion against king Richard and the nobility, i, 654; taken and beheaded, 664
Stuart, Robert, succeeds to the crown of Scotland on the death of David the Second, i, 491; enters into an alliance with the king of France, 529; makes preparations to invade England, ib.; sends to excuse himself to the king of England for some inroads which the Scots, contrary to his orders, had made into England, ii, 20; assembles a large army to invade England, with the assistance of the admiral of France, 47
Sudbury, Simon de, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, murdered in the Tower of London by Wat Tyler, i, 659
Suffolk, the earl of, captured by the governor of Lille, i, 64
Surgeres, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 171; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 484

T.

Taillebourg, the town of, taken by the English under the earl of Derby, i, 171; surrenders to the French, 481; besieged by the duke of Bourbon, ii, 33
Tailles, the nature of the tax so called, explained, i, 381; *note*
Talbot, lord, dies at Ruelles in Spain, ii, 291
Tankerville, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English under Edward the Third, i, 157; captured at the battle of Poitiers, 223
Tarbe, sir Aimery de, killed in a naval engagement before la Rochelle, i, 473
Tassegnon, the castle of, in Gascony, taken by sir Thomas Trivet, i, 556
Tax on income, established in France, i, 207
Tello, don, brother of Henry, king of Castille, defeats a body of English troops under sir William Felton, i, 366
Terrieres, the town of, taken by sir John Chandos, i, 406
Tertre, Peter du, executed at Paris for treason, i, 514
Tête-noir, Geoffry, obtains possession of the castle of Ventadour, in Auvergne, i, 568; mortally wounded, ii, 387; makes his will, 388; his death, ib.
Thilliers, the castle of, taken by king John of France, i, 209
Thin l'Eveque, the town of, besieged by the duke of Normandy, i, 69
Thouars, the town of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 484
Thurie, the town and castle of, taken by le Bastot de Mauleon, ii, 105
Tibald, doctor Simon, bishop of London, preaches the justice of the war against France, i, 407, and *note*
Tilt, at Entença, between sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye, ii, 228
Tonnerre, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, i, 278
Tonniens, the town of, taken by the duke of Normandy, i, 148; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 445
Tour, the lord de la, slain at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Touraine, the duke of, brother of Charles the Sixth of France, buys the reversion of the county of Blois, ii, 513; created duke of Orleans, 529
Tournament, held at Mons, i, 86; given by king Edward the Third at London, out of affection for the countess of Salisbury, 115; held at Vannes before the duke of Brittany and the earl of Buckingham, 630; at Cambray, in honour of the marriage of the children of Burgundy with those of Hainault, ii, 28; at Paris, in honour of queen Isabella's public entrance, 404; at Inglevere, near Calais, by three French knights against all comers, 434; held at London, by order of Richard the Second, 477; at Windsor, which is badly attended, 681; held at Oxford by the earl of Huntingdon, &c., 705
Tournay, the town of, besieged by Edward the Third, i, 74
Treaty of alliance, entered into at Vilvorde, between the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, i, 74
Treaty of peace, copy of the, between the duke of Burgundy and the men of Ghent, ii, 52
Trelawny, sir Matthew, severely wounded at Rocheperion, i, 111; taken prisoner, 112; rescued from death, 113
Trémouille, sir William de la, appointed to command a body of men to assist the duchess of Brabant against the duke of Gueldres, ii, 315
Tressilian, sir Robert, beheaded by order of the duke of Gloucester and his party, ii, 275
Trivet, sir Thomas, sent to the assistance of the king of Navarre, i, 555; takes several forts in Gascony, 556, *et seq.*; marches into Castille, 557; returns to England, 562; defeats the French near Arras, 607; committed to the Tower of London, ii, 12; killed by a fall from his horse, 268
Truce, between the English and the Scots, i, 26; between the French and English, 86; between the English and the Scots, 97, 104; between the lord Charles of Blois and the countess of Montfort, 115; for three years, between the French and English, 124; between France and England, 189; prolonged by order of pope Innocent, 205; between France and England, 234; between the English and the Scots, 447; between the French and English, 594; between the English and Scots, 665; between the French and English with all their allies, ii, 13; between the kings of Castille and Portugal, 120; between the French and English, 395, 548, 558
Tyler, Wat, heads the populace of England in their rebellion against king Richard the Second and the nobility, i, 654; killed in Smithfield, 662

U.

Urban the Fifth, pope, elected at Avignon, i, 301; preaches a croisade against the Saracens, 303; excommunicates don Pedro, king of Castille, 340; his death, 458
Urban the Sixth, elected at Rome, i, 538; sends a bull to England for the destruction of the Clementists, 756; besieged in Perugia, ii, 144; escapes to Rome, 145; dies at Rome, 426
Utrecht, the town of, taken by the earl of Hainault, i, 145
Uzes, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by sir John Devereux, i, 464; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, ib.

V.

St. Valery, the castle of, taken by the king of Navarre, i, 248; taken by the earl de St. Pol, 254; taken by sir Hugh de Chatillon, 401

Valois, the lady Joan de, concludes a truce between the kings of France and England, i, 86
Vannes, the town of, surrenders to the earl of Montfort as duke of Brittany, i, 91 ; taken by storm by the lord Charles of Blois, 110; retaken by lord Robert d'Artois, 119 ; taken by sir Oliver de Clisson, 120 ; besieged by the English, 121 ; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 492
Varennes, John de, resigns all his preferments in the church, ii, 565
Vauclingen, the town of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, i, 513
Vaudemont, earl of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, i, 221
Vauflart de la Croix, sir, defeated in a skirmish at Pont à Tressin, i, 80; put to death at Lille, ib.
Vaulx, sir Henry de, taken prisoner at Commercy, i, 278
Ventadour, the castle of, in Auvergne, betrayed to Geoffrey Tete-noire, i, 568; besieged by the duke of Berry, ii, 314; taken by his forces, 428
Verchin, sir Gerard de, mortally wounded in a tournament at Mons, i, 86
Verneuil, the town of, taken by the duke of Lancaster, i, 209
Verteuil, the town of, taken by the duke of Bourbon, ii, 47
Vienne, sir John de, governor of Calais, sent prisoner to England, i, 189
Vienne, sir John de, admiral of France, heads an expedition to Scotland to invade England, ii, 29; badly treated by the Scots, 36; invades England, accompanied by a Scottish army, 48; returns to France, 56; sent on an embassy into Castille, 385; killed at the battle of Nicopoli, 624
Vienne, the dauphin of, invested with the duchy of Normandy, i, 207
Vietat, don Alphonso, high admiral of Portugal, sent to England to convey the duke of Lancaster and his army to Portugal, ii, 165
Vigo, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the army of the duke of Lancaster, ii, 192
Villaines, le begue de, one of the ministers of Charles the Sixth, arrested by the duke of Burgundy during his regency, ii, 541; liberated, 543
Villeclope, the town of, in Galicia, taken by the duke of Lancaster, ii, 183
Villefranche, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, i, 140 ; taken by storm by the duke of Normandy, 146 ; taken by sir John Chandos, 416
Visconti, sir Bernabo de, put to death by his nephew, ii. 31
Visconti, sir Galeas de, puts sir Bernabo, his uncle, to death, ii, 31 ; enters into an alliance with the sultan Bajazet, 604

W

Wake, sir Thomas, defeated by the Gascon lords, i, 398
Walworth, sir William, lord mayor of London, assists to secure Wat Tyler in Smithfield, i, 662
Wark castle, belonging to the earl of Salisbury, besieged by the Scots, i, 101
Wars, the, between France and England, how caused, i, 5
Warwick, the earl of, joins the duke of Gloucester in his attempts to excite disturbances in England, ii, 637 ; sent to the Tower, 656 ; banished to the Isle of Wight, 657; recalled by the earl of Derby, 694
Wersey, lord Robert de, taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's Cross, i, 176
Whitehoods, the custom of wearing them revived at Ghent, i, 578
Whitehoods, the, see "Ghent, men of"
Winceslaus the Sixth, emperor of Germany, his election, i, 592 ; sends his sister, Anne of Bohemia, to England, to be married to Richard the Second, 681 ; dies at Luxembourg, ii, 13
Wisant, James and Peter, their patriotic conduct during the siege of Calais, i, 187
Wykeham, sir William, appointed bishop of Worcester and chancellor of England, i, 397

Y.

York, the archbishop of, dismissed from his office of treasurer by the commissioners of accounts, ii, 270
York, the duke of, his creation, ii, 201 ; confederates with the duke of Gloucester and others against king Richard and his council, 263
Ypres, the town of, enters into an alliance with the men of Ghent, i, 587 ; turns to the earl of Flanders, 639; surrenders to the king of France, 737 ; besieged by the Bishop of Norwich, i, 756
Yrier, the town of, in Limoges, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, i, 453

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